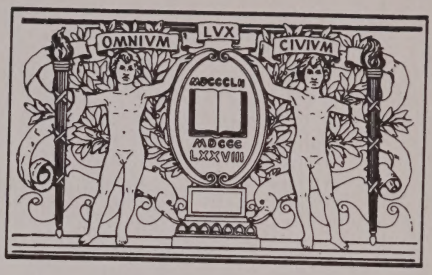
Boston Public Library
3 9999 10586 362 3



BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

FITCHBURG PUBLIC LIBRARY
WITHDRAWN

R Library

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. XCII.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

BOSTON:
CROSBY, NICHOLS, LEE AND COMPANY,
117 WASHINGTON STREET.
1861.

051
N1-92

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1861, by
Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Company,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

University Press, Cambridge:
Printed by Welch, Bigelow, and Company.

CONTENTS

OF

No. CXC.

Art.		Page
I.	Cotton and the Cotton Trade . . . . . A Hand-Book of the Cotton Trade. By Thomas Ellison.	1
II.	Giuseppe Garibaldi . . . . . Italy in Transition; or Public Events and Private Scenes in the Spring of 1860. By William Arthur, A.M.	15
III.	Temporal Power of the Church . . . . . History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. By Henry Hart Milman, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's.	56
IV.	Sir William Hamilton's Metaphysics . . . . . Lectures on Metaphysics. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by the Rev. Henry Longueville Mansel, B. D. Oxford, and John Veitch, M. A. Edinburgh.	88
V.	Charles Robert Leslie . . . . . 1. Autobiographical Recollections. By the late Charles Robert Leslie, R. A. Edited, with a Prefatory Essay on Leslie as an Artist, and Selections from his Correspondence, by Tom Taylor, Esq. 2. Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, Esq., R. A. By Charles R. Leslie. 3. A Hand-Book for Young Artists. By C. R. Leslie.	113
VI.	Illuminating Gas . . . . . 1. Chemical Technology, or Chemistry in its Applications to the Arts and Manufactures. [Article Gas-Illumination.] By Dr. Edmund Ronalds and Dr. Thomas Richardson. 2. Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines, containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice. [Article Coal-Gas.] Edited by Robert Hunt, F. R. S., F. S. S.	133

VII. Trübner's Guide to American Literature . . . 146
Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature. A Classed List of Books published in the United States of America during the last Forty Years. With Bibliographical Introduction, Notes, and Alphabetical Index. Compiled and edited by Nicolas Trübner.

VIII. Hallam as an Historian 163
View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages. By Henry Hallam, LL. D., F. R. A. S., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France.

IX. The Oxford Clergymen's Attack on Christianity. 177
Essays and Reviews. The Education of the World. By Frederick Temple, D. D. Bunsen's Biblical Researches. By Rowland Williams, D. D. On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By Baden Powell, M. A., F. R. S. Séances Historiques de Genève. The National Church. By Henry Bristow Wilson, B. D. On the Mosaic Cosmogony. By C. W. Goodwin, M. A. Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688 – 1750. By Mark Pattison, B. D. On the Interpretation of Scripture. By Benjamin Jowett, M. A.

X. Recent French Literature 217
1. Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps. Par M. Guizot. Vol. III.
2. Les Moines de l'Occident. Par. M de Montalembert.
3. Merlin l'Enchanteur. Par Edgar Quinet.
4. Jean de la Roche. Par George Sand.
5. La Bêtise Humaine. Par Jules Noriac.

XI. Hunting in the Himalaya 239
Hunting in the Himalaya, with Notices of Customs and Countries, from the Elephant Haunts of the Dehra Doon to the Bunchour Tracks in Eternal Snow. By R. H. W. Dunlop.

XII. Tischendorf's Discoveries in the East 250
Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. Susceptæ. Accedit Catalogus Codicum nuper ex Oriente Petropolin Prelatorum, item Origenis Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis, partim nunc primum partim secundum atque emendatius edita, cum duabus Tabulis lapidi incisis. Edidit Aenoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf.

XIII. Critical Notices 255

New Publications Received 290

CONTENTS

OF

No. CXCI.

Art.		Page
I.	Criminal Procedure	297
	1. Narratives of Remarkable Criminal Trials. By A. von Feuerbach.	
	2. History of Trial by Jury. By William Forsyth.	
II.	Smith's Tables of Ecclesiastical History . . .	318
	History of the Church of Christ, in Chronological Tables: a Synchronistic View of the Events, Characteristics, and Culture of each Period. Including the History of Polity, Worship, Literature, and Doctrines: together with two Supplementary Tables upon the Church in America; and an Appendix. By Henry B. Smith, D. D.	
III.	Explorations in Eastern Africa	326
	1. Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa; together with Journeys to Jagga, Usambara, Ukambani, Shoa, Abessinia, and Khartum; and a Coasting Voyage from Mombaz to Cape Delgado. By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf.	
	2. The Lake Regions of Central Africa, a Picture of Exploration. By Richard F. Burton.	
	3. Journal of a Cruise on the Tanganyika Lake. Discovery of the Victoria Nyanza Lake, the supposed Source of the Nile. Adventures in Somali Land. By Captain J. H. Speke.	
IV.	Documentary History of the Revolution . . .	364
	Diary of the American Revolution, from Newspapers and Original Documents. By Frank Moore.	
V.	De Gerando	391
	1. Self-Education, or the Means and Method of Moral Culture. Translated from the French of Baron de Gerando, by Elizabeth P. Peabody.	
	2. Essai sur la Vie et les Travaux de Baron de Gerando. Par Mlle. Octavia Morel.	
	3. Notice Historique de Baron de Gerando. Par M. Mignet.	

VI. Temporal Power of the Church 415
History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes, to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By Henry Hart Milman, D. D.

VII. The Literature of Power 465
British Novelists and their Styles; being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction. By David Masson, M. A.

VIII. Slavery, its Origin and its Remedy 492
1. A Chapter on Slavery: presenting a Sketch of its Origin and History, with the Reasons for its Permission, and the Probable Manner of its Removal. By the Rev. O. Prescott Hiller.
2. The Laws of Race, as connected with Slavery. By the Author of "The Law of the Territories," "Rustic Rhymes," etc.
3. Premium Questions on Slavery, each admitting of a Yes or No Answer; addressed to the Editors of the New York Independent and the New York Evangelist. By Sidney E. Morse.
4. Secession, Concession, or Self-Possession: Which?
5. A few Suggestions upon the Personal Liberty Law and "Secession" (so called). In a Letter to a Friend.
6. Thoughts Proper to the Present Crisis. A Sermon, preached in the Chapel of Yale College, on Fast Day, January 4, 1861. By George P. Fisher.
7. American Slavery distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists, and justified by the Law of Nature. By Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D.

IX. Appleton on the Rules of Evidence 515
The Rules of Evidence Stated and Discussed. By John Appleton.

X. Travel in Europe. 529
1. Ninety Days' Worth of Europe. By Edward E. Hale.
2. Notes of Travel and Study in Italy. By Charles Eliot Norton.

XI. Critical Notices 552

New Publications Received 594

Index 602

FITCHBURG
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXC.

JANUARY, 1861.

ART. I. — *A Hand-Book of the Cotton Trade.* By THOMAS ELLISON. London. 1858.

FOR many years after the Norman conquest, wool formed the chief export of England. The pastoral races that inhabited the British Isles suffered the Flemings to convert their fleeces into tissues, by skilled labor, and the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, enriched by manufactures and by the stimulus they gave to agriculture, became the most flourishing part of Europe. At length the islanders began to discover the sources of this prosperity, and gradually learned to keep their wool at home, and to invite the Flemings to the shores of England. Sir Walter Raleigh wrote, three centuries ago, that the greatest question of the hour was, "Shall we export our great staple to enrich Flanders, or weave it at home?" The oppression of Spain and France aided the policy of England; wool ceased to be the chief of English exports; a basis was laid for home manufactures, and English cloth was sent abroad in place of the unwrought material.

Since this change, although the devotion of land to pasturage, increased capital, and the cultivation of green crops have greatly multiplied English flocks and fleeces, the domestic supply has proved insufficient; drafts have been made on Spain, Saxony, and the Levant; the merino sheep has been naturalized in Australia and Natal; and England, in addition

to her own produce, now annually imports at least one hundred and twenty million pounds of wool.

But the golden fleece, and the cloth into which it is woven, have ceased to be the great staples of English commerce. A plant, till a recent period almost unknown, has, within the last century, risen in the field of commerce, with promise of far more important benefits to mankind. Art has tendered to the cotton plant her mechanism, her gins, her power-looms, and her serried ranks of spindles. Capital has placed at its disposal the water-fall and the steam-engine. Fleets have sprung into existence at its bidding. While it has ameliorated the condition of vast masses of people, clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, it has, on the other hand, enlisted in its culture nearly two millions of slaves from a race previously advancing on the highway to freedom. It has given a new value to their services, and drawn them away from a profitless competition with free labor. Not satisfied with this, it has controlled the policy of nations, and for the last twenty years has directed, in a greater or less degree, the government of the American Union. Hence we have the adage, "Cotton is King." All investigations into the growth and prospects of a commodity of so much importance, of course, interest the world, and the work of Mr. Ellison, which we have placed at the head of our article, is the most valuable contribution thus far made to its history and statistics.

Although cotton has acquired its importance within the memory of living men, we have early traces of its history. The Greeks, who accompanied Alexander on his invasion of India, found trees which they describe as bearing wool; and there is reason to believe it was then in use both in China and in India. When Cortez invaded Mexico, he found the Indians arrayed in cotton, and some of them wore cotton armor. Park, Denham, Clapperton, Caillié, and Barth describe the plant as indigenous in Africa, and make frequent allusions to cloth woven by native hands, and to plantations of cotton. The cotton of Egypt is derived from Nubia, and some of the best varieties of our Southern States have been drawn from Mexico and from China.

India alone, of the countries in which cotton is indigenous,

contributes largely to the manufactures of Europe, which at the present moment depend principally on the United States, our country holding a more prominent position in the culture of cotton than any country does in its manufacture. The consumption in England has risen from twelve thousand bales in 1775, to two million two hundred thousand in 1859, while the growth of upland cotton in the United States, annually increasing from a few bales in 1793, has risen to a total of four and three quarters millions of bales in 1859. The following table will show the amount contributed from the several sources of supply to each hundred bales used in England in 1856: —

United States,	71
East Indies,	19
Brazil,	5
Egypt,	4½
West Indies,	½

While the United States meet the entire consumption at home, and usually supply a large part of the wants of England, they furnish a still larger proportion of the consumption of the entire continent of Europe. The bales, too, of the United States are much larger than those of other countries, as will appear from the following table of the average weight of bales of cotton: —

Bales of United States,	443	pounds.
" East Indies,	387	"
" Egypt,	313	"
" Brazil,	181	"
" West Indies,	175	"

The crop of the United States for the year ending September 1, 1857, was 3,100,000 bales. The crop of 1858 exceeded by seven hundred and fifty thousand bales that of the previous year. The crop of the United States for 1859 surpassed that of 1858 by nearly a million of bales, amounting to more than two thousand one hundred millions of pounds, and exceeding the entire consumption of Europe and America in each of the years 1857 and 1858.

By the tables of Ellison the consumption of Europe and America has been as follows, in millions of pounds: —

	Great Britain.	The Continent.	United States.	Total.
1845,	597 millions,	292 millions,	158 millions,	1,047 millions.
1857,	786 "	490 "	281 "	1,557 "

It would seem, therefore, that the produce in the Union for 1859 was several hundred millions of pounds in excess of the entire consumption of Europe and America for 1857. During 1858 the natural increase of manufacture in Europe was counterbalanced by the panic that closed so many factories in America; and there is reason to believe that there was no increase of production in the aggregate. Indeed, had the panic not occurred, the crops would have proved insufficient to meet the current demand, as the stocks were greatly reduced, and the price of cotton rose in the Southern States to sixteen cents per pound. The high prices, however, stimulated production, and increased the supply, which soon created an active demand for all the products of the factory. From 1826 to 1837 the crop in the United States doubled in the space of eleven years. After the decline of prices which followed the revulsion of 1837, the increase of American cotton was less rapid; but it continued at the average rate of five per cent per annum, until 1845, while the growth of consumption for the same period did not exceed four per cent per annum; and the exports of cotton from Egypt, India, and Brazil actually diminished. So rapid had been the increase of the culture of cotton in the United States from 1826 to 1837, and such the continued progress down to 1845, that the stock in Liverpool, at the close of November in the last-named year, rose to 1,195,400 bales, and a great depression followed. The price of cotton fell to six cents per pound in the Southern States, and labor was diverted to the cultivation of sugar. A reaction followed, the price gradually recovered, and stocks diminished. On the first day of December, 1858, the stock at Liverpool had fallen to 371,980 bales, and the whole stock in Great Britain was sufficient to give employment to its spindles for eleven weeks only. With a deficient crop, or an active demand in commerce, it would have been impossible to find an adequate supply. In 1857 twenty-eight millions of spindles were engaged in the manufacture of cotton in Great Britain, nearly one for every inhabitant of the realm. They spun during that year

826,000,000 pounds, of which 90,343,000 pounds were lost in waste, 171,096,550 pounds were consumed at home, 168,508,300 pounds exported in yarns and thread, 396,051,600 pounds exported in goods, and the aggregate value of the production exceeded three hundred millions of dollars, of which one hundred and seventy-five millions were added to the cotton in the manufacture.

Such, however, had been the advance in the cost of cotton in consequence of the diminished supply, and such the competition at home and abroad, that the net results of 1857 fell greatly below those of 1845.

In 1845, the excess realized by manufacturers over cost of 592,023,222 lbs. was	£34,880,400
In 1857, the excess over cost of 846,000,000 lbs. was	30,012,909
Loss, ...	£4,867,491

The smaller quantity had thus yielded, twelve years before, an excess of twenty-four millions of dollars over the larger quantity. The decline in the prices of fabrics has kept pace with the progress of the arts and the diminished price of cotton. A dress which less than a century ago cost six shillings sterling per yard, now costs but two and a half pence, and a pound of yarn which in 1786 sold for thirty-eight shillings, now commands but two shillings and sixpence sterling.

The English looked with little complacency on the advance of the raw material and the decline of their cotton fabrics down to 1857, and for the past few years they have made continuous efforts to stimulate the culture and encourage the supply, in some of which they will probably succeed.

A great portion of the United States south of the thirty-sixth degree of latitude is adapted to the culture of cotton. The area suitable for cotton comprises more than thirty-nine million acres, of which less than one sixth part is now devoted to the cotton plant, though still the South demands new territory. The yield depends in part upon the length of the season. Seven months are required for an average crop, and the average periods in which the last killing frost of spring and first killing frost of autumn occur in the United States are the twenty-third of March and the twenty-sixth of October.

Cotton is cultivated in large fields, and when the soil is superior, the plant rises to a height of six or eight feet, although in the richest canebrake soil, exhausted by successive crops, the plant dwindles down to a height of three or four feet only. The aspect of the cotton-field is the most pleasing in the autumn. The tall branches and dark-colored stems, with their bright yellow flowers, intermingled with the white and fleecy down which clings to the plant, call forth the admiration of the traveller.

The climate and seasons of our Southern States seem adapted by nature to the culture of cotton, and one of the effects of its expansion deserves the attention of the philosopher. While in Brazil and the West Indies sugar and coffee have diverted the attention of the planter, the cotton culture in the United States seems to be attracting to itself the slave population, and gradually drawing it away from the central States, to the cotton-fields below the 36th parallel, and the inevitable tendency of this diversion seems to be the substitution of free labor in the States abandoned. In the States south of the 36th degree, the slave population has for the last fifty years increased at the rate of five per cent per annum, and now includes nearly three fourths of the entire slave population of the Union. In the States north of this line, the slave population has shown an average increase of less than one per cent per annum, while in some of them there has been an actual diminution. For the last three years long trains of slaves have been moving southward, bearing unusual numbers, and a diminution in the central States may be expected under the census now in progress.

While in past years millions of Africans have been imported to wear out their lives in the sugar-mills of the West Indies, and the waste of one year has been barely supplied by the importations of the next, the negro race have shown a remarkable growth in the field-culture of the Southern States. Not only are their labors less arduous than they have been in Cuba or Jamaica, but it is due to the South to say, that the masters have been more humane and forbearing than the planters in the Islands. The ways of Providence are inscrutable, and it may reconcile the philanthropist to the

stimulus given to slavery by high prices, to reflect that the inevitable tendency of these prices is to concentrate slavery in the alluvial basins of the extreme South, and eventually to devote to free labor the fertile uplands and breezy hills of Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, and Missouri.

If the price of the slave is said to rise one hundred dollars at the South with each advance of a cent per pound on cotton, that very advance exerts a magnetic power in drawing the slaves to the cotton States. If new railways are opened from Charleston to Memphis, or from Mobile and New Orleans to the Ohio, or from Vicksburg to Texas, with a view to knit together a Southern empire, these very railways are opening new avenues to the slave on his way to the cotton-fields of Arkansas or Texas. Let cotton command eleven cents per pound, while wheat brings but sixty cents per bushel, Western Texas and the great plateaus of New Mexico, California, and Mexico, whose northern climate is not suited to cotton, will be peopled from the North. Indeed, the railway lately opened across Northern Missouri, which cuts off six hundred miles of navigation, aided by the gold fever, has carried during 1859 and 1860 at least fifty thousand white emigrants toward the borders of Mexico.

During the period which intervened between 1845 and 1848, the average price of middling New Orleans cotton fell to 4.8 pence per pound in the Liverpool market. A temporary check was thus given to the culture of cotton in the United States, and the stocks diminished at Liverpool. Consumption subsequently increased, and prices gradually advanced until the period from 1855 to 1859, when the price of New Orleans cotton averaged at Liverpool 6.8 pence per pound, — a rise of more than forty per cent. A great stimulus was thus given to the culture. Southern railways were constructed; improved implements were introduced; guano, phosphates, and cotton-seed were applied to the exhausted fields of Georgia and the Carolinas; vast numbers of slaves were diverted from the Middle States; the rich lands of Texas and those on the Red and Yazoo Rivers were devoted to cotton; and in the brief space of three years the crop was increased more than forty per cent. It is estimated by some travellers that the artificial

stimulus of guano alone has increased the annual production at the South by nearly half a million of bales, quadrupling oftentimes the produce of exhausted fields.

The produce has thus again overtaken the consumption, stocks have accumulated, and the price of cotton again receded, giving as it fell a new impulse to its use both in Europe and America. This impulse, and a diminished crop for 1860, will check the decline for the present.

The longer seasons and extreme fertility of the West Indies and Brazil render sugar and coffee more remunerative than cotton, and the cotton crop in those regions has become comparatively insignificant, having dwindled in 1857 to 70,000 bales in Brazil, and 10,606 in the West Indies. Nor does there seem to be any immediate prospect of an increase.

The growing demand of the masses of Europe for sugar and coffee are tasking the efforts of industry in both the Indies. The little island of Mauritius, under free labor, has increased its produce of sugar from 34,000 tons in 1837 to 100,000 tons in 1856, and actually yields more sugar than did St. Domingo before the Revolution; but England alone has increased her annual demand to half a million tons of sugar. Her inhabitants in the last twenty years, prospering in their manufactures, have increased their annual consumption from eighteen to thirty-eight pounds per head. The western shores of Africa find it more profitable to export palm-oil (which they now do to the extent of sixty thousand tons annually) than cotton, and Europe must look to the United States, the East Indies, Egypt, and the interior of Africa, for her increased supply of cotton.

France has made great efforts to introduce the culture of cotton into the territory of Algiers, and nine thousand acres in that province were, in 1857, devoted to its culture, but with indifferent success. The article produced was of a superior quality, ranging between Pernambuco and Sea-Island cotton, and selling in Liverpool at from 7½ to 12 pence per pound. But nature seems to have specially designed Algiers for wheat and pasturage. In ancient times Algiers and the adjacent territories of Tunis and Tripoli were the granaries of Rome. The autumnal rains which start the young wheat and cover the earth with verdure check the development of the cotton

bolls, and impair their produce. While Carthage stood, the Roman soldier found in her environs beautiful country-seats encircled by vineyards, corn-fields, and olive-trees, and their culture still promises to be more successful than that of cotton.

In 1855, Egypt contributed 251,000 bales to the supply of cotton. This was of a superior quality, and there is some prospect of an increased production. In the present state of irrigation, improvement might not be expected; but the enterprising rulers of that country have called in science to aid the fertilizing waters of the Nile, and are raising its level fifteen feet, at two important points, by immense barriers, which will give a great increase of productive soil. In that portion of the Delta where irrigation is carried to the highest point by artificial canals, four large crops of maize are annually raised from the same field without any resort to other fertilizing materials than the deposit of the Nile. With the increase of area which must result from extended irrigation, we may anticipate a considerable development of cotton; but as it requires a longer season than Indian corn, breadstuffs will doubtless continue the principal crop of Egypt, as they have been since the days of Joseph. The great railway just opened from Alexandria to the Red Sea, and the ship canal from Suez to the Bay of Pelusium, will, however, doubtless give a stimulus to the production both of the cereals and of cotton.

The East Indies, some twelve years ago, furnished annually to Europe less than 200,000 bales of cotton, but have for some years past contributed about 600,000 bales annually, the exports — principally to Great Britain — having been in 1856, 463,000 bales, and in 1857, 680,000. But in 1858, in consequence of the war and the panic, a temporary diminution took place, which would have caused a great deficiency at Liverpool, had it not been for the reduced consumption in the United States, which proved an equivalent. India, with its dense population, clad principally in cotton, has been for many centuries engaged in its culture. India has exported annually to China several hundred thousand bales, and consumes more than three millions of bales at home; but its cotton is of poor quality, it is short in the staple, it usually reaches its market in bad condition, and sells for an inferior price. The govern-

ment of India, under the pressure of public opinion, have of late years made great efforts to improve the quality and to increase the supply of cotton. Seed has been sent from America, and Southern planters have been induced to experiment in India, but thus far with little effect. Large districts, it is true, in Madras and Bombay, in Berar, Mysore, and the Nizam's territory, have been found suitable for the culture; but the tenure of the soil, under which half or two thirds of the crop is required for rent or taxes, the absence of highways, and the want of facilities for irrigation have, until recently, been insuperable obstacles to success. England, however, is not easily discouraged. She feels herself at present dependent on her former colonies. Her manufactures have been checked by advancing prices and foreign competition, and she is often obliged to put her pride in her pocket, when she deals with her grown-up children. She looks at one hundred and sixty millions of subjects in India, ready to toil for ten or fifteen cents per day, on the one side, and to her fast accumulating capital, seeking employment at four per cent, on the other, and has resolved to apply the combined power of both to the growth of cotton by an improved tenure of land, by a great railway system, and vast works of irrigation.

The country having passed from the East India Company to the Crown, surveys are now in progress to bring the land under a fair and equitable rent. The existing charge, which ranges from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent of the gross produce, now precludes improvement; but, it may be presumed, will not long continue an insuperable bar to progress.

At the present moment, the primitive mode of transportation prevails in India, and most of the cotton exported is borne several hundred miles on bullocks, at the rate of eight or ten miles a day, to the coast, and thence in boats to the place of shipment. Imperfectly cleaned at the outset, saturated with water on the way, often injured by sand and stones introduced into the bales to conceal waste or depredation, stained, torn, and discolored from the effects of a long journey, the bales slowly reach the port of embarkation. To meet these evils, as well as to secure its possessions, the government have guaranteed to private companies a fair return on a rail-

way system extending more than two thousand miles. A central line, from Calcutta to Delhi, of 1,100 miles, is to be finished in 1861. Another of 600 miles, from Madras to Belary, is to be opened soon after. Another from Bombay, of 200 miles, into the interior, is in progress. Another of still greater length than the last, through Scinde and the Punjaub, is also commenced. The government are also opening to steamers of light draft the navigation of the Indus.

In the climate of India, where copious rains are succeeded by long intervals of drought, an artificial supply of water is required for the successful cultivation of cotton. To quote the language of Colonel Grant, who has given particular attention to cotton in India, —

"Nothing appears more susceptible of improvement, from culture and a regular supply of water, than cotton. In fact, the cotton of the common field and that of the irrigated bed cannot be recognized as the same plant; not only do the shrubs attain to an increased size, and bear more numerous pods, but each pod is much larger, and contains a much greater quantity of fibre; indeed, an Indian Kupas has all the appearance of a degenerated plant."

In ancient times, large sums were applied by the enlightened sovereigns of India to irrigation; but in the earlier days of British rule, many of their works were suffered to decay. More recently some of their structures have been renovated, and several new canals have been opened, which have not only changed the aspect of the country, but have yielded a direct return of from ten to twenty per cent. Down to 1848, the average annual outlay on public works in India did not exceed £ 100,000, but in 1857 it had risen to £ 2,220,000. In Madras alone, ten works of irrigation were begun in 1853, which will irrigate and enrich 450,000 acres of land. In 1857, a joint-stock company was formed in London, to construct a canal for navigation and irrigation, through Madras, Berar, and Mysore, and another from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast, which will open 400,000 square miles of cotton-growing land, — a much larger area than is now devoted to cotton in the United States. The aggregate expenditure of Great Britain on railways, canals, and other works of irrigation in India, now exceeds twenty-five million dollars annu-

ally. This explains the shipments of silver to that country from England. Of course, such works are giving a great stimulus to agriculture.

The commerce between India and America is progressive, and in one year, 1857, the shipments of native products from Calcutta to Boston alone rose to 140,000 tons.

When England first invaded India, she found there flourishing manufactures of silks and muslin, which have succumbed to the mechanism and capital of England, and she feels that she owes it to her depressed subjects in that region, as well as to herself, at least to open avenues and canals that may develop its agriculture, and stimulate the growth of its raw material for the supply of the English artisan. In the last twelve years, the exports of cotton from India to England have been trebled, and it is safe to predict that in five years more the produce shipped from India will surprise the world. Were the export of cotton from the United States to be arrested for two years, by a revolution or by adverse seasons, there is reason to believe that India might be made to yield, from her vast resources, nearly two millions of bales per annum to England.

But England does not confine her attention to the United States and India. In 1857, a Cotton-Supply Association was formed in Liverpool, to raise a fund of $100,000, of which $60,000 was subscribed. This society, in April, 1858, reported that they had sent 5,695 bushels of superior cotton-seed to the coasts of Asia and Africa, and to the Levant. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, who acts in concert with this society, reported, under date of March 18, 1858, to Mr. McGregor Laird, of Liverpool, that 407 cotton-gins had been sent out by himself and others to the western coast of Africa, destined principally for the interior, and that he had corresponded with 76 native traders, including 22 chiefs, who were embarking in the culture of cotton. In the Yarriba country, between the Niger and the sea, Dr. Barkie reported large plantations of cotton. He saw from one to two thousand bags, of eighty pounds each, exposed together in the markets; and the planter realizes a large profit, at from three to four cents per pound for a superior article. In the great district of the Soudan, which

extends from the valley of the Niger to the sources of the Nile, and comprises at least sixteen degrees of latitude, cotton grows spontaneously, and is spun and woven by the native females. England is using every effort to divert the chiefs of this region from the slave-trade to the culture of cotton. With the one hand she invites them to produce and sell the raw material, and with the other to receive the fabrics of her varied manufactures. At the present moment, Dr. Livingstone, in his steam-launch, well supplied with cotton-seed, is ascending the Zambesi toward the equator; a little to the north, Messrs. Burton and Speke, with like objects in view, have penetrated the interior of Ethiopia, from the coast of Zanzibar, while the enterprising German, Dr. Barkie, has ascended the Niger, and, doubtless, distributed cotton-seed and cotton-gins as he advanced.

Christianity accompanies and guides, in a greater or less degree, the expanding commerce of England. The caravans of slaves which formerly crossed the desert to Tripoli and Algiers, to supply Egypt and Turkey, are no longer seen, and nothing marks their ancient pathway, except the bleaching skeletons which line the route. The settlements of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cape Castle, and Akra, the colonies gradually extending north from the Cape, the armed ships of England, American steamers, and the present policy of Brazil, are gradually crushing the slave-trade on the western coast. Nor can the "Auri sacra fames," which makes avarice insensible to the voice of humanity and the anathemas of the civilized world, effect its renewal, although the cupidity of the Spaniard and the high prices of negroes may tempt occasional ventures. In place of sixty thousand slaves, sixty thousand tons of palm-oil are now shipped from the western coast, and in progress of time, with advancing civilization, we may expect a large contribution to the supply of cotton from the now benighted millions of Africa.

The production of this article has at length overtaken the demand, and the prices of 1857 can no longer be maintained; but the decline is again giving an impulse to consumption, and this impulse is aided by the expansion of railways, the accumulation of specie, the improvements in India, and the

growth of commerce and population throughout the civilized world. Even the reverses of 1857 have taught economy, and, having reduced the cost of manufacture, the cotton-spindles of England and the United States are in full activity, and are understood to be increasing more than ten per cent per annum, and to yield, in many cases, a return of twenty per cent. The consumption of England for 1860 is rated at two million four hundred thousand bales, while that of the United States, as estimated in the commercial journals, approaches a million; and such is the extent of the manufacture in Massachusetts, that cotton fabrics form at least one tenth part of the entire productions of the State. But, although the stocks of cotton in Europe and America have increased by nearly eight hundred thousand bales under the unprecedented crops of 1859, there will be less accumulation during the present year, in consequence of the drought of the last summer, during which England and the continent of Europe have apparently enjoyed a monopoly of rain. The present price, however, at the seaports of the South — eleven cents per pound — richly remunerates the planter, and continues to divert labor from Northern staples, in the culture of which the slave cannot compete with the freeman. The use of guano is increasing; the average return for each pound used on the cotton-field is estimated to be a pound and a half of cotton; and the planter who could raise but three bales to the hand on twelve acres of exhausted soil has in some instances, by this appliance, realized ten bales from the same force and area. In North Carolina, guano is reported to accelerate the growth of the plant, and thus encourages the culture on the northern border of the cotton-field, where early frosts have often proved injurious.

Although all the great avenues of the West are now tasked to convey the corn and wheat required to meet deficient harvests in Europe and the Southern States, the price of cotton is still high compared with that of the cereals, and must tend strongly to attract the Negro from the Middle States to the South. The Western farmer grows rich when he sells his corn for thirty cents a bushel; but in the cotton States corn usually ranges from eighty cents to a dollar per bushel, when cotton sells for ten cents per pound. Nor can we see any immediate

prospect of a further decline in the price of cotton. The philanthropist, however, will find, in the present value of cotton, as compared with other products, a strong incentive to the extension of its culture at the South, and to a further diversion of the Negroes from the central States. If he compares the returns of products by the last census, from the free and from the slave States, he may safely infer that such a result will double the effective and creative power of those central States, which nature has endowed with resources still undeveloped. He must see, too, in prospective, the inevitable tendency of a high price for cotton to increase its production in Asia and Africa, where it can be furnished for less than six cents per pound. Such expansion in the culture must be followed by an ultimate decline in prices; and if the decline should diminish the exports of the Union, we would find some alleviation of the loss in the lower cost of fabrics required by all classes, in the increased employment of artisans, and in the improved prospects of the slave, when his earnings cease to be profitable to his master.

ART. II. — *Italy in Transition; or Public Events and Private Scenes in the Spring of* 1860. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, A. M. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860.

WE have placed the title of this work at the head of an article designed to trace the past career, and to estimate the character and influence, of Italy's military champion, not because it contains a satisfactory account of him, nor because it is a thorough or profound analysis of the Italian question, but because, by its very incompleteness and its indecisive details, it singularly illustrates the chaotic state of civil interests, and thus the moral necessity of such a leader as Garibaldi. Desultory as the book is, no one can note the facts it records, without feeling that the sacred cause of Italian nationality depends for its realization upon intrepid and unselfish patriotism, and desiring to become more intimately acquainted with the foremost representative of that sentiment.

Success throws a fascinating halo around the name and deeds of genius and of valor, which is apt to obscure the complete lustre, while it illumines special features, of character. Garibaldi's exploits as a soldier are but the incidental manifestation of a steadfast and enthusiastic devotion to his country, which has but few parallels in our day. It is this constancy of soul and integrity of purpose, this disinterested zeal and magnanimous fealty, which the facts of his life best demonstrate. From the hour he first drew breath, on the anniversary of our national independence, July 4, 1807,— on that memorable delta enclosed by the Alps and the Mediterranean, anciently the home of an intrepid Ligurian race, and subsequently the birthplace of Columbus and Massena,— until he entered the Sicilian capital bearing the flag of Italy in triumph, the same motive, spirit, and principles have actuated him. He was never a reckless adventurer, or an aimless champion; but in all he has done, thought, felt, and suffered, at heart and by will, he has shown himself an Italian patriot soldier. Compromised by the unsuccessful revolution of 1834, denounced by Charles Albert, and chased from one retreat to another until he crossed the frontier and resumed his sailor-life under the French flag, he accepted the command of the fleet of the Montevidean Republic, to man the flotilla with European liberals, chiefly his own countrymen, and thus formed the nucleus of that invincible band which, years afterward, so memorably defended and promoted the national cause.

When the prospects of his unhappy land brightened in 1848, and he hastened thither to form a fresh legion in behalf of the then constitutional and liberal ruler, who, fifteen years before, had signed his death-warrant, the defeat at Novara only made him more vigilant and determined as the chief of the democratic free corps of Italy; and, despite of Radetsky and Ferdinand, he guided this forlorn hope of a betrayed people to Rome, with Mazzini and Avezzana established the brave and wise triumvirate, and defended the nationality of Italy, with the Eternal City, against the long and wanton bombardment of the French, Austrian, Spanish, and Neapolitan forces. During the succeeding interval of inaction, after the catastro-

phe and the wonderful retreat, while cheerfully toiling as a candle-maker at Staten Island, consulting with his brother exiles in New York, commanding a merchant-vessel, or cultivating his island farm on the Sardinian coast, the same independence, patient resolution, and earnest purpose marked the baffled, but circumspect patriot; and it was the simple influence of his character which, at the outbreak of the war between Sardinia and Austria, led the government of the former state to repose in Garibaldi unlimited confidence, and to endow him with exceptional military authority, and which, at the same time, drew to his command the heartiest popular element of national defence, whence came the first spirited blow to Austrian power at Varese, and the final echoes of conflict which closed the brief but desolating strife.

Thus the life of Garibaldi has been a crusade against absolutism, — an enterprise or a sacrifice for Italy. The very expedition which, while we write, excites the admiration of the world, and has been called rash and ill-considered, was gravely proposed in conversation by its hero, eight years ago, while an exile among us. He represents the national cause in its entireness. He embodies the popular sentiment and faith. No indignation exceeded his at what he deemed the premature peace of Villafranca; and it was with difficulty that Victor Emmanuel persuaded him to withdraw his resignation at that critical juncture. No other heart so truly bled for Venice, thus left to the mercy of Austria, or felt deeper mortification at the cession of Nice, his native province. Yet, with a soldier's impatience at diplomatic compromise, and a soldier's eagerness to press victory to its full consequences, his love of his country as a whole, and of freedom as an ultimate blessing, is such that he has yielded, again and again, his fondest wishes and aims, when convinced that their realization would frustrate greater national blessings. He has seen so many brave compatriots fall around him, he has endured such misfortunes in the holy cause, and yet has been so miraculously preserved and prospered in his career, that, in the retrospect, few military characters of our age will be recalled with so vivid an interest, — few will be regarded as so genuinely representative of their time and people.

The place of Garibaldi's nativity, though not adapted to foster those exclusive Italian associations which cluster within Florence and Rome, boasts no common local charms and suggestive objects. Few travellers, except invalids, remain long at Nice, there being in it scarcely any of those treasures of art or remains of antiquity which make the larger cities of the peninsula so attractive. Those who pass through the town find little in the inelegant dwellings and contracted streets to win their favor; but a longer sojourn, at the right season, reveals a picturesque beauty which sheds a romantic charm over the spot and endears its memory. From the heights of Cimella a beautiful landscape is visible. In the foreground are the remains of an old Roman amphitheatre. Below lies the town, through which pours a torrent fed by mountain rivulets. The fortified harbor is upon the margin of the sea, and on the other side extend, with protecting grace, the Alpine summits, which serve as a barrier against the northern blast. It is to this combination of mountain and sea that the climate of Nice owes its salubrity. From the elevated points are discernible, here the peninsula of Sant' Ospizio, originally colonized by the Moors, — and there the rock of Esa, where corsairs once found a secure rendezvous; while, on a clear day, one may trace the lofty hills of Corsica. Seaward the view is ever inspiring, — at sunset exhibiting the purple isles of the Mediterranean, and constantly alive with graceful lateen sails, or the smoke of steam-vessels. The entire region between the borders of France, the river Po, and the city of Leghorn, constitutes what was anciently Liguria, and in a later age the Ligurian Republic of 1797. Not for the first time now has a part of the province been annexed to France. It was made a section of her domain in 1805; and nine years subsequently was incorporated with Sardinia. The natural advantages of Nice grow upon the attention by degrees and through familiarity, and invite those who need repose and solace to an eminently genial place of sojourn or of residence.

A seafaring life is one of the very few spheres of action in which we can imagine a modern Italian hero bred to practical efficiency. The censorship which so long interfered with artistic expression — obliging the patriotic author to disguise his

bold thought in allegory or limit it to science, and even the musical composer to adapt his soul-stirring air to an obsolete fable or an ancient tradition — might not quench the enterprise, but inevitably limited the scope, of genius. In the ordinary vocations of industry, — trade, mechanics, and the professions, — surveillance constantly kept action, and even thought, in a strict routine inimical to all political influence and public spirit. Within the boundaries of the petty despotic governments which substituted an iron rule for the liberal policy of the first Napoleon, every human occupation was so hampered and restricted, that the only safety of citizens was to be found in abstinence from experiment, self-assertion, and free action. Hence, where a country is oppressed, and human development checked and perverted by despotism, there is no resource for baffled energy, no nursery for latent heroism, like the life of a sailor. What men did it rear for Holland in her darkest hour, for England and America in those eras which preceded the struggle for liberty! While thousands of Garibaldi's countrymen, not less patriotic and brave at heart, were toiling with sullen patience, or wasting their energies in amusements under the shadow of Austrian tyranny or Papal superstition, he was navigating his vessel with a cheerful heart, visiting different parts of the world, battling with the elements, growing skilful and confident as a leader of others, observing life on a broad scale, and exercising vigorously the hardier faculties of body and mind. The vigilance, self-possession, and habit of command thus practised, formed no inadequate discipline for the future soldier. Nor was this experience less valuable as an incentive to patriotic faith; for, in the actual circumstances of his country, and the social education available in his native city, Garibaldi was far less likely to attain to a comprehensive and earnest love of Italy than when traversing the sea under her flag. In common with all Italians, he would have cherished strong local attachments; but the national sentiment which eventually inspired him was cherished by absence from home, and by acquaintance with other portions of his country.

Nice was as unfavorable to Italian modes of thought and feeling as Turin proved in the case of Alfieri. As in the

latter city, in the tragic poet's youth, the language and associations were French. Fortunately, Garibaldi was urged by his brother's letters to study Italian authors; he learned early to love their language; and he became interested in history, so that when he visited Rome, on his second voyage, he had some thoughts of the past to hallow the Eternal City to his imagination, and some aspirations for the future to make him regard it as the central point of that nationality of feeling and of action which, as he came to know lands less favored by nature, and to appreciate the civic state of his own, became the absorbing object of his desires. With his first embarkation as a sailor-boy, the patriotic songs of his comrades made him conscious of that pride of country which reflection soon developed from a mere instinct to a great practical conviction. Adventure was his element. In his childhood books could not win him from sport, and the appeal to selfish motives, which entered so largely into school discipline, was revolting to his generous nature. With a few urchins of like temperament, he attempted an escapade, and the young truants set sail in a boat, and reached Monaco before they were overtaken.

Garibaldi, for his station in life, was remarkably favored in his parents, — having been early trained for the sea by his father, who was an honest and skilful mariner, and deriving from his mother an affectionate, trustful, and benignant disposition. To her he is wont fondly to ascribe his fidelity and his patriotism. His long separations from her he keenly regretted. As with all brave men, the filial sentiment was strong in his nature, and no tribute to his own worth ever touched him so deeply as the universal and spontaneous tribute, on the part of his countrymen, and during his own exile, at the funeral of his mother.

The most vivid and memorable reminiscence of Garibaldi was his first voyage. To him it was an auspicious day when he was permitted to enter upon the career of a sailor. He was fortunate in his commander — Angelo Pesante, an accomplished navigator — and in his messmates, frank and dauntless natives of San Remo. Cooper has described with nautical skill some of the Mediterranean craft, — built for speed, with slender masts, high bulwarks, and the image of Saint or Virgin

at the prow, — and has indicated some of the remarkable qualities of the class of men who navigate that memorable sea. We can scarcely imagine a better school for an Italian destined to fight for his country; and, during our hero's early life, it was the means and the motive of no common measure of discipline and enterprise. At one time we find him on a voyage to the Black Sea; again, bound to Mahon or Gibraltar; and again, in a frigate built for the Bey, on his way to Tunis; now rescuing a friend from the waves at Marseilles, then sick unto death at Constantinople; passing through the different grades of his profession, and very soon distinguished as Captain of "Nostra Signora della Grazia"; and on several occasions, when, from illness or want of opportunity, deprived of his legitimate occupation, cheerfully gaining subsistence by teaching mathematics, or engaged in mercantile speculation; — ever equal to the exigency, patient under privation, and hopeful in circumstances of grave discouragement.

During these years of toil and of vicissitude, his patriotic aspirations were never quelled. Under the stars, upon the lonely sea, in foreign ports, and at home, the regeneration of his country was the theme of his meditation. He knew that, from the hour when Bonaparte's star waned, there had existed a secret league, whose ramifications extended throughout Italy, and included exiles in every part of the globe, the solemn purpose of which was to assert and maintain Italian nationality and freedom. It was long his most earnest desire to be associated with these patriots; but his wandering life, and the extreme caution observed, postponed the fulfilment of this inclination, until, on a voyage to Russia, he encountered a member of the fraternity, won his confidence, shared his enthusiasm, and thenceforth became identified in purpose and action, as he had ever been in feeling, with the noble band who lived and labored chiefly to keep alive in the hearts of their oppressed countrymen devotion to this great end. With the history of the organization, its abortive experiments, its unwavering zeal, its earnest propagandism, its silent victories, and the manner and method whereby its principles kept hope and faith alive, through years of espionage, persecution, and sacrifice, the world has become familiar through current

literature and by intercourse with Italian exiles. Pellico and Ruffini, Mariotti and Manin, D'Azeglio and Foresti, by their writings and their conversation, have caused the romance and the reality of this most interesting and impressive chapter of modern history to come home to the intelligence and sympathy of the popular mind in England and America. Recent events have given to these annals, and to their examples of self-devotion and of martyrdom, new pathos and power.

The cause of Italy never enrolled a more efficient helper than Giuseppe Garibaldi. She already boasted eloquent thinkers, illustrious victims, gifted exiles, who pleaded, not in vain, before the civilized world and to the heart of universal humanity; but she chiefly needed a recognized military champion, a native soldier with the endowments and experience which should win unanimous confidence when the hour of action should come; and Providence was training such a one upon the sea. The navigator became a patriot, and the patriot an exile, only to gather strength and skill, fame and resources, for the impending crisis. The tyranny that proscribed him and sent him disguised out of the gate of Genoa, with a price upon his head, was but the process by which he was dedicated thenceforth to a soldier's life in his country's cause.

For thirty years past Italian political refugees have sought asylums in various parts of the world, — sometimes to sacrifice themselves with brave but fanatical enthusiasm, like Ceracchi and Orsini; sometimes to live in patient and kindly toil; sometimes, through scholarship and literary talent, gaining not only a livelihood, but fame, in distant lands, and through the medium of foreign tongues, as in the case of Foscolo and Gallenga. Many of these proscribed and banished natives of Southern Europe have won no ordinary respect by the dignity and gentleness with which they have demonstrated Milton's sentiment, —

"They also serve who only stand and wait";

but the man of action requires a different discipline, — to him adventure is what endurance is to more passive natures. The scholar can fall back upon the resources of literature, the thinker can lose the memory of personal griefs in abstract ideas; but executive scope is essential to minds accustomed

to practical activity. When compromised by his political opinions at home, Garibaldi had still the resource of his profession; and we find him accordingly embarking at Tunis in a Nantes brig for Rio Janeiro, little dreaming that circumstances would there afford the precise opportunities he required for initiation into the career of a patriot soldier. Upon the public square of Rio he encountered a countryman, Rossetti, like himself devoted to Italy. The two became friends, and attempted together a commercial experiment, which so signally failed, that the future warrior came to the sage conclusion that he "was not born for commerce." At this crisis another Italian arrived at Rio Janeiro, Zambeccari, sent thither as a prisoner from the Rio Grande. From him Garibaldi and Rossetti learned that the inhabitants of that province had risen to assert their independence. The cause was sacred in their eyes, the occasion providential to their hearts; and they lost no time in communicating with the friends of the revolutionists as volunteers in the service. Furnished with the requisite papers and a small cruiser, they set sail with a resolute band. Garibaldi raised the flag of the Republic of the Rio Grande, and named his vessel the "Mazzini," — thus going forth to fight the battles of freedom with the sanction of patriotic hopes, baffled, but indomitable. Now commenced a series of hardships, adventures, and exploits, which alone would furnish material for a hero's biography; and yet they constitute but a single chapter of Garibaldi's history, and derive their chief interest from the fact that in them he gained the practice, and won the name, which subsequently wrought such prosperous issues for his native land. No part of the world or state of national affairs can be imagined better fitted to discipline and mature the powers, mental, physical, and moral, of Italy's future champion, than then and there enlisted his prowess.

It is difficult to understand the political vicissitudes of South America, so rapid has been the transition of power, so constant the intestine commotions. Absolutism and popular government, dictatorships and republican authority, have succeeded each other in so capricious a manner, that, for many years, civil war seemed the normal condition of those states. At the period of Garibaldi's expedition, whatever were the prospects

of the country, it afforded a most desirable field for the soldier bent upon professional honor and devoted to a good cause. An unusual number of Italians were among the inhabitants. Most of them being political exiles, their sympathies were enlisted, in every struggle, on the liberal side. Until the arrival of Garibaldi, however, they enjoyed no military *prestige*, but were regarded almost with contempt by other foreign corps, especially by the French; and yet among them were men of tested courage and skill, and patriots who had come thither because of brave resistance to oppression. To stimulate the latent prowess of his exiled countrymen,—to organize and train a band whose reputation and practised skill would render them eminently available in the future service of their country,—was the bold and wise project that took possession of Garibaldi's mind. Among his little troop, on the first cruise in behalf of the republicans of Rio Grande, were several brave and loyal Italians. Gradually, by that inevitable magnetism by which disinterested valor draws kindred spirits to itself, the scattered compatriots rallied around him and his comrades. Ere many months the promptitude, the adroit tactics, and the indomitable courage of this legion had made it a high and honorable name throughout South America; and enthusiastic foresight read in the deeds and the discipline of these volunteers, in a distant quarter of the globe, the presage and the pledge of Italy's regeneration. One after another of the brave exiles fell in battle, or perished from the exposures and diseases incident to the climate and the campaigns; and the saddest episodes in Garibaldi's career in South America were the successive deaths of his brave and endeared companions in arms. He mourned them with the tenderness of a true hero, and did justice to their memories with the eloquence of ardent friendship. His earliest conflict was signalized by one of these bereavements, which threw a gloom over his chivalric enterprise. On the same occasion he received a wound in the neck, which rendered him insensible for an hour. He narrowly escaped shipwreck. He found it an extremely difficult task to restrain his men, and induce them to respect persons and property. Obliged to land, he was long kept under surveillance, and, after a well-planned flight, was captured and

treated with the basest cruelty. But in this, as in many other instances in his adventurous life, he found in the sympathy of woman a safeguard and a solace; for through the intervention of a distinguished lady his situation was ameliorated and his liberation finally obtained, and he returned in a Genoese brig to Montevideo. Notwithstanding this unpropitious commencement, Garibaldi was discouraged neither in his endeavors to assist the liberals of Rio Grande, nor in his cherished purpose to restore, in a limited degree at least, the military character of his nation. It is not requisite to follow the details of his subsequent operations. These are interesting chiefly as portions of that initiative discipline by which he became the accomplished soldier and recognized hero in his country's gallant struggle for freedom.

Never, in modern times, was a military adventurer more variously tried and tempered than was Garibaldi in South America. All the exigencies of war became familiar to him. Every kind of hazard exercised his patient vigilance. Not a faculty of mind or body was there which was not called into exercise. To overcome obstacles, anticipate contingencies, vanquish enemies, conciliate friends, sustain privation, quell turbulence, inspire confidence, — such were his hourly tasks for years. He traversed, with half-famished comrades, the intricate and interminable forests between the Amazon and the La Plata; he pitched his camp in the vast pastoral solitudes of the South American plains, transported launches from the coast to the lakes of the interior, fought the partisans of Absolutism on land and water, — now as the leader of a section of the Republican army, and now in a lonely skirmish in the woods, or a fierce encounter in a village street, or, more frequently, in a desperate conflict on a lagoon or in the open sea. To-day he captures a prize on the water, to-morrow suffers hunger in the wilderness; at this place weeps for a fallen comrade, and at that burns his vessels to save them from the enemy. One moment he is involved in the smoke of battle, and another calmly lost in admiration of the picturesque grandeur or luxuriant beauty of the scene amid which he tracks the foe, or bivouacs at twilight. Swamped by the breakers at one time, he was nearly drowned in at-

tempting to save a companion's life; half famished on the march at another, his whole moral energy was called into requisition to support the fainting hearts, or stem the mutinous temper, of a moiety of his followers. Surprised by the enemy, he makes a retreat or a defence that foils their purpose. As a victor, he wearies himself to exhaustion in restraining the wanton soldiers, befriending the weak, checking bloodshed, and advocating forbearance. Sometimes he is cheered and charmed by the society of the Republican families, by whom he is treated with distinguished affection; at other times his life is isolated and stoical. One week finds him the confident "monarch of the peopled deck," and another a starving fugitive. A brilliant exploit elates him, only to be followed by an unexpected disaster. The very nature of the country and of the warfare gave scope to all kinds of strategy and prowess. Thus guerillas and pitched battles, ambush and naval combat, hand to hand and cannonade warfare, alternate, giving every species of experience to the military aspirant. Such was the programme of Garibaldi's soldier-life before he took up arms for Italy. Despite of its trials, it was congenial. He never felt more content than when traversing the fertile valleys or umbrageous defiles of South America, mounted on a fine horse, armed with sabre and carbine, at the head of a few brave and devoted followers, — conscious of being engaged in a noble cause, with the excitement of danger, the prospect of gallant achievements, and the magnificent scenes of nature to charm and to inspire. He thus realized our ideal of chivalric times, and our dreams of ancient heroism.

His own simple language, as to his motives and feelings at this period, best illustrates his spirit. When he beheld, with a soldier's eyes, the Republican army — the compact and agile spearmen, the unequalled cavalry — in proud array, with the colossal pines and vast pampas of the tropics for a background and environment, "I thought," he said, "of Italy, and longed to lead Italians." "Indignant," he wrote, "at the sight of such arrogant and inhuman oppression as that presented in Buenos Ayres and the Argentine Republic, I was impelled to present myself in opposition to the Dictator, and

adopt the cause of the injured as my own." And when he became aware that from five to seven hundred Italians, capable of bearing arms, and among them men of acknowledged military skill and illustrious patriotism, could be mustered at Montevideo, he modestly remarked: "I conceived the idea of performing an important service to my country, while devoting myself to that in which I was residing." It is these views and feelings, ever dominant in Garibaldi's mind and heart while he was ostensibly a soldier of fortune, which separate him from the class of military adventurers with which superficial observers have sometimes associated his name, and stamp his character, not only with heroic, but with patriotic consistency.

The death of his compatriots by flood and field made Garibaldi's life solitary. With all his fertility of resource and self-dependence, he required sympathy not less than scope; and, with the courage of an adventurous exile, he had the heart of a man. Accordingly the sadness which followed his personal bereavements in South America induced grave reflections upon his isolated condition; and although, when he embarked upon a hazardous foreign service, he had resolved to burden himself with no domestic ties, and to refrain from involving less vigorous natures in his precarious fortunes, — his feelings, when deprived of the solace and the stimulus of friendship, underwent a strong reaction, and he determined, should an auspicious opportunity occur, to secure a partner in his "toils, his feelings, and his fame." He had learned to appreciate the worth of woman in the most painful emergencies of life. He had associated with the wives and sisters of his Republican allies, and recognized in them a love of country, a spirit of sacrifice, and a cheerful courage, which excited his admiration. His marriage is one of the most romantic episodes of his career. While quartered in a town in the province of Laguna, having accompanied the army under General Canabarro, to co-operate with his flotilla, he beheld one day, at a window, a woman of so attractive a mien, and with such nobleness and vivacity of expression, that his heart was irresistibly attracted. He sought an introduction; and acquaintance proved that the language of nature had not misled his instinctive recognition. The chieftain's wife became identified

with his exploits, his misfortunes, and his name. She was formed and endowed for a hero's bride. Full of spirit and energy, delighting in adventure, buoyant under hardship, a devotee of freedom, and an admirer of valor, she partook of her husband's sentiments, and was the companion of his sacrifices and his aspirations. She was a rare and beautiful union, such as we read of in knightly annals, and enjoy in the creations of the poet, but seldom behold in actual life. A fearless equestrian, Annita rode beside Garibaldi, — was a constant spectator, if not a partaker of the perils of his battles, encouraging the men by her presence; sometimes furnishing them with ammunition, at others, like the maid of Saragossa, applying the torch to the guns; now tending the wounded, and now traversing the lonely forest, having escaped from captivity, swimming her horse over torrents, by the fitful glare of a tempest, or enduring with a smile the privations, anxieties, and hardships of a forced march or an unsheltered bivouac. Yet she was a gentle Amazon, — equally content in domestic privacy, carrying her starving infant in a handkerchief suspended to her neck, through canebrakes and across plains, urging her panting steed to the goal where food and shelter would at last assuage the bitter anguish of maternal solicitude. Her name and her fate, her character and her presence, will live in history, as the meet accompaniment of the career of him whose heroic nature found in her its reflection and counterpart.

The poverty of Garibaldi in the midst of these adventures is the best evidence of his unselfish honor. In the intervals of service he was obliged to resort to other than professional means of livelihood, being too independent to incur obligation. At one period he engaged in the wearisome business of cattle-hunting, peculiar to the wild levels of South America; but although he was the master of an enormous drove, only a small part of the beasts reached Montevideo, and those in so miserable a condition, that they were sold for their hides, and yielded but a few hundred dollars. In the same city he also sought employment as a teacher of mathematics. But all his reverses were forgotten in the established reputation of the Italian legion, — in the duties of the soldier, and the scenes of excitement and of interest incident to his campaigns.

The time at length arrived when the desire of the hero's heart was to be gratified. The news of the revolution in Italy reached Montevideo; and her brave sons prepared to join their compatriots at home. Garibaldi's arrival was saddened by the death of the nearest surviving friend of his long exile, Colonel Anzani, who expired, after a long illness, just as they came in sight of Nice. No sooner had the son and neighbor exchanged heartfelt greetings on his native soil, than he hastened to Lombardy.

After the fatal battle at Novara, which occurred within a few days of Garibaldi's arrival, and before any opportunity had been allowed his recruits to act, declining to lay down his arms, he was not included in the armistice, and, with his followers, was pursued by the Austrians. But this apparent discomfiture, at the outset of his career as a patriot-soldier, was not wholly inauspicious; for, as he fled before that victorious host, ever and anon he turned upon his pursuers, rallied his fugitive comrades, and startled the confident enemy by a gallant surprise, more than once completely routing a troop, and, by frequent brilliant skirmishes, making it apparent to friend and foe, that a dexterous and invincible warrior had enlisted heart and hand in the Italian cause. Thus signalizing his retreat, he threw the light of hope into his country's heart and the challenge of defiance into the Austrian camp. The Minister of War at Rome ordered his commanding general to drive Garibaldi and his band from the Papal States into the sea; but they adroitly evaded pursuit, and, through infinite perils, reached the Po, and finally sought refuge in Switzerland, leaving behind them a renown which success seldom insures. In that desperate crisis of his country's fortunes, the name so fondly remembered at Rio Grande, Corrientes, and Montevideo had suddenly become a watchword of expectancy and of faith.

The hopes of the nation now centred at Rome; for the craven Pope had fled in the disguise of a lackey from the indignant people whose confidence he had so weakly betrayed; the patriotic soldiers and statesmen of Italy had flocked to the Eternal City; and her valor and wisdom, her sacrifices and aspirations, were then and there nobly represented. Garibaldi was

elected to the General Assembly convened at Rome, as member from Macerata, and took his seat on the 9th of February, 1849. The principles announced by the Republicans, the course pursued by the Provisional Government, and the conduct of the people during this memorable era, are now matters of history; they were announced to the world through the press in every free country; they were witnessed by many intelligent foreigners; they have been minutely recorded by authentic annalists, and illustrated through the popular press of London and in the lecture-rooms of America; and it is conceded by impartial observers, that no chapter in modern political history reflects more credit on the civic wisdom and patriotic self-devotion of a people, than that enacted at Rome during that grand moral and political ordeal.

But a new and unexpected exigency occurred. From organization within the patriots were called upon to provide against enemies without. By one of the basest anomalies the army of a so-called Republic was sent to crush freedom in long-suffering and newly-enfranchised Rome, and that venerable city was destined, for the first time since the days of the Emperor Charles and the Reformation, to undergo a siege. With an alacrity and a unanimity most inspiring, preparations for defence were instantly commenced; and a military organization, in which citizens as well as soldiers, foreigners as well as natives, young and old, rich and poor, the educated and the ignorant, peer and peasant, took an equally enthusiastic part, was soon effected.

There are incidents of personal heroism, ministrations of charity, acts of patriotic daring, and examples of brave endurance, in the details of the last siege of Rome, which find no parallel except in classic annals, in the history of the Dutch Republic, and in some of the episodes of the American Revolution. But our present interest is with the part taken by Garibaldi. Already his name had become the rallying-cry of the most intrepid. Hundreds were ready to sacrifice themselves at his bidding. The fame of his exploits, at home and abroad, the commanding grace of his person, the vigorous determination and ardent purpose visible in his every movement and glance, his tact as a leader, his fascinating qualities as a man, his

pure fame as a patriot, — all combined to win to his standard the bravest and most aspiring. He saw at once the peculiar advantages he enjoyed, and the special duty he could best fulfil. While systematic defensive arrangements were superintended by other chiefs, — while to fortify this bastion, and to counteract that manœuvre, were the appropriate tasks of his official associates, — Garibaldi watched his opportunity, made fierce charges without the walls, and again and again struck confusion and terror into the ranks of the enemy. He chased the French from the gate of San Pancrazio, by attacking them in flank, and taking three hundred prisoners, — a *coup de main* which, it was well said, "consolidated the Republic." He drove the enemy twelve miles from Rome, defended the Neapolitan army at Palestrina and Velletri, and, by his celerity, judgment, and impetuous valor, made the long siege dramatic with feats of chivalry, — kindling an enthusiasm, sustaining a hope, and inspiring an awe, which identified him with the most glorious military chieftains of his race.

But all these gallant deeds were for the time unavailing. The gardens and the galleries, the churches and the domestic sanctuaries of Rome, were shattered and desolate; blood had been poured out like water; the hospitals were filled with the wounded and dying; the people were exhausted with watching and fighting; and all access to the surrounding country and all ingress of succor from abroad were cut off by the French army. The only alternative was to capitulate; but, as usual, Garibaldi resolved, at every risk, to except himself from a compromise, the avoidance of which by the Republic was impossible. He once more rallied his men; and, in the costume which so became his figure, mounting his horse, he gave them free permission to follow or remain. His courageous wife would not listen to his entreaties that she would repose in security behind; it was her resolve to share her gallant husband's fate, and she appeared on horseback at his side. Often as admiring eyes had followed Garibaldi, when he led his band to victory or death, perhaps his aspect never made such a vivid impression upon the people with whom he had suffered, and for whom he had fought, as on this occasion. Deep sadness at the fall of Rome weighed on every heart; but even

this feeling, for the hour, was lost in sympathy with the emotions and solicitude for the fate of their endeared and heroic champion. He was about to ride forth from the scene of his brave achievements and his fondest hopes, — now blighted by treacherous interference, — into the midst of enemies. He was to quit Rome as poor as he entered it, except in that wealth of love and honor which glowed in the tearful eyes and breathed in the tremulous voices of the people who greeted him as the sad procession mustered to depart. Garibaldi addressed them as only a hero could at such a crisis. He spoke words of high resolve and dauntless faith ;* and passed out of the gate, followed by nearly all his troop, — baffled, but not subdued, ready to encounter the complex hazards of retreat, but not the disgrace of surrender.

The retreat of Garibaldi, after the French occupied Rome, is the most impressive phase of his Italian campaigns. His escape was miraculous; his preservation, under existing and subsequent circumstances, one of those facts in the life of a public man which the most sceptical cannot but designate as providential.

The route lay through Forli and Cantalupo to Terni, where the beautiful cascade leaps over its umbrageous crags; thence, inclining to the left, they reached Orvieto, by way of Todi and Capretto. Here they narrowly escaped the French troops, and, hastening to the Tuscan frontier, passed Arezzo, the birthplace of Petrarch, whose memorable theory of life-long loyal love, born of instant recognition, has rarely found, in our degenerate days, such gracious evidence as the hero and his bride, undivided in peril and sorrow, as they rode pensively across the adjacent mountain, followed by their devoted adherents. On, amid many hardships and frequent alarms, they sped to Cisterna; thence through Borgo, Santangelo, and Montefeltro, to San Marino, which they reached, worn and weary, at the close of July.

---

* "Soldiers, what I have to offer is fatigue, danger, struggling, and death, — the chill of the cold night, the open air, the burning sun, — no lodgings, no munitions, no provisions; but forced marches, dangerous watch-posts, and continual struggling with bayonets against batteries. Let those who love freedom and their country better than their life follow me!"

This isolated little town, on the summit of a mountain, has long boasted the exceptional title of Republic. It has been the refuge of political refugees from the neighboring states. Its privileges were respected by the first Napoleon. Garibaldi's experience there, however, derogates not a little from the prestige it has enjoyed as an asylum, and a self-governed, however diminutive, realm. Invited to seek the refuge he so greatly needed within its walls, — his men worn and wasted by rapid flight, exposure, and privation, and his brave and devoted wife about to become a mother, — no sooner were they safely harbored in San Marino, than Garibaldi learned that the Papal troops were to be admitted. Whether the so-called Republicans were too weak to resist, or too ungenerous to oppose this measure, does not appear.

There was no alternative but to renew their flight. Arrived at Cesenatico, with a much reduced force, Garibaldi succeeded in capturing thirteen fishing-boats, in which they embarked, hoping to reach Venice ; but they were so hotly pursued by the Austrians that it was impossible to proceed, and they hastened to regain the shore, where the enemy pursued their advantage, dispersed the remnant of the band, and rapidly followed the brave partisan chief in his retreat to the mountains, — a price having been set upon his head. A small number of attached followers still accompanied him ; and, when they came to the precipitous and rugged passes, they alternately bore the heroic wife on a litter. Even this method of advance soon became impracticable. Annita, worn out with fatigue and illness, finally sank exhausted, and was borne in her husband's arms through lonely defiles, over rocks and crags, their toilsome steps relentlessly tracked by the eager soldiers. At length, finding that he carried an insensible burden, Garibaldi asked shelter in a herdsman's cabin, and entering, unclasped the cold hands from his neck and laid his wife upon a straw pallet under that wretched roof. She opened her eyes, smiled, and expired. Stunned by this sudden calamity he would have abandoned himself to his fate, but his faithful companions reminded him of his children and his country. One of these associates was Origoni, who had been his lieutenant at sea in South America, and was endeared

to him by mutual perils and the closest sympathy. The body was deposited in a hastily dug grave, for the Austrians were heard approaching; they even insulted the last refuge of their noble victim, and killed the poor shepherd who had allowed her to die in his miserable hut. Garibaldi wandered disconsolate among the Apennines for a month, and then appeared in Genoa with his two sons. The Sardinian government caused him to be arrested, but he was soon set at liberty and embarked for New York.

Sad memories accompanied the champion of Italy to the New World. A widowed husband, a baffled patriot, an exile from the land for which he had so long toiled and suffered; his limbs racked with chronic pains incident to prolonged exposure; his dearest comrades banished or executed, — he seemed to have survived all that makes life dear, except the distant prospect of giving that life to his country. Yet his escape had been marvellous, and he must have felt that he was preserved for a great end. His compatriots in New York, among whom were several who had proved their attachment to the cause he had so much at heart, and with them Avezzana and Foresti, gave him a fraternal welcome. A home and friends awaited him in a land of strangers; but, while he reciprocated earnestly the affection thus manifested, he firmly maintained that spirit of independence so characteristic of his nature. No sooner was his health partially restored than he engaged in regular and lucrative work, assisting in a manufactory established by one of his countrymen; and when his usual vigor returned, undertook the command of a merchant-vessel.

It was during this period of his exile that we first saw Garibaldi, — when attending a meeting at the apartments of Felice Foresti, in New York, held for the purpose of disposing of a fund which had been contributed in aid of the Italian cause, before the unfortunate termination of the Revolution of 1848. Most of those present were members of the committee through whose exertions the money had been collected; and not a few were illustrious on account of their sufferings or labors in behalf of Italy. Several projects were discussed, it being at once determined to use the fund either to aid the destitute or

to promote, indirectly at least, the welfare of those for whose benefit it was subscribed. The silence and unpretending manner of one of the company, seated in a corner of the room, attracted our attention. He was of medium height, with a frank and benign countenance, and yet a singular look of decision, — one of those faces which combine modesty and candor with invincible will, — the former qualities being indicated by an ingenuous expression of the mouth, and an unassuming air, and the latter by the compact brow and unwavering, concentrated glance. The breadth of the shoulders and depth of the chest, with a certain firm and commanding position of the head, gave the impression of power and authority; while the blandness, openness, and kindness of manner instantly won sympathy. As compared with the majority of Italians, we remarked in this man's bearing and aspect a grand simplicity and directness. He awoke confidence instantly. No one, with an insight of character as revealed by physiognomy, could fail to see in him the presence of one of Nature's noblemen. That his habits were thoroughly manly, his vocation one that had tasked the physical energies, his convictions individual and tenacious, his tone of feeling elevated, his spirit indomitable, his heart earnest, his purpose strong, and his nature disinterested, were impressions that gained upon the observer as by a kind of magnetic influence.

This estimate was confirmed when the moment came for him to utter his views, they were given with so little pretence and yet with so much weight and power of conviction. Without the superficial vivacity and the exaggerated manner so common to the Italian temperament, there yet was revealed a latent force and feeling all the more impressive from the contrast it afforded to the voluble and dramatic utterance of his countrymen. His calm manner, comparatively slow movement, and almost Saxon hair and beard, might have seemed characteristic of a northern rather than a southern European; yet his eye, voice, and air were essentially Italian. His nationality, however, was still more evident in the sudden, though subdued, emotion apparent in his language and expression, when speaking of or listening to what was said about his country. The passive man was then visibly stirred; the

modest man became demonstrative; the silent man eloquent. His complexion was bronzed by exposure to the elements; his gait rather that of a sailor than of a soldier; but through, within, and above all these traits was distinctly visible the hero. We were reminded of some masterly portraits of mediæval celebrities which haunted our memory, almost alive with courage, adventure, and loyalty, — whose effigies hint a stern romance and a chivalric history. When we heard the stranger's name, Garibaldi ceased to be the representative of a baffled enterprise; for the cause embodied in his person assumed victorious features. "I never despaired of Italy; he who despairs is a coward." These few words interpret his patience, illustrate his faith, comprise his creed.

When the liberal policy of Cavour and the civic reforms of the present king became ascendant in Piedmont, Garibaldi returned to his native province, and settled, as an agriculturist, upon a little island which he purchased, near the Sardinian coast, called Caprera. Here, too, Origoni was his companion. It is probable that during this peaceful interlude the political opinions of Garibaldi underwent that modification which experience so often induces in the convictions of a wise and honest patriot. We have seen how ardently, in youth, he enlisted as a member of the secret association known as "Young Italy," of which Mazzini was the chief expositor. Time, observation, and insight had now satisfied him that limited conspiracies brought no satisfactory result; that the form of government was not so essential as its spirit, and that ancient prejudices and local obstacles retarded that fusion of the separate Italian states which he believed must precede union of action and efficiency in war. He saw the absolute necessity of a recognized leader and a constitutional government. He had witnessed the ameliorated condition of affairs under Victor Emmanuel's benign rule, the growing freedom of thought and speech, the increasing military and enlarged economical resources of Sardinia; and he thus became convinced that, under that advanced administration and its national flag, the cause of his country would most surely and safely prosper.

The first public intimation of these views which Garibaldi (who had so long passed his time apparently contented in do-

mestic tranquillity and peaceful occupations) afforded, was his signature affixed to the famous subscription for the purchase of cannon for the fortress of Alessandria. These gifts, it will be remembered, were intended to represent the sympathy of different states and nations with the initiative course of Sardinia as the nucleus of Italian nationality. The first name subscribed was that of the Venetian patriot, Manin. Almost simultaneously with this token of faith in Sardinian reform and leadership, Garibaldi was taken frankly into the counsels of Victor Emmanuel and Count Cavour. A great crisis was now approaching, and the talent and character, the soldier's fame and the dauntless patriotism, of the retired partisan chief, were too well appreciated by both the monarch and the minister not to be called into honorable recognition when the national cause was to be sustained by arms. Accordingly war with Austria was no sooner inevitable, than Garibaldi was not only offered a command, but precisely such a command as his individual ability and reputation made effective. He was authorized to raise a troop to be called the "Cacciatori delle Alpi," to act under general orders, but independently, and to carry on a guerilla warfare in conjunction with the more comprehensive movements of the army. A large degree of personal responsibility was thus given to the chief; and so opposed was the conservative Marmora, then Minister of War, to the whole arrangement, which he considered as not justified by military etiquette and precedent, that he endeavored, by every means, to frustrate the scheme. But those in authority knew their man, and were so fully persuaded that his was an exceptional case, and that, if unhampered, he could most effectually promote the great object in view, that they sustained the appointment. The result proved their foresight. Thousands of citizens, both titled and lowly-born, artists and proprietors, — all the valiant element in a people which such an exigency calls into active service, and such a leader wins to his standard, — assembled spontaneously and enthusiastically. It may be safely asserted that no such a corps has illustrated Italian prowess since the most glorious military achievement of the Middle Age. Their uniform was coarse, and their entire equipment adapted to hardy and per-

ilous service. During the crowded weeks of that brilliant campaign, they made no requisition upon the Sardinian treasury, and asked nothing of the Minister of War. The people of the towns through which they passed, or where their exploits were witnessed, supplied their wants with alacrity; this little city clothed a regiment; that furnished every man with shirts and shoes; another raised a sum of money; while everywhere the hospitality was liberal. The tie between the leader and his comrades was also peculiar. On the one hand, the discipline was most rigorous, and, on the other, the care was paternal. These four or five thousand hunters of the Alps were dispersed at a word, and rallied, as it were, by magic. Their devotion to Garibaldi was absolute; for it was founded not only upon confidence in his bravery and skill, but on the conviction that his single motive was patriotism. He called them "sons," and many are the touching incidents which prove how their hearts leaned to him in death, as they thrilled with his in conflict.

Until the French artillery had crossed the mountains, Garibaldi and his eager followers lingered inactive at Casale; but when the word of advance was given to the army, the king granted to their eagerness the privilege of first entering Lombardy. It was, however, an adventure of no ordinary peril; for five thousand men were soon within the reach of three times that number. Only a hero and a strategist of the first order could have been reasonably intrusted with the experiment. Garibaldi marched immediately to a small town, situated in the midst of hills, called Varese. This position, as the Austrians had possession of the shore along Lago Maggiore, isolated him from Piedmont; and he was obliged to communicate with the king through smugglers. His opponents, under the able guidance of General Urban, were not less than seventeen thousand strong. This formidable body of troops advanced upon Varese. Anticipating the movement, Garibaldi had barricaded the town. Before the enemy could overcome this temporary obstacle, Garibaldi sallied forth in the night, attacked them in flank, and sent them in full retreat at the point of the bayonet. Following up this gallant achievement with a brave skirmish on the heights of San Fermo,

he reached Como; and, between that city, Varese, and Laveno, for several days kept up a series of bewildering marches and countermarches, every now and then having a fierce encounter, and thus perpetually harassing the enemy, and sometimes filling them with dismay at the celerity of his movements and the audacity of his attacks. A few days later we find him capturing two Austrian steamers on Lake Como, hastening up the lake to Lecco, — the whole region in the rear being void of enemies, — and arriving at Bergamo, to find that the Austrians have spiked the cannon and fled in terror. Another detachment from Brescia he puts to flight, and then goes on, through the scorching heat and by inimical and fortified places, to that ancient city, and occupies it unscathed, the enemy not having imagined an approach in that direction. Thence he starts on a recruiting expedition to the adjacent province of Idro, and returns with some hundreds added to his little army, — the country responding with enthusiasm to his call. In his absence, indeed, elated by success, the volunteers rashly attacked a superior force of the enemy, and were repulsed. He visits Milan, to report and receive commands, and comes back to his men with the warm encomiums of the king, and orders and badges of distinction to distribute among the gallant band. We then hear of "Garibaldi's free company working their way on the western bank of Lake Garda, with the evident intention of threatening the communication of the Austrian army in Italy through the valley of the Adige." Now he repulses them at Bonino, and now he pursues them even to the Stelvio pass. Meantime great battles are fought by the main armies, and Magenta and Solferino become historical watchwords; but all through that summer's conflict, which drove the Austrians from Lombardy, the people's hearts beat for Garibaldi and his "sons." He led the republican soldiers of Italy. Whatever questions of strategic merit or of national courage may have arisen between imperial leaders, — whatever diplomatic compromises may have made bloodshed apparently vain, — however balanced may be the comparative merit of this or that general of division or marshal of France, or regiment of Austria, — Garibaldi's achievements and example stand out from the record with all the clear emphasis of immaculate prowess and uncompromising patriotism.

During the succeeding months, political arrangements full of immediate and future political and social benefits to Italy followed the annexation of Lombardy and Tuscany to the Sardinian kingdom. The establishment of Protestant worship, the formation of a national army, the liberation of the press, legislative and educational reforms, have demonstrated both the urgent necessity and the popular fitness for constitutional progress and freedom. Amid the rejoicings incident to this national regeneration, the continued degradation of Rome, Venice, and Naples, yet writhing in the grasp of bigotry and despotism, has been the more painful from the entire contrast their sufferings exhibit to the prosperous liberty of Central Italy; and in the festive processions with which his enthusiastic people welcomed Victor Emmanuel to the new territory, the traditional banners of these unfortunate states, borne by their exiled representatives, as indicative of their claim to participate in the blessings of constitutional freedom and Italian nationality, were significantly draped in mourning. The new impulse given to public sentiment by these events, and the fresh vitality they inspired, were, however, no less emphatically manifest in the latent revolutionary symptoms of the less fortunate parts of the peninsula, than in the wise, bold, and earnest discussions of the Tuscan Assembly and the Sardinian Parliament; and when the popular will began to assert itself with fitful but authentic deeds in Sicily, the champion of Italian freedom again hastened to the rescue, and led her votaries.

The atrocities of the Bourbon reign in the Two Sicilies have long been the subject of indignant reprobation; and yet comparatively few of the cruel and arrogant expedients of the basest of modern despotisms have transpired. Sometimes an American visiting Naples has missed the familiar face of some pleasant acquaintance, or of a favorite attendant at his hotel, and, upon inquiry, has learned of a mysterious disappearance by means of government officials; suspicion of liberal opinions or an unguarded political criticism having consigned the unfortunate citizen to a dungeon, with no opportunity to communicate with his family, or even to make known his fate. Sometimes an earnest and humane Englishman, like Gladstone, has examined and reported, through the press of his country, cases

of persecution secretly and savagely practised against educated and patriotic men, under Neapolitan rule, the details of which seem incompatible with the possibilities of civilized society, and shock the least tender sensibilities, while they awaken universal sympathy and indignation. Such was the effect of the tale of horror which came to light upon the release of Poerio and his companions, two years ago.

More summary and less scrupulous has been the course pursued in the island of Sicily, whose patriot martyrs are less known. We have only to glance at the geography and circumstances of that beautiful and fertile island, to understand the wisdom of such an expedition as Garibaldi's. A range of mountains extends entirely across the island; their altitude varies from three to four thousand feet at the summits; and their ridges, all along the coast, project seaward, forming many inlets through which the torrents find their way to the sea. Thus alternate heights and broad valleys, with ravines and capes, diversify the face of the country, and preclude continuous and easy intercourse. With the exception of a single road that traverses the length of Sicily, most of the communication is carried on by mule-tracks and coasting craft. In the large cities, troops are garrisoned and a rigid surveillance maintained; while in the scattered and separate communities there is only a local police. Thus, although a common sentiment prevails, it is difficult to bring about concert of action,—the inhabitants of Palermo, Syracuse, Messina, and other populous towns, being watched and guarded by jealous emissaries of the government, and a permanent military occupation; while the people of the interior and along the coast, though less overlooked and without large bodies of royal troops, are so divided, both from the principal towns and from one another, that, to organize a successful insurrection, a popular leader, a simultaneous movement, and a well-understood system of tactics and union are indispensable. For want of these, countless local *emeutes* have resulted only in the sacrifice of the patriots and the infliction of new indignities and cruelties upon the defenceless and often betrayed people.

Another serious obstacle with which Sicily has had to contend, both as regards her prosperous industry and her civil

regeneration, has been her insular position, and the obsolete method of regulating her commerce and foreign intercourse. Tedious and absurd quarantines weary the patience of the most enthusiastic traveller, who desires to include the island in his European tour. There being no free press, little of what occurs there is known to the world at large, and comparatively few of the improvements which have so greatly ameliorated labor, enlightened the masses, and facilitated manufactures, education, and domestic economy, have found scope in Sicily. When, therefore, Garibaldi — having thoroughly acquainted himself with the state of public feeling, the wrongs of the past, and the wants of the hour — landed, with twelve hundred followers, at Marsala, he did precisely the best thing to secure the independence of the island. His name and character were familiar to the Sicilians. The faith in his disinterested patriotism and invincible courage was as strong there as everywhere in Italy. Hundreds accordingly flocked to his standard as soon as he landed. Accurate information, local and political, enabled him, without delay, to march toward the capital, encouraging the people as he went by taking possession of various important places, and by giving to the oppressed and eager inhabitants a person and a plan around which to rally. The country was ripe for the struggle; accumulated wrongs, numberless martyrs, exiles, and captives, pleaded for the expulsion of the cruel myrmidons of an ignorant tyrant; and the public opinion of the civilized world forbade interference in so holy a cause. Moreover, there was a recognized centre for national feeling and administration in Italy, — a constitutional ruler, whose courage and kindness had won the hearts of the nation, and in whose honored and endeared name Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna already enjoyed freedom and progress. Such an auspicious combination of circumstances pointed to this enterprise as not only just and chivalric, but seasonable. The coast, except at the chief ports, was without guards; and all that the Sicilians needed was a leader who could inspire absolute faith and enthusiasm. Garibaldi, the chief of the republican free corps of Italy, the hero of two national wars, the patriot soldier of the age, was pre-eminently and exclusively the man for the hour.

With his dexterity and impetuous courage, in that mountainous land, and in the heart of that ardent people, he could, had it been necessary, have postponed a decisive battle, and, by a series of masterly surprises, harassed and divided the enemy. But so well chosen was his time, and so judiciously used were his advantages, that within the incredibly brief period of a month after embarking he was in undisputed possession of her capital. His motives and method are best evinced by his proclamations.

To the Neapolitan army he proclaimed: —

"Foreign insolence reigns over Italian ground in consequence of Italian discord; but on the day that the sons of Samnites and Martia united with the brethren of Sicily, you shall join the Italians of the North. On that day our nation, of which you are the finest part, shall resume its place, as in former times, among the first nations of Europe. I, an Italian soldier, only aspire to see you drawn up side by side with these soldiers of Varese and San Martino, in order jointly to fight against the enemies of Sicily."

To the people of Naples he wrote: —

"It is time for you to imitate the magnanimous example of Sicily by rising against the most impious of tyrannies. To the perjured and bloodthirsty race that has so long tortured and trampled upon you, let the free government succeed, which eleven millions of Italians now enjoy, and substitute for the foul Bourbonic flag the glorious tricolor, — the happy symbol of national independence and unity, without which true and durable liberty is impossible. Your brethren of the North desire nothing more than to see you join the Italian family."

To the Sicilians he said: —

"I have brought you a body of brave men, who have hastened to respond to the heroic cry of Sicily. We, the remains of the battles of Lombardy, are with you. All we ask is the freedom of our land. United, the work will be easy and short. To arms, then! He who does not snatch up a weapon is a coward or a traitor to his country. Want of arms is no excuse. We shall get muskets, but for the present any weapon will do in the hands of a brave man. The municipalities shall provide for the children, women, and old men deprived of their support. To arms, all of you! Sicily shall once more teach the world how a country can be freed from its oppressors by the powerful will of a united people."

Conscious of almost universal sympathy in his plan for the relief of an outraged and long-suffering people and against a vile, bigoted, and unscrupulous government, Garibaldi could not openly claim the authority of the Sardinian king, — hampered as that liberal monarch is by his treaties with and obligations to Imperial France. Assuming, therefore, the entire responsibility, he yet used the well-known friendship, and even the name, of Victor Emmanuel, both to secure the means and to indicate the political destiny of his magnanimous enterprise. Procuring munitions of war at Talamone, on the Tuscan coast, and purchasing two steamers as substitutes for those originally selected, which proved unseaworthy, the impetuous but wary republican chief set sail, on the night of the 5th of May, for the island where so recently the most bloody vengeance had been wreaked by Neapolitan troops upon the poor inhabitants of revolted towns, while their gallant defenders were elsewhere carrying on a guerilla war against royal tyranny, or seeking refuge from a superior force of the enemy in the recesses of the mountains. On this, as on so many memorable occasions, Garibaldi's main dependence was on his faithful staff and his brave Cacciatori delle Alpi. These were to be the nucleus of the Sicilian patriots, to lead them on, to encourage, discipline, and concentrate their ardent but inexperienced zeal.

Boldly entering the harbor of Marsala, — already famous in history as the port filled up by the Emperor Charles, to impede the Turkish fleets, — he was partially shielded by an English ship of war which lay between the town and the king's squadron. The fire from the latter only expedited the disembarkation, with the loss of the two steamers, one of which, however, was sunk and abandoned by the patriots. In a few hours Garibaldi was on his march toward the capital, at the head of the insurgents, who welcomed him with transport. Their leaders were proved soldiers and well-known patriots. La Masa and Carini had been the heroes of Sicily in the Revolution of 1848, and able advocates of the Italian cause during their subsequent exile. Stocco had won fame as a Calabrian partisan. Carioli's name was illustrious, through his brother's prowess in Lombardy during the pre-

vious summer, where he fell in battle for his country; and now the bereaved mother had sent her surviving son to Garibaldi, with fifty thousand francs. Such men gave a prestige to the expedition by instantly combining the recognized patriots of Sicily with the heroic band who had so gallantly come to their rescue. Among his own immediate comrades were the redoubtable Hungarian, Colonel Turr, the Genoese hero, Lieutenant Bixio, his own brave child, — the son of that Spartan mother, — and a son of the illustrious Venetian patriot, Manin, who, as if inspired by his father's constant soul, captured the first gun from the royal forces by a *coup de main* worthy of a veteran. Through skirmishes, and with vigilant alacrity, the little army proceeded, gaining recruits at every step, until a decisive action, at Calatafimi, gave new confidence to the insurgents, and filled the royal troops with dismay; for the position which they were compelled to abandon commanded an extensive sweep of country, including the important towns of Trapani, Marsala, Castel Vetrano, and Sciacca. Moreover, it was an extremely difficult place to take by assault, and the bold and successful achievement could only have been effected by a sagacious hardihood which presaged future triumphs.

The most desirable military position near Palermo is Monreale, a place of commanding site, beautiful environs, and interesting architecture, within four miles of the capital. Anticipated in the possession of this picturesque and comparatively secure spot, Garibaldi determined to mislead the enemy as to his intentions; and therefore moved rapidly from place to place, and kept watch-fires blazing at night around the hills which enclose the plain of the city. Deceived as to his movements and plans, the Neapolitan commander divided his force, to protect what he deemed exposed situations. Meantime communication was established between the patriot army without, and the patriot citizens within the walls; a committee of safety met the General and his officers; measures were concerted, resources obtained, and it was resolved to take the capital by storm. Considering the inadequate ammunition and the undisciplined condition of the volunteers, this attempt was undoubtedly a terrible risk; but in the omission

of this, the alternative was to carry on a prolonged war in the interior, or gradually transfer the main action to Messina. It was one of those exigencies which only an intrepid leader can meet. In the actual condition of the population and of the royal troops, nothing was so desirable as to strike an effectual blow, by which the courage of the people should be hopefully aroused, and the enemy lose the opportunity to fortify their positions and concentrate their forces. Garibaldi's experience assured him that the Neapolitans would shrink from the bayonet, and that, once under the lead of his brave Cacciatori, the volunteers would gain confidence and decision, while the prestige of immediate success would secure the energetic co-operation of the citizens. Accordingly it was determined to reach the gates by a night march, and to enter them by a *coup de main*.

Whoever has sojourned in the Sicilian capital, and become familiar with the fertile beauty and unrivalled landscape that render the environs of that city so fascinating, must pause at this juncture with emotion, as he recalls the scene, dwells upon the consequences, and imagines the associations of that evening rendezvous, midnight march, and morning assault. There is something Oriental and primitive about Palermo, as compared with other cities of Southern Europe. The climate, the scenery, the stagnation of business, and the social dissipation make it difficult for the foreign visitor to conceive of such intense excitement and commotion as the arrival of Garibaldi and his legion occasioned. We remember the long, balmy spring days when we have watched the cord-weavers walking to and fro as they spun, the blind mendicants breathing their monotonous complaints, the old scribe inditing a love-letter for the dark-eyed peasant at the corner, the story-teller with his swarthy group of listening fishermen on the mole, the gallants and the belles, the cheerful promenade, the frivolous talk and lightsome idleness; and only by a strong effort of imagination can we substitute for these inevitable social phenomena of Southern despotism, the ascendency of serious interests and grave enthusiasm. The varied and nomadic street population, as noisy, gastronomic, and gregarious as that of Naples, the innumerable iron balconies, where so much

of love-making, small-talk, and family life is carried on, the countless churches, so rich in ancient mosaics and beautiful marbles, the crowded convents, the silent corridors of the Jesuit College, and the large, bare saloons of the palaces, form an extraordinary theatre for revolutionary turbulence, and make the local background and arena curiously effective, as we picture the flying soldiers crushed by pianos thrown upon their heads, rushing under old archways or up barricades, while bullets fly through the air, beggars' brains are scattered by bursting shells, roofs are crushed, houses blaze, and organ-pipes and consecrated bells are cast into missiles of destruction. So much in architecture, utensils, and costume is mediæval or obsolete, — the shrines, the chimes, the savagery, and the childishness blend, to eye and ear, in so incongruous a tumult, that we seem to witness, in an ebb of the tide of humanity, her elemental forces, and the wrecks made by her baffled and perverted instincts. At the same time the central figure is stamped with a simple intrepidity such as we associate with antique heroism; whether we see him plucked by a comrade's hand from fatal exposure, — calmly seeking the post of danger, — seated by a fountain in the heart of the bombarded town, as tranquil as a summer loiterer, while he inspects a chart to decide on a point of attack or defence, — in the mountain bivouac, stretched under a blanket sustained by four spears, with a sheep-skin for a bed and his guacho saddle for a pillow, — strolling alone in revery to arrange the plan of the coming strife, — kneeling by the hospital pallet to receive the last message of a dying comrade, — or rushing upon the enemy's lines in the forefront of the battle of freedom!

It was precisely that season of the year when Sicilian vegetation is in its most exuberant perfection; when the oranges and citrons exhale their richest fragrance, and the dews bring out the perfume of wild flowers; when the gray hue of the olive, the blue spears of the aloe, and the broad, thorny shields of the prickly-pear relieve, by neutral tints, the more vivid foliage of the myrtle; when sunset lingers with an amethystine glow upon the mountains, and the crystal of the sea glistens beneath a lucent firmament; when gardens are redundant in their bloom and fruit, when the grain waves most luxuri-

antly, and the evening air is like a benediction. But not alone in the smile of nature did that valley speak to the imagination, the senses, and the heart, with unwonted eloquence, as the destinies of humanity approached a crisis. Innumerable historical associations lent a silent, but intense interest to the scene. On that soil Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans, Spaniards, Normans, and Moors, had fought, revelled, and ruled, leaving traces yet visible in Saracenic towers, ruined amphitheatres, fragmentary but graceful temples, — nay, in the eyes and language of the race now struggling for freedom. Perhaps nowhere on the globe could the alarum of revolution call together more strongly contrasted elements of race, of character, and of fortune, — monastic, baronial, mendicant, citizen, scholar, rustic, all stung by oppression. Who can wonder that a people so long kept in subjection should be, partially at least, irresolute, incredulous, dependent, — now shrinking and now intrepid, — at one moment frightened at a shadow, and the next reckless in daring, — clinging tearfully to the knees of their champion, and running about to gossip instead of concentrating their faculties on the work before them? Garibaldi and his troop were not only the safeguard, but the inspiration of the bewildered mass. Gradually order came out of chaos. The strict discipline of a few kept the many from dispersion. The method of experience won to something like consistent action the uninitiated. Thus, when the advanced guard crossed the road and bridge raked by the enemy's fire, stormed the gates, and rushed into the streets of the city, the people threw up barricades and cast down missiles from lofty casements; musket and sabre, cannon and sword, opened a way through the ranks of the Neapolitans; and Garibaldi, with the scarlet tunic and echoing bugle which had so often struck terror into the hearts of Italy's foes, stood a victor, with her flag in his hand, in the midst of the Sicilian capital. Never did a few hundred brave and true men achieve a nobler or more rapid triumph.

It would be unjust to estimate the national character of the Sicilians by the lack of sustained energy manifested by the populace of Palermo. A more hardy class inhabit the mining districts, the coast, and the Campagna. Nor can we pass

without reflection the fact that this war of independence has signally interested the ecclesiastical part of the population. It reminds one of the battles of the Middle Age, to read of monks and priests in the thickest of the fray, exhorting the people to fight bravely, nursing the wounded, and blessing the dying. All over Italy, but especially in Sicily, there is a large class of men dedicated to the priesthood, over whose manliness superstition has cast no shade, whose isolated lives have bred a deep enthusiasm, rather than a senseless bigotry, and in whom whatever of the religious sentiment abides has been, through inward struggles or outward discipline, purified into a higher than ecclesiastical faith. Such men, once freed from conventional restraints, become the most intrepid thinkers, and the most earnest actors in behalf of humanity. It is a curious fact that a priest remained to the last with Garibaldi, when his corps was dispersed on the Adriatic; and his most devoted personal attendant on the occasion of which we are now writing was a monk. Ugo Bassi is one of the endeared martyrs of his cause, and Frate Partaleone is the most genial of his Sicilian *attachés*.

Another memorable feature of the expedition is the new and portentous evidence which it has developed of the hopeless iniquity of the government it seeks to annihilate. Hundreds of desperate creatures ran shouting with transport through the streets of Palermo after its capture, let loose from prisons where they had been incarcerated, like the vilest of criminals, for supposed patriotic aspirations. Chambers of horror, before known only in the old annals of the Inquisition, were laid open.* The Neapolitan ships of war and the troops in the castle, day after day and night after night, kept up a bombardment which destroyed innumerable innocent women, children, aged persons, and hospital patients, as well as millions of private property. After agreeing to an armistice, the enemy continued the attack, and treacherously regained some of the ground they had lost. During the entire campaign, the government at Naples issued mendacious bulletins in the face of well attested and patent facts. The first offer of terms, on the

* *Vide* La Torture en Sicile, par M. CHARLES DE LA VARENNE.

part of the king, was a repetition of the identical promises with which his predecessors had lured their subjects, again and again, to trustfulness, to be rewarded by martial law; and before making this offer he had applied in vain to all the powers of Europe for aid to crush the race he now strove, with craven dissimulation, to conciliate.

The news that Garibaldi had entered Palermo, and that a capitulation was soon afterward signed, that the twenty thousand royal troops had been withdrawn, large concessions been promised by the king, and numerous desertions of his troops occurred, and that reinforcements and supplies were arriving for the patriot army, and a provisional government had been appointed, awakened in all quarters of the civilized world exultant congratulations. Yet we know that the end is not yet; that the amount and duration of civil freedom thus secured are uncertain; that diplomacy may thwart, treachery beguile, or indifference lose the inestimable blessings now apparently within reach of the Sicilians. The republican fanatics, the constitutional conservatives, the claims of the Murat family to the throne of Naples, the radical policy of Mazzini and his adherents, the encroachments of France, the indifference of England, Sardinian prudence, and revolutionary excess are so active elements in the present complication of European politics, that an intelligent liberalist may well tremble for the permanence and extension of the freedom apparently won by Garibaldi. In addition to these threatening dangers, the ignorance and misguided zeal of the mass of the inhabitants of the two Sicilies may seriously compromise their newly-acquired privileges, if not vigilantly protected by authority. The race, whose natural shrewdness has become proverbial through the sublime quackery of Cagliostro, whose impassioned sentiment has thrilled the world in the tender and inspiring strains of Bellini, whose scholars and heroes amply vindicate their local fame, — the race, as such, has been, on the one hand, enervated by superficial excitements, and on the other, abandoned to savage instincts.

Yet, complicated as is the so-called Italian question, no reasonable mind can fail to recognize the vast practical aid to its solution involved in the mere fact that a national mili-

tary leader of tested integrity and prowess, whose patriotism has won absolute confidence and gained universal respect, embodies, illustrates, and vindicates Italian nationality. Whatever is the degree of success attained, and however the conflicting elements may co-operate with or baffle his aims and efforts, the very existence of such a moral agency is auspicious to an unappreciated extent. The strong hold of Austria upon Venice, the intricate relations of the Papacy, and the obstinate persistence of its representative in adhering to an obsolete policy, the hampered authority of Victor Emmanuel, the exigencies of European diplomacy, the demoralization of the southern extremity of the peninsula, the want of munitions, of money, and of harmony, — these and other obstacles, though they may indefinitely postpone and frequently counteract the wisest and bravest expedients of Italy's champion, cannot invalidate that powerful impulse toward the ultimate triumph of justice and freedom which his valor and assiduity insure.

Still not in vain, under any possible future contingency, has the glorious campaign of the past summer been achieved. We cannot follow the intrepid leader from his landing at Marsala, on the 21st of May, to his capture of Palermo, a week afterward, — through the bloody conflict at Milazzo, the triumphal entry into Messina, and thence across the straits, until he enters upon the continental campaign, — and contemplate the heroic deeds, the moderate counsels, the thoughtful arrangements, the humane supervision, the calm and judicious method invariably observed, without responding to his assertion, before leaving Faro: "The struggle will be long and bloody; but, being many, we shall secure the unity of Italy quickly and well, so that future generations shall remember us with affection." In a survey of all the circumstances, there is enough to encourage the least sanguine of those who sympathize with these aspirations. The non-intervention clause in the Villafranca treaty, the declared acquiescence of England, the unparalleled example of order and progress in Tuscany during months of provisional self-government, the prosperous development of Lombardy, the sagacious vigilance of Cavour, the deserved popularity of the King of Sardinia, the prompt

educational and other reforms wherever his sway has been confirmed, and the public sentiment of the civilized world, are all eminently favorable to an auspicious solution of this momentous political problem. The tone of Garibaldi's proclamations, as well as the courage of his deeds, should inspire confidence. He evidently understands the past as well as prophesies the future of his country.

"I wish," he declared, when about to quit the island he had made free, "to leave the country able to defend itself. It has hitherto been the curse of Italy that the towns and provinces have been absorbed in their local selfishness, each thinking of its own affairs. Thus it arose that their freedom and independence were destroyed, one by one. It is time that Sicily, as well as the rest, should see that the only remedy is in the union and co-operation of all."

How free from extravagance, and instinct with humanity, is the following appeal! —

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NEAPOLITAN CONTINENT.

"The opposition of the foreigner, interested in our abasement, and internal factions have prevented Italy from constituting herself a country. Now, however, it appears that Providence has put an end to so many misfortunes. The exemplary unanimity of all the provinces, and victory smiling everywhere on the arms of the sons of liberty, are a proof that the sufferings of this land of genius are drawing near to their termination.

"Yet another step remains; and that step I do not fear. If the slight means which have conducted a handful of valiant men to these straits are compared with the enormous means at our disposal at present, every one will see that the enterprise is not difficult. I would, however, that the shedding of blood among Italians should be avoided, and therefore I address myself to you, sons of the Neapolitan continent. I have proved that you are brave, but I desire not to make further proof of it. Our blood we will shed together on the bodies of the enemies of Italy; but between us let there be a truce. Accept, generous men, the right hand which has never served a tyrant, but which is hardened in the services of the people. I ask you to constitute Italy without the slaughter of her sons, and wish you to serve her and die for her.

"G. GARIBALDI."

In his celebrated Essay on the Character of Napoleon, Dr. Channing, in allusion to the spirit in which recourse should be

had to force and bloodshed, as the means of defending human rights, says of their champion: "Let him take the sword with awe, as one on whom a high and holy function has devolved." Whoever will carefully trace the course of Garibaldi, after the capture of Palermo, cannot fail to recognize this conscientious and humane spirit. Fighting with the fury of an aroused lion at Milazzo, where an obstinate and perilous stand was made by the enemy, he approached Messina, after the victory, with circumspect avoidance of all occasion for violence; entered that city greeted by the enthusiastic plaudits of the people, so worn out with bodily fatigue that he threw himself on the veranda of his quarters, and, with his saddle for a pillow, sank into the profound and peaceful slumber of an overwrought victor. For many days he reconnoitred the opposite coast and quietly investigated the state of public sentiment, before he crossed the straits and marched toward Naples. That we may determine how judicious was his conduct in Calabria, both in a military and a patriotic view, let us note the simple facts, as recorded in a contemporary journal: —

"On the 21st August, Garibaldi sent Bixio, with part of his troops, along the coast toward Reggio, whilst he himself, with a small detachment, and the troops of Missori which had rejoined him, went by the higher ground. The Neapolitans, eight companies, or about twelve hundred men, occupied a *fiumara* just outside Reggio. Bixio, being the first to attack, sent one column to the extreme left on the sandy beach, while he himself advanced on the road. The Neapolitans very soon gave way; but their left wing, in the hills, held out against the few men of Garibaldi's advanced guard until Missori's men came up and drove them in. Then they retreated to the fort, which is situated in the middle of the town, and to a small battery on the beach. The latter was taken by a very gallant rush of three of Bixio's companies, who went in through an embrasure. The large fort was cannonaded by Bixio, who found two Neapolitan heavy guns with ammunition in this battery; but this would not have compelled it to surrender, had not Garibaldi's sharp-shooters taken up the commanding heights, from which they could see and pick off the gunners in the batteries. This told; the artillerymen forsook the platforms, and ran into the casemates; the fort surrendered, the men partly joining Garibaldi, but mostly going home. While this was going on at Reggio, the attention of the Neapolitan steamers being engaged by this fight, by the destruc-

tion of the stranded steamer Torino, and by a sham embarkation o Medici's men in Messina, Cosenz succeeded in getting fifteen hundred men, in sixty boats, out of the Faro Lagore, and landing them on the northwest coast, between Scilla and Bagnara.

"On the 23d, a small engagement took place near Salicio, a little beyond Reggio; fifty Garibaldians, English and French, commanded by Colonel De Flotte, defeated four times their number of Neapolitans. De Flotte fell on this occasion. On the same day, General Briganti, who commanded a brigade in Lower Calabria under Viale, had an interview with Garibaldi as to the conditions of his passing over into the Italian camp; this interview, however, had no other result but to show that the Neapolitans were completely demoralized. From this moment there was no longer any question as to victory, but only as to surrender. Briganti and Melendiz, the chief of the second movable brigade of Lower Calabria, had taken up a position close to the coast, between Villa San Giovanni and Scilla, extending their left toward the hills near Fiumara-di-Muro. Their united forces might be computed at some three thousand six hundred men.

"Garibaldi, placing himself in communication with Cosenz, who had landed in the rear of this body, drew a complete net around them, and then quietly awaited their surrender, which took place the 24th, toward evening. He kept their arms, and permitted the men to go home if they liked, which most of them did. The fort of Punta-di-Pezzo surrendered also, and the posts of the Alla Fiumara, Torre del Cavallo, and Scilla followed the example, discouraged as much by the rifle-shots from the commanding heights as by the general defection of the other forts and the troops in the field. Thus not only was the perfect command of both sides of the straits secured, but the whole of Lower Calabria conquered, and the troops sent to its defence taken prisoners and dismissed to their homes in less than five days.

"This series of defeats broke every capability of further resistance in the Neapolitan army. The officers of the remaining battalions of Viale, at Monteleone, came to the conclusion to defend their position for an hour to save appearances, and then to lay down their arms. The insurrection in the other provinces made rapid progress; whole regiments refused to march against the insurgents, and desertions took place in bodies, even among the troops guarding Naples. And thus the road to Naples was finally opened to the hero of Italy."

Never was a capital entered by a successful hero with such moral dignity; never has a revolution so justified itself by the quiet unanimity of its consummation. With no parade,

but in the garb and by the conveyance of an ordinary citizen, Garibaldi reached Naples, was met at the railway station by a voluntary gathering of the leading men of the city and a few distinguished foreigners, entered the palace so recently abandoned by the king, thanked the people from the balcony for their self-control and harmony, instituted a new government, proclaimed Victor Emmanuel, and then, with his usual candor and simplicity, conversed about the future of the Italian cause with those whose characters or sentinents made them his sympathetic and efficient coadjutors. Herein we perceive how thoroughly Garibaldi is a representative man; how scrupulously he delays taking the initiative, and comes to the rescue when the popular heart demands a leader, and the harvest is ripe for a safe and seasonable political transition.

The remarkable drama which we have imperfectly traced, and whose issues are yet indeterminate, commenced on the 6th of May, when Garibaldi embarked at Genoa, with a few brave followers, and ends its grand first act at Naples, which city he entered in triumph on the 8th of September. Between these two dates we have the proclamation at Talamone, in which he declares "our mission is to free millions of oppressed brothers"; the landing at Marsala; the recruiting and victorious march toward the capital, with the fierce encounter at Calatafimi, the capture of Palermo, the battle of Milazzo, the invasion of Calabria, and the bloodless conquest of Naples. No chapter of modern history is more significant and wonderful.

It would puzzle the most astute statesman, endowed with the dictatorship of the two Sicilies, and regarded as the pledged and patriotic liberator of Italy, to reconcile the claims, aspirations, and opinions of political coadjutors, in the present emergency. Deluded by his own singleness of purpose, and an almost childlike confidence in others far less disinterested, — swayed by old and endearing personal associations, and unskilled in diplomatic intrigues, — Garibaldi would have been more than human had he not made some injudicious appointments, and projected some inexpedient schemes. But the lofty and self-sacrificing character of the man is sufficiently attested, in the midst of these misconceptions and perplexities, by his voluntary resignation of authority into the hands of Victor

Emmanuel, and by the sensibility he has evinced at the injustice of partisans and the press. His readiness to withdraw to his island home, and to await another favorable moment to renew the war of Italian independence, suggests a more than Roman self-control; and that these proofs of heroic integrity are appreciated, even in the midst of political conflicts, is apparent from the enthusiastic cheers which rose as one spontaneous tribute from the Sardinian Parliament, when Count Cavour recently alluded to Garibaldi's great and glorious deeds.

Popular education and legislative reform have a vast work to achieve before the noblest fruits of political liberty can be matured. Accordingly, in the very hour of successful revolution, its ultimate harvest is a subject of the most diverse speculation. Yet let us not lose sight of the positive and permanent good effected with such chivalric promptitude. It is a great thing to have punished, however incompletely, a degraded and tyrannous dynasty; to have laid open the secret wickedness of a base and cruel government; to have set free thousands of innocent and tortured captives; to have exhibited to the world noble and disinterested achievements; to have awakened in a whole people the consciousness of rights regained and manhood reasserted; and thus to have acquired a new foothold for humanity, shaken despotism with remorseful alarm, and exhibited once more genuine patriotism as victorious and triumphant.

ART. III. — *History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's. In Eight Volumes. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Vol. I. Small 8vo. pp. 554.

FEW subjects are more attractive to the historical student, and few could be rendered more interesting to the general reader, than the annals of the Christian Church. The rise of Christianity, its struggles and its victory over the mistress

of the world, develop a drama of unequalled majesty and importance. Its conflict with barbarism presents another series of events, different in character, but equally remarkable in themselves and in their results, gradually erecting the Church into a spiritual and temporal monarchy, heir to the old Pagan Empire, with whose broken fragments it perpetuates the domination of Augustus to the nineteenth century. Nor, when this triumph is fully attained, does the scene decline in interest. Spiritual tyranny provokes the succession of heresies, Albigensian and Lollard, Hussite and Lutheran, whose histories are rich in all that commands human sympathy; while the temporal assumptions of the Papacy give rise to a never-ending struggle, which leads us through the most romantic episodes of the Middle Age, and affords a shifting panorama, crowded with brilliant figures and diversified with the most striking incidents.

The mere collection of materials for such a history is a labor to appall the most strenuous industry, if the original sources be appealed to, as is requisite for all conscientious investigation. Patristic theology, in itself the study of a lifetime, affords the groundwork for the earlier annals; but a close and accurate familiarity with classical antiquities and the ancient historians and legislators can alone elucidate the struggles of the primitive Church and enable the writer to follow its progress step by step. A limitless mass of documents next claims his attention as necessary to the comprehension of the mediæval periods; controversialists and chroniclers, acts of Councils and Papal epistles, lives of the Saints, codes of laws, pious diplomas, every record that has escaped destruction, must be ransacked for the precious fragments of information which cement the massive facts of history, and give them cohesion and definite form. Secular and ecclesiastical history are too closely interlaced for either to be treated understandingly without a thorough mastery of the other; the condition of the people as well as of the Church must be comprehended before their mutual reactions can be discerned, and this is to be gathered only from scattered indications lying latent in writings designed for other purposes. The amount of material demanding minute and careful examination may be computed from the fact, that the latest collection of the

Fathers — the *Patrologia* of the Abbé Migne — comprises three hundred large and closely printed volumes, and extends only to the commencement of the thirteenth century. The Collection of Councils, promised by the same intrepid editor, is designed to occupy eighty volumes more. The *Acta Sanctorum*, commenced by Bollandus two hundred years ago, and not yet completed, fills thus far some fifty or sixty large folios; while the collections of diplomas and other similar documents published in France, Spain, England, Germany, and Italy, almost defy computation. All these are ecclesiastical, and, for the Dark Ages, furnish most of the secular material also; but as we approach the revival of letters the stream grows wider and deeper. State papers and lay historians increase in number and importance, and the sources of information multiply beyond the reach of a Ducange or a Magliabecchi.

While, therefore, we may deplore the absence of such a universal history of the Christian Church as we might desire, we may scarcely wonder at it. A more natural subject of surprise, however, is the singular barrenness of English literature, even in respectable failures. A century and a half ago, the erudition of Cave and Bingham, in a less enlightened time than ours, gave promise of a rich harvest, which is not yet garnered. Perhaps those best able to achieve the task are those who best know the almost insuperable difficulties surrounding it; and, estimating their acquisitions not by the narrower limits of others, but by the boundless horizon still before them, they shrink from teaching where so much still remains to learn. This reticence, pardonable in its motive, becomes reprehensible when it buries the results of laborious years, which should serve to guide the steps of future students. When, therefore, a man of well-earned reputation, like Dean Milman, breaks through this natural hesitation, we receive the fruits of his long vigils with grateful respect, assured that he brings to the work of his well-trained intellect all the assistance that a wide range of study, calm judgment, mature reflection, impregnable candor, and true liberality can afford to adorn a literature in which the names of Mosheim, Gieseler, Neander, Ranke, and D'Aubigné occupy a place too prominent to be gratifying to our Anglo-Saxon pride. Even more than all this, we feel, when abandoning ourselves to his guidance,

secure that, if he sometimes swerves from the stern rigidness of judicial impartiality, it is not at the dictation of controversial bitterness, but through the promptings of that Christian charity which looks on all mankind as the common children of a forgiving Father. We are glad, therefore, to seize the occasion offered us by the first volume of the new and beautiful edition of his "History of Latin Christianity," whose title stands at the head of this article, to recall the attention of our readers to the book, and to some of the more important subjects of which it treats.

The rise of the Bishop of Rome, from the persecuted head of an insignificant local church, to the supreme domination over both the spiritual and the temporal hierarchy of Europe, is one of the most curious problems of history. As a primary cause, it naturally suggests itself that Rome, the capital and centre of the world, must have conferred on all her dignitaries some pre-eminence, real if not nominal, over those of humbler sisters. The importance of her bishopric, from its various political bearings, as well as from the number and character of its church-members, would of course lead to the selection of the ablest and most influential of the Western Christians to fill the Episcopal chair, and these successive bishops, from the weight of their personal character, would transmit a gradually increasing power. The centralization of wealth in the Eternal City would also render the Roman See by far the richest in the Church, and its gold was liberally poured forth in assisting poorer communities, during the whole of the first three centuries,* — a munificence which could not be solicited or enjoyed without an appreciable sacrifice of independence on the part of the recipients. Its missionary efforts, doubtless, had also a powerful influence in extending its authority, for it is probable that the conversion of the Western provinces was accomplished by emissaries from Rome, and the churches thus founded would naturally, in their infancy at least, look to Rome with peculiar veneration, as occurred long afterward in England, Christianized by Augustine, and in the regions converted by the labors of Willibrod and Boniface. The situation of the Roman Church in the seat of empire likewise opened

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. c. 23.

innumerable sources of influence. If protection was to be solicited from local persecution, exemption to be sought from unjust or oppressive burdens, or other favor to be procured from the Imperial court, the Bishop of Rome was the natural channel through which the suppliants would address their master, and the relations thus established would inevitably tend to render the Roman Church the protector of her nominal equals. When, therefore, she proffered advice, it was not lightly to be rejected, for the next hour might render her interference necessary, or her benevolence invaluable; and if her tone gradually grew authoritative, and counsel imperceptibly assumed the form of command, she was but yielding to temptations irresistible to human nature. A passage in Tertullian shows us that this took place at an early period, and also that it was regarded as a usurpation founded on no acknowledged claim;* but such assertions of independence only prove the progress making by the silent encroachments of the central power. From the mutual interaction of these various causes, the impulse thence arising would of course acquire strength from its very progress. When the democratic simplicity of apostolic times was lost, and when, after its three centuries of conflict, the religion of Christ achieved its triumph and became an affair of state, in meeting the necessity for a more elaborate system of ecclesiastical polity, the See of Rome would naturally appear the one called upon to furnish the chief that was needed in the new order of things.

Events, however, did not proceed quite so rapidly as might have been anticipated. The Church, as it increased in numbers and influence, had divided itself into dioceses corresponding with the great prefectures of the Empire, and these again into provinces, according to the civil demarcations, the seat of local government being the head of the local church. Throughout the East there thus arose a complete hierarchy of Bishops, Metropolitans, and Exarchs, or Patriarchs, which varied as the political divisions of their territories were altered; and so complete was the dependence of ecclesiastical arrangements upon the order of civil government, that, as late as 451, among the

* "Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium: Pontifex scilicet maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum dicit, ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto." — Tertul. de Pudicit., c. 1.

canons of the Council of Chalcedon is one directing that changes in the civil hierarchy should be conformed to by corresponding alterations in the Church.* The Patriarchs of the apostolic sees of Antioch and Alexandria, and the Exarchs of the less distinguished churches of Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea, were thus independent of all clerical authority † save that of General Councils, until the policy of Constantine erected a superior, when he conferred the Patriarchate on the suffragan Bishop of Byzantium, whom the favor of succeeding Emperors elevated to the headship of the Eastern Church. ‡ The ecclesiastical constitution of the West was more simple. In Spain, Gaul, and Britain, there would seem to have been no definite primatial head, various sees arrogating to themselves and contesting with one another a transient superiority, as the vicissitudes of personal influence or political fortune afforded the opportunity. Africa, under the lead of Carthage, by turns yielded obedience to, and claimed independence of, Rome, as the policy of the moment was dictated by internal or external pressure. Italy was divided into two vicariates, of which Milan ruled the northern and Rome the southern provinces, and so precarious was the general supremacy of the latter, that in the sixth century the Archbishops of Ravenna affected airs of equality, in consequence of the residence of the Imperial exarchs in that city; while, as late as the eleventh century, the Milanese clergy, appealing to the old traditions of their church, disclaimed the authority of the Popes, set them at defiance, and were forced to abate their pre-

* "Si vero quælibet civitas per auctoritatem imperialem renovata est, aut si renovabitur in posterum, civilibus et publicis ordinationibus etiam ecclesiarum parochianarum ordinationes conformentur." — Concil. Chalced., can. 17.

† It is rather curious that the forged donation of Constantine, manufactured in the eighth century, should contain a special grant to Rome of supremacy over the churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, thus attributing that supremacy to an earthly, not a divine source, and admitting, even at that day, that a falsehood was necessary to substantiate claims of authority for which, at the same time, an antiquity coeval with the Christian religion was assumed.

‡ The progress toward supremacy of a church thus favored is shown by an edict which Atticus of Constantinople, in the early part of the fifth century, obtained from Theodosius the younger, ordering that throughout the Eastern Empire no bishop should be ordained without the consent and authority of the Patriarch of the Imperial City. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. Cap. XXVIII.

tensions only after a desperate war of nearly thirty years. This subordinate position of the Roman bishops is shown by the fact that they were not even gratified with the title of Patriarch until Marcian used it in addressing Leo the Great, about the middle of the fifth century;* and while the prelate of Antioch had under his jurisdiction fifteen metropolitan bishops, his brother of Rome was merely himself a metropolitan as regarded the suffragans of the Suburbicarian Sees.† The quarrels between the East and the West, however, gave the successors of St. Peter frequent opportunities of placing themselves forward as the champions of Western Christianity, and the churches which, in the hour of trial, sought their assistance, could not do so without a sacrifice of independence. Thus, when the Latin bishops, at the Synod of Sardica, in 347, endeavored to protect themselves from the Arian tendencies and persecutions of their Eastern brethren, they constituted Julius I. an arbiter to grant appeals in cases of condemnation. The language of the canon shows this to have been a novel privilege, bestowed by them of their own free will;‡ and it doubtless consoled the Pope for the denunciations launched against him by the Eastern portion of the Synod, although neither the donors nor the recipient of the favor could anticipate the immense impulse which its extension would give to the growing power of the Roman See. The ceaseless dissensions which distracted the Eastern churches also contributed not a little to the influence and importance

* Giannone, Ist. Civ. di Napoli, Lib. II. Cap. VIII. — The title of Patriarch, however, had no very distinct signification at that period. Athalaric alludes to several Patriarchs as subject to the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths. Goldast. Constit. Imp. III. 107.

† The sixth canon of Nicæa, which has served as the basis of assumptions of exclusive superiority for the Bishop of Rome, is too equivocal in its signification to have much authority. The version of Rufinus accords with the statement in the text, while the advocates of the Papal views have alleged in evidence glosses from various manuscripts. It was not until 607 that Boniface III., taking advantage of a favorable political conjuncture, obtained from the usurper Phocas a recognition of the superiority of Rome over Constantinople. Anast. Biblioth., No. LXVIII. Giannone (Ist. Civ. di Napoli, Lib. II. Cap. VIII.) gives a good description of the territorial divisions of the early Church; also, Cabassut, Synop. Concil. sub Can. Nicæn.

‡ "Si vestræ dilectionæ videtur, Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus ut ab iis qui judicaverunt scribatur Julio Romanorum episcopo." — Synod. Sardic., can. 3, 4, 5.

of the Popedom. Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople by turns sought the intervention of Rome, as each might hope to gain an ally in some death-struggle with its competitors, and every time the arbiter was called in he assumed more significantly the air of an *ex officio* judge. Yet his jurisdiction was by no means recognized, nor was the canon of Sardica admitted in practice. When, a century later, the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon enacted that appeals from the decisions of bishops might be made directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople, without intermediate steps,* it shows that the jurisdiction of Rome was not thought of beyond the limits of its own province; nor did the aspiring Leo, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, protest against it as a disregard of his privileges. In the next century, this distinction of the Constantinopolitan See was withdrawn by the legislation of Justinian,† but there is still no mention of any ultimate appeal to Rome.

It is evident from all this that Constantine, when making the Christian religion dominant, had no thought of placing it under the control of a supreme and irresponsible chief, or of abandoning an iota of the imperial power. Not only did Sylvester I. occupy a position of no especial super-eminence in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but then, and for centuries later, the Church was completely subordinate to the state. The bold stand made by Liberius in favor of the Athanasian Creed against the heretical Emperor Constantius, although an evidence of rising authority and independence on the part of the champion of the Western Church, shows also, by his defeat, that the time had not yet come for such assumptions. Faith and discipline, the internal polity and the external privileges of the Church, were all subjected to the supremacy of the temporal power. For centuries the confirmation of the Emperor was requisite to give validity to the canons of General Councils, relating exclusively to ecclesiastical affairs; nor was that consent by any means given as a matter of course. ‡ The

* "Si quis vero putaverit se a proprio metropolitano gravari, apud primatem diœceseos, aut apud Constantinopolitanæ civitatis sedem agat judicium." — Concil. Chalced., can. 17. The principle is more fully developed in can. 9.

† Novell. 123, cap. 22.

‡ Thus we find Constantius vetoing a portion of the canons of the Council of

constitutions of the Christian Emperors, from Constantine to Justinian, manifest the most absolute subordination of the spiritual to the secular authority. The minutiæ of church government, the relations of the clergy among themselves and to the state, their duties, their morals, their lives, and their actions, monastic regulations, the suppression of heresies, — all are defined in a spirit of unquestioned autocracy, and with a care which shows how large a part of the Imperial attention was devoted to the management of ecclesiastical affairs. Under this despotic sovereignty of the temporal head of the Church, the loftiest prelates were but subjects, whose first duty was obedience; and a long line of feeble and worthless Cæsars was requisite before the able and vigorous men who occupied the chair of St. Peter could emancipate themselves from the traditions of Imperial authority. When, in the early part of the fifth century, Boniface and Eulalius, the rival candidates for the Papacy, filled Rome with their dissensions, the decision of the quarrel was referred as a matter of course to the miserable shadow of an Emperer, — Honorius, — who appointed a vicar to act as temporary Pope during his examination of the matter, and, after its settlement, issued an edict to regulate Papal elections for the future, and to prevent the recurrence of scenes so disgraceful.* Even after the fall of the Western Empire, some eighty years later, when a similar quarrel arose between Symmachus and Laurence, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, then king of Italy, exercised the same functions, although, as an Arian, he was little better than Pagan in the eyes of all true Catholics. He elevated Symmachus to the pontifical throne, while he gratified the defeated aspirant with a bishopric, and then, assembling a synod, he caused the passage of a canon designed to restrain the turbulent and criminal ambition which brought so much dishonor on the Christian name,† — acts of

---

Rimini, in 360 (Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. II. c. 15). But a more instructive example is that of the Council of Ephesus, in 431, whose disgraceful proceedings, conducted by Cyril, were formally approved by the rescript of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., and then, on further information, were pronounced null and void by a subsequent decree. (Goldast. Const. Imp. III. 596, 597.)

* Goldast. Const. Imp. III. 587 - 592.

† Car. Sigon. de Occident. Imp. Lib. XVI. — The acts of this Council represent it as having been assembled and presided over by Symmachus; but the statement of

sovereign jurisdiction which prove how futile had been the pretensions to spiritual supremacy invoked, not long before, by Gelasius.

The Fourth Council of Rome, in 502, made a strenuous effort to declare its independence of the secular authority, but Theodoric paid little attention to such assertions when, on suspicion of treason, John I. was thrown into the prison, where, by dying, he earned the honors of martyrdom;* nor was Athalaric, the next Ostrogothic monarch, less absolute in his domination over ecclesiastical affairs. Among his constitutions is one, addressed to John II., respecting the simony then prevalent in episcopal and Papal elections, in which, under a thin veil of respect, he regulates these tender points of discipline in a manner sufficiently imperious to show that the Pope was his subject as thoroughly as any other dignitary, and

---

Sigonius is borne out by the fact that Athalaric alludes to the law as emanating from Theodoric, his immediate predecessor (Athalar. Const. X. ap. Goldast. III. 95), to whom Theodorus Lector also attributes it, according to Goldastus (III. 613). When, two years later, another synod was convened, in 501, to consider certain accusations against Symmachus, it was by command of Theodoric, — "Cum ex diversis provinciis ad urbem Romam convenire sacerdotes regia præcipisset auctoritas" (Synod. Roman. III.); and when the bishops demurred to sitting in judgment on their superior, Theodoric reassured them by showing that Symmachus had requested him to call them together for that purpose, thus proving that the Pope recognized this power as belonging to the king, and not to himself. In fact, the pretensions of the Roman See to the sole authority in convoking Councils are too late in their origin and are too flatly contradicted by the history of the Church under the Empire, to merit extended examination. The lost canon of the Nicene Council — "Non debere præter sententiam Romani Episcopi concilia celebrari" — might be quoted on the authority of the False Decretals (Pseudo-Julii Epist. 2), but could not be found. The argument in favor of the prerogative may be seen briefly stated in Cabassut's Synopsis Concil. sub. Conc. Chalced.

The appointment by Theodoric of an ecclesiastic as "visitor," with power to regulate the disorders of the Roman Church, was condemned by the synod of 501, as subversive of subordination, and the indignation which could not be gratified upon the king was poured forth on the unfortunate visitor. A curious instance of regal control over matters purely canonical is given by a rescript of Theodoric granting a dispensation for a marriage between cousins. Const. CCI. (Goldast. III. 91.)

* Martyrol. Roman. Maii 27. The assertion of the martyrologists that John perished under the persecuting zeal of the Arians, comes with an ill grace from those who for more than thirty years had enjoyed the toleration of Theodoric, — a toleration of which none but Arians at that time were capable.

that his jurisdiction over the Church was as complete as over the state.*

The kingdom of Italy, which under Theodoric had for a brief space rivalled the civilization of former ages, soon became the battle-field on which Goth, Greek, and Lombard by turns exercised a precarious dominion. When the victorious lieutenants of Justinian broke the power of the Goths, the Popes were transferred anew to the sovereignty of the Emperors, and the occupant of the pontifical throne during the revolution was the sport of both parties. Silverius, appointed to the Papacy by the heretical King Theodatus, was deposed and banished by Belisarius, nominally on a charge of treason, but in reality on account of his unbending orthodoxy in resisting the commands of the Catholic Justinian with regard to the Patriarch Anthemius. Nor was his successor, Vigilius, who had largely contributed to his downfall, more fortunate. Summoned to Constantinople in 544, Vigilius was exposed by Justinian to the most ignominious punishment and the strictest imprisonment. Whether it was for his contumacy with regard to the Three Chapters, or for the crimes alleged against him by the Romans, is a question of little moment to us; and if his ill-treatment was due to the vindictive zeal of Theodora, the humiliation was the more poignant, as exercised by a courtesan against the successor of St. Peter.†

During this disastrous reunion of Italy to the Empire, the interminable Monothelite controversy followed close upon the Monophysite heresy, and lent its powerful aid in imbittering the relations of Rome and Constantinople. Among the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the Cæsars had always been reckoned the right of dictating to the Church its form of belief; and whether the reigning conscience was orthodox or Arian, Nestorian or Eutychian, efficacious means were always found to enforce conformity on the part of the hierarchy. The Western Emperors, for the most part, had troubled themselves

* For instance, —"Vos autem qui patriarcharum honore reliquis præsedetis ecclesiis, quoniam constitutio nostra ab illicita promissione liberavit, restat ut bona imitantes exempla, sine aliquo ecclesiarum dispendio dignos majestate pontifices offeratis." — Athal. Constit. XXXVII. (Goldast. III. 107.)

† Anastas. Biblioth., No. LV., LX., LXI. (ap. Abbon. Floriac.); Victor Tunenens. Chron., ann. 542–544; Liberat. Breviar. c. 22 (Canisii Thesaur. I. 330, 331).

but little with the niceties of theological speculation, and the Arian Goths had tolerantly respected the established worship of Rome; but when Italy found herself under the despotic rule of the successors of Justinian, the pretensions of the Holy See, as the arbiter of Christian doctrine, led to numerous and intricate quarrels. It would be foreign from our purpose to enter into these dreary details; suffice it to say that the arbitrary rule of the sovereign, when it could not enforce an unworthy submission, had no hesitation in inflicting exemplary chastisement, as Martin I. experienced, when, in 649, he ended his days in exile for anathematizing the *Type* by which Constans II. endeavored to put an end to the controversy as to the single or double will in Christ, — and this in spite of the miracle which had protected the Holy Father from the first unhallowed attempt upon his person.* If the next Emperor, Constantine Pogonatus, remitted to the Popes the payment previously exacted on their installation, he was careful to retain the right of confirming their election; † but the diminishing influence of Greece was manifested by the failure of Justinian II. when he endeavored to follow the example of his grandfather, and to punish Pope Sergius for contumacy with regard to the acts of the *Quinisext in Trullo*, and Sergius enjoyed the rare and holy triumph of rescuing his intended captor, Zacharias the Protospatharius, from the enraged populace of Rome.‡

Notwithstanding these frequent reverses, the power and in-

---

* Anastas Biblioth., No. LXXVI.

† "Suscepit etiam divalem jussionem, secundum suam postulationem, qua relevata est quantitas, quæ solita erat dari pro ordinatione pontificis, sic tamen ut si contigerit post ejus transitum electionem fieri, non debeat ordinari nisi prius decretum generale introducatur a regia urbe, secundum antiquam consuetudinem." — Ibid., No. LXXXI. That this right of confirmation was not an empty ceremony was rendered manifest on numerous occasions. The application of the Romans to Justinian for the appointment of Pelagius I. implores him, — "tunc cum vestra præceptione donetur nobis Pelagius noster archidiaconus" (Ibid. No. LXI.); and as Pelagius had long resided in Constantinople as *Apocrisarius*, the election was probably as idle a form as that of the Merovingian bishops. When Gregory the Great desired to avoid the burdens of the Papacy, he endeavored to accomplish his object by secretly entreating the Emperor Maurice to refuse his assent to the election, showing that the right of rejection was fully recognized as comprehended in that of confirmation. (Jaffé, Regesta, ann. 590.)

‡ Anastas. Biblioth., No. LXXXVI.

fluence of the Apostolic See were making steady progress throughout the West, and especially in Italy, during this period. The Greeks were foreign masters, exercising an odious despotism; the Lombards were a perpetual menace and an unceasing scourge. Between the two powers, almost equally hateful, stood the Popes, the sole representatives of nationality, the sole defenders against tyranny. As the one permanent institution amid incessant change, the Papacy was the only centre round which the national spirit could rally; and the increase of its temporal as well as spiritual authority appeared to be the only feasible means of escape from the anarchy which prevailed. This conviction was doubtless strengthened by the elective nature of the office, which made the Popes in some sort representatives of the popular feelings, strengthened them in their struggles for common interests, and diminished the jealousy with which a line of new hereditary rulers might have been regarded. Thus the time at length came for a formal declaration of independence, by renouncing the allegiance due to the East, and by vigorously asserting ecclesiastical supremacy. The occasion was well chosen, and the leader was not wanting. When Leo, the Isaurian, in his iconoclastic zeal, decreed that image-worship should cease throughout the Empire, the obedience which after some trouble he enforced in the East was refused to him in the West. Less accustomed than the Greeks to mould their religious dogmas by those of the Cæsar, the Romans clung to their venerated symbols and effigies; and Gregory II., as their chief, boldly confronted the sacrilegious Emperor. To the threats of Leo he replied with fiery audacity, defining the limits of Imperial authority, and defying him to intrude on the sacred regions of ecclesiastical matters. "Tyrannically you persecute us with the sword and arm of flesh. Naked and unarmed, guarded by no earthly armies, we invoke the Lord of Hosts, Christ on high, leader of the heavenly virtues, to send unto you a devil, even as saith the Apostle, To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved." After this, there was little prospect of accommodation; and at length the fleets and armies of the insulted Emperor sought to reduce the rebellious Churchman to obedience. In a previous epistle,

Gregory had proudly asserted the reverence which the Western nations felt for the successor of St. Peter, to whom they one and all looked up as to a God on earth;* and the result did not disappoint his sagacity. Charles Martel was too busy in consolidating his power, and in making head against the Saracenic invasions, to heed the appeal for assistance; but the Lombards declared for Rome, and when they in turn stood aloof, a tempest scattered the forces of Leo, and the orthodox Latins were enabled to enjoy the peaceful satisfaction of excommunicating the heretical Isaurian and his obsequious hierarchy.

The breach was evidently complete, and when a restoration of images rendered a reconciliation possible, the Popes no longer looked to the East for support or protection. It is a curious evidence, however, of the subordinate place of the Papacy, that there was apparently no thought of maintaining a position of independence, and that a new lord paramount was immediately sought for.† By a happy stroke of policy, Gregory had thus availed himself of a strong popular feeling to present himself as leader of the West against the East. His keen eye had discerned the rise of a new power in Gaul and Germany, and the object of Rome thenceforth was to link the fortunes of St. Peter with those of the family of Pepin.‡ His views were

---

* The passage is curious as manifesting the progress already made toward spiritual domination: — "Quandoquidem Occidens universus ad humilitatem nostram convertit oculos; ac licet tales non simus nos, illi tamen magnopere nobis confidunt, et in eum cujus denuntias te imaginem eversurum atque deleturum, sancti scilicet Petri, quem omnia Occidentis regna velut Deum terrestrem habent." — Greg. Epist. § 9. (Baron. Annal. Eccles., ann. 726, No. 28.)

† It is a striking proof of the subordinate position of the ecclesiastical power that, until after the middle of the century, the Roman councils and Papal rescripts continued to bear the dates of the heretical Emperors. It is true that when, on the death of Leo, the usurper Artavasdes obtained temporary possession of the throne, the Roman notaries eagerly seized the opportunity of using the name of an orthodox monarch; but when the son of Leo put down the rebellion, they adopted him in turn, until the Frankish alliance raised a rival to the elder empire. Until 772 the Papal documents bear the name and date of the hated Constantine Copronymus, the vigorous upholder of the Iconoclastic sacrilege. (Jaffé, Regesta.)

‡ It is not a little singular that those to whom Gregory appealed for protection against the Eastern Iconoclasts, and by whose influence the West was supported throughout the quarrel, were fully as heretical in principle, though not animated by the persecuting zeal which led Leo and Constantine Copronymus to enforce their

fully comprehended by his successor, Gregory III., who, after some overtures to Constantinople, couched in terms which insured their rejection, followed in the same path. Assuming the disposal of thrones, he offered to Charles Martel the crown of Italy as the price of active assistance against the encroaching and detested Lombards. The services of Luitprand were too recent, however, and their common enemies, the Saracens, were too active, to permit the wary Frank to dazzle himself with ideas of Transalpine conquests, and, in return for the keys of St. Peter laid at his feet, he sent only flattering words and rich presents.*

---

tenets with such unrelenting severity. The Synod of Gentilly, held by Pepin-le-Bref in 767, while allowing pictures and statues to remain as harmless ornaments in churches, declared that they should not be objects of any particular respect or veneration. "Sanctorum imagines fictas aut pictas ita ad ornatum et decus ecclesiarum ferri posse, ut ad cultum, venerationem, et adorationem quod idolatriæ faciunt, non habeantur." (Goldast. I. 16.) Nor was this a temporary assertion of doctrinal independence; for three hundred bishops at the Council of Frankfort, held by Charlemagne in 794, condemned the canons of the second Council of Nicæa with indignant scorn. "Quam omnes, qui supra, sanctissimi patres nostri, omnimodis et adorationem et servitium respuentes, contempserunt atque consentientes condemnaverunt" (Ibid. I. 18); and Charlemagne himself lent his all-powerful name to an elaborate refutation of the received Roman doctrine on the subject (Ibid. I. 23–144), in which his only concession was that he would not permit the wanton destruction of images. As this Council of Nicæa had been held for the purpose of reconciling the Eastern churches with Rome, and as its acts had been formally approved by Pope Adrian, this was rank heresy. With all his aggressive energy, however, Adrian had sufficient discretion to gloss over this spiritual rebellion on the part of his benefactor, to whom he owed so much, and to whom he hoped to owe more. So complete was the independence manifested, that when the reformatory zeal of Claudius, Bishop of Turin, led him, against the injunctions of Charlemagne, to abolish all the images in his diocese, he was exposed to nothing more formidable than the polemical attacks of Theutmir and Dungal (Mag. Biblioth. Patrum, Sæc. IX. ii. 875). The Transalpine churches maintained their position. St. Agobard, who was superior to so many of the superstitions of his time, in his treatise "De Picturis et Imaginibus" (p. 212 of the edition of Pap. Masson, — carefully suppressed in the Mag. Biblioth. Patrum), was not disposed to allow them even as ornaments; while the Council of Paris in 825 (Goldast. I. 154, — not admitted into the great collections of Councils) reaffirmed the doctrines of that of Frankfort.

* Gregory's epistle says: "Conjuro te per Deum vivum et verum, et per ipsas sacratissimas claves confessionis beati Petri, quas vobis *ad regnum* direximus, ut non præponas amicitias regum Longobardorum," etc. (Baronius, ann. 740, No. 22.) It is singular, however, that the Frankish historians, while proudly relating the embassies and the insignia laid before Charles, do not allude to the supremacy of which they were the emblems. (Aimoin. Lib. IV. c. 57; Fredegar. Cap. CX.)

Of old the weighty javelin of the Franks had earned for itself the respect of Northern Italy, when the Merovingian chiefs found leisure amid family dissensions for a wild foray across the Alps. The empire of Clovis, so long rendered powerless for foreign aggression by ceaseless civil wars, was now consolidating its forces under the stern and able hands of its Austrasian dukes, and the time soon came when common interests and reciprocal services elevated the ambitious leaders of church and state to the summit of their respective aspirations. When Pepin-le-Bref, disdaining at length the farce of delegated power under which for two generations his family had ruled, sought to unite the dignity with the reality of royalty, he seems to have felt that some unusual solemnity was requisite to consecrate to himself and his children the election which placed a usurper on the Merovingian throne. The facility with which the allegiance sworn to Childeric was transferred to a new suzerain was not reassuring to the founder of an upstart dynasty, and some new sanction was necessary to the perpetuation of a new race. Every consideration conspired to lead the Pope to gratify the wishes of Pepin. The Lombards were a perpetual menace, and the persuasiveness which had transformed King Rachis from a conqueror to a monk could not be relied upon as a safe precedent for the future. To bind a new and powerful ally by the strongest ties of gratitude, and to secure for the successor of St. Peter the disposal of thrones and the judgment of the destinies of kings, were advantages not to be resisted. When the deputation of the Franks asked the Vice-regent of Christ what choice was to be made between a king without power and a king without title, the answer was therefore unhesitating; and the Carlovingian historians are careful to specify that the transfer of royalty, and the enforced tonsure of the degraded regal spectre, were commanded by the unerring decision of the Supreme Pontiff.* The buckler of the Field of

---

This would seem to lend some probability to the reading, given in one manuscript of the epistle, of *rogum* for *regnum*, as mentioned by Gibbon, Chap. 49, note 59.

* "Pontifex ..... dataque auctoritate sua, jussit Pipinum regem institui." — Eginh. Annal., ann. 750. "Hildericum regem, qui jussu Stephani Romani pontificis depositus ac detonsus, atque in monasterium retrusus est." — Eginh. Vit.

March — the warlike coronation of the primitive Franks — was not sufficient for the intruder; the Church must sanctify the transfer, and St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, consecrated the head appointed by the Pope, thus proclaiming that the suffrages of the nation were insufficient, without the blessing of the priest.* Even this, however, was not enough. When Stephen II. claimed the services of his ally, and journeyed into France to implore the aid of the secular arm, when clerical authority proved insufficient to control the restless and sacrilegious Lombard, a second coronation by his holy hands was not only a fresh proof of his supremacy, but also the price of the assistance he desired.†

Pepin was not ungrateful. Two Italian expeditions brought Astulfus to reason, restored to the Holy See (or rather to the Roman Republic) the territory of which it had been despoiled, and added to its boundaries important provinces, which the generosity of the conqueror, careless of such distant acquisitions, bestowed on him to whom he owed his title. The union thus cemented by mutual benefits was lasting; nor did the sagacious Frank complain, even if he recognized the fact,

---

Car. Mag. c. 1. "Zacharias Papa, ex auctoritate Sancti Petri Apostoli, mandat populo Francorum, ut Pipinus qui potestate regia utebatur, regni totius et nominis quoque dignitate frueretur." — Annal. Fuldens., ann. 752.

* The unforeseen results of this interpollation of sacerdotal ministration are instructively manifested in little more than a century. Pepin's great-grandson, Charles-le-Chauve, who held the kingdom of France by all the rights — hereditary, testamentary, and elective — that were recognized by the age, was told by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, that he owed his sovereignty much more to the episcopal unction and benediction than to the temporal power, — "episcopali et spirituali unctione ac benedictione regiam dignitatem potius quam terrena potestate consecuti estis" (Pro Eccles. Libert. Defens. Expos. I.), — and this after a reign of more than twenty years. It is safe to assume that the coronation of Pepin by St. Boniface is the first instance of priestly ministration on such occasions. The allusion to a similar ceremony performed by St. Remi on the person of Clovis (Testament. S. Remig. ap Flodoard. Hist. Remens. Lib. I. c. 18) is too evidently apocryphal to command confidence as a precedent. The whole passage is so completely at variance with the history and customs of that period, that we cannot doubt its being an interpolation of the ninth or tenth centuries, when bishops were accustomed to elect their sovereigns, and when the excommunication of a king was not the dangerous pastime which it would have proved under the early Merovingians.

† If Stephen's epistle to Abbot Hilduin be genuine, he evidently assumed that Pepin's title was incomplete without this last ceremony, — "unxi in reges Francorum regem Pipinum et duos filios ejus, Carolum et Carolomannum." — Regino, ann. 753.

that the Papal munificence had secured to the giver eventual advantages almost as great as to the receiver.

Charlemagne inherited his father's policy. Scarcely had he reunited the divided kingdom by disinheriting his brother's children, when, on the invitation of Adrian I., he entered Italy to put an end to the perennial quarrel between Rome and Lombardy. The resistance was stubborn, notwithstanding treason in the Lombard camp; but Charlemagne was not accustomed to leave his work incomplete. The generosity of Pepin was no longer in place, and the spoils were divided between the royal and sacerdotal confederates, who mutually confirmed the extension of territory acquired by the sword of the one and the prayers or intrigues of the other. The dread inspired by the Lombard must have been intense, and the donation splendid; for there is good authority for the statement that the grateful Adrian, calling a council of one hundred and fifty-three bishops, conferred on his deliverer not only the Patriciate, but also the privilege of nominating all future successors to the Holy See.* Charlemagne had received the

* "Tradiderunt Carolo jus et potestatem eligendi Pontificem et ordinandi Apostolicam sedem." (Gratian. Dist. 63, can. 22.) Baronius (ann. 774, Nos. 10–13) rejects this account with indignation, pronouncing it morally impossible, and asserting that Sigebert of Gemblours (Chronog., ann. 773) is the earliest authority for it, and that it was an invention of Sigebert's to sustain the political party to which he belonged in their claims of Imperial investitures. At first sight this argument is specious; but the Cardinal forgot its presence in the Panormia of St. Ivo of Chartres (Lib VIII. cap. 135) anterior to Sigebert, — and neither Gratian nor Ivo was likely gratuitously to depress the sacerdotal character on doubtful authority. Sigonius does not hesitate to give full credit to it (Reg. Ital. Lib. IV.); while Albericus Trium Fontium, whose assertions are of weight, on account of his careful selection of authorities, many of which have not come down to us, quotes the same statement, from a certain Elimandus, and refers to Gratian for confirmation (Alberic. Chron., ann. 775). The very points which appear incredible to Baronius are contained in a similar grant made by Leo VIII. to Otho the Great, in 963. (Gratian. Dist. 63, can. 23. Ivon. Panorm. Lib. VIII. cap. 136.) At the most, the privilege was scarcely more than traditionally a right belonging to the possessor of Italy. Odoacer the Herulian in 483 forbade by edict any Papal election without his assent, — "non sine nostra consultatione cujuslibet celebraretur electio" (Goldast. III. 609). Theodoric claimed and exercised the right of selection and confirmation, — "talem visus est pontificem deligisse ut nulli merito debeat displicere" (Athalarici Const. X. ap. Goldast. III. 95); and we have seen that the Byzantine Emperors who succeeded to the Gothic kingdom were recognized as fully endowed with the right of confirmation and rejection. To minds familiar with a custom of such long duration, it might readily seem that the protection so

sacred oil and benediction from Papal hands at the same time as his father; but in due course another generation appeared to claim the same advantages, and the kingdoms of Italy and Aquitaine were secured to the royal infants, Pepin and Louis, by the efficacious ministration of the accommodating Pontiff, who was equally ready to extend his jurisdiction in another direction, by excommunicating the rebellious subjects of his liberal patron.

Step by step the progress of mutual aggrandizement went on, though for a while the temporal power appeared to outstrip the spiritual. The Patriciate of Rome, to Charles Martel an empty honor not worth stooping to pick up, had become to his grandson a substantial instrument of influence and power. Whether the specific grant of Adrian be apocryphal or not, the confirmation of the Pope was in fact in the hands of the Frankish king, to whom each new Pontiff sent a solemn embassy to offer the emblematic keys and banner, and to ask the opportunity of rendering the oath of allegiance. Charles was the suzerain of Rome; the Pope, notwithstanding his exalted ecclesiastical rank, was his subject, whom he addressed in the language of royal command, from whom he expected obedience, and who was not exempt from the jurisdiction which extended over the other dignitaries of the realm.* In the year 800 Charlemagne visited Rome on the solemn errand of trying Leo III. for offences alleged against him by the factious

---

earnestly craved at the moment (for the siege of Pavia was not then ended) could not be efficient without some corresponding control, and the exact nature of the right bestowed is merely a question of terms. When the temporal authority was present and active, confirmation would imply selection; when distant or abased, the privilege itself was merely nominal.

The passage from which we quote affords an instructive illustration of the contradictions which render the mediæval Papal historians such insecure guides. The Chronol. Pontificum, written in the thirteenth century by Archbishop Martinus Polonus, in relating the transaction, by an ingenious transposition of nominative and dative terminations, makes Charles the giver and Adrian the recipient of control over the Western hierarchy (Chronol. Martin. sub Adriano). Vigilant criticism expunged from his pages the obnoxious account of Pope Joan, but found nothing to object to in this.

* Thus, in answering Leo's announcement of his election in 796, Charlemagne addresses him: "Valde, ut fateor, gavisi sumus, seu in electionis unanimitate, seu in *humilitatis vestræ obedientia*, et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate." — Epist. ad Leonem Papam (Baluze).

Romans. The position of the Pontiff was that of a subject before his master, a criminal in the presence of his judge; but the wily Italian by a master-stroke reversed the position, and created for his successors a power which may almost be said to have eventually secured their ultimate triumph. After the prearranged acquittal of the Pope, while Charles was humbly kneeling at his devotions in the Basilica of St. Peter, his brows were suddenly encircled with the imperial crown, confirmed by the Papal benediction, and the populace shouted for the new Emperor of the Romans, — "Carlo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria." Whether this clever *coup de théâtre* was in reality a surprise to the passive actor in it, or whether it had been rehearsed the year before at Paderborn, when Leo had laid his griefs before his protector, is of small importance. If, as Eginhardt asserts, Charlemagne accepted the unexpected dignity with reluctance,* he only manifested therein his customary sagacity; for the advantages of the transaction accrued altogether to the Church. The Emperor gained nothing but an empty title, which in no way enhanced his real power, but which among his descendants proved a source of endless and ruinous dissension. The Pope, on the other hand, had revived, *motu proprio*, the glories of the elder empire. Not only was Constantinople humiliated and degraded from its solitary supremacy; but throughout the West, as the creator is always superior to the created, the Pope, although no less a subject than before, had vastly increased his moral influence. † To his successors the precedent was even more important; and the necessity of Papal assent to convert a King of the Romans into an Emperor, on more than one occasion, turned the scale in difficult conjunctures, or enabled the Pontiff to

* "Primo in tantum aversatus est, ut adfirmaret se eo die, quamvis præcipua festivitas esset, æcclesiam non intraturum, si pontificis consilium præscire potuisset." — Eginh. Vit. Carol. Cap. XXVIII.

† How thoroughly this came to be understood is shown by a passage in the canons of the Synod of St. Macra in 881, where the Bishops, in contrasting the regal and sacerdotal dignity, give this as the argument for the superiority which they claim for the latter: "Et tanto est dignitas pontificum major quam regum, quia reges in culmen regium sacrantur a pontificibus, pontifices autem a regibus consecrari non possunt." (Synod. ad S. Macram Cap. I.)

sell his benediction at his own price. The fagot and stake of Arnold of Brescia purchased the Imperial crown for Frederic Barbarossa. Nor was this all; for even as the confirmation of Papal elections at times gave to the Emperors the appointment of Popes, so when distracted councils reduced the temporal power, the Popes in turn were able to nominate their Kaisers.* Leo had thus succeeded in counterbalancing the Imperial supremacy which had existed for ages.

The precedent from the first was binding. Although when Charlemagne associated his son Louis in the Empire, in 813, he performed the ceremony of coronation himself at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Papal intervention was apparently not considered requisite, † and though the Pope was not asked to dignify the solemnities which marked Louis's accession on his father's death in 814, yet Stephen IV. seized the opportunity of their interview at Rheims, in 816, to crown and anoint him as Emperor, with a diadem which he had brought from Italy for that purpose, and Louis's faithful biographer is careful not to style him Emperor until after that occasion. ‡ Charlemagne had considered the Papal assent and ratification necessary to give binding force to his division of the Empire in 806, and Louis-le-Débonnaire followed his example in 817. § Still, the

* Even before the close of the century, the quarrels between the grandsons of Charlemagne gave to John VIII. the power to select between them, and he who could not defend his own suburbs from the Saracens, or keep the petty barons of Gaeta or Capua in order, was able to assume the bestowal of the diadem of Augustus. "Domnus Johannes ..... Domnum Karolum tunc regem ad limina beatorum Apostolorum invitavit, eumque ecclesiæ ipsius defensorem ac tutorem elegit, imperialique diademate coronavit, eum præ cunctis solum et specialem eligens qui Romani Imperii sceptra teneret." — Act. Synod. Pontigonensis, Cap. I. (Baluze, II. 345). Gregory VII., Paschal II., John XXII., and Innocent IV. only carried out the same principles to their logical results.

† "Evocatum ad se apud Aquisgrani filium suum Ludovicum, Aquitaniæ regem, coronam illi imposuit, et imperialis nominis consortem fecit."— Eginh. Annal., ann. 813.

‡ "Coram clero et omni populo consecravit eum et unxit ad imperatorem, et coronam auream ..... quam secum apportaverat, posuit super caput ejus." — Thegan. Vit. Ludov. Pii, Cap. XVII. Also, Eginh. Annal., ann. 816. That this ceremony was considered necessary to perfect the Imperial dignity may also be gathered from an inscription of Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, Louis's foster-brother, commencing, "Ludovicus Cæsar factus, coronante Stephano." (Flodoard. Hist. Remens. Lib. II. c. 19.)

§ Eginh. Annal., ann. 806. Agobardi de Divis. Imp. Epist.

subordinate position of the Popes, as subjects and vassals of the Emperor, remained unaltered. When, in 815, a conspiracy was discovered by Leo III., and he exercised summary justice in despatching the criminals, Louis, irritated at this invasion of his jurisdiction, sent his nephew Bernard, King of Italy, to investigate the matter, and Leo was obliged to pacify the Emperor by a special legation. In the following year his successor, Stephen IV., immediately on his election, lost no time in soliciting Louis's confirmation, and travelled with all diligence into France, ostensibly to crown the Emperor, but in reality, we may assume, to secure his position.* The next Pope, Paschal I., was consecrated without awaiting the Imperial ratification; but, dreading the wrath of his suzerain, without loss of time he prudently despatched a deprecatory epistle, asserting that he had unwillingly been forced to undergo the ceremony, against his strenuous resistance.† Louis's gentle character was eminently unsuited to the ferocity of the age, while his sensitive superstition rendered him the willing slave of his ghostly advisers. Unable as he was to control the fierce elements of discord around him, or to resist the encroachments of ecclesiastical ambition, his influence rapidly diminished. Emboldened by this, Paschal soon took another and an important step in the enhancement of the Papal prerogative. In 817 Louis had crowned his eldest son, Lothair, and had associated him on the throne as co-Emperor, in precisely the same manner as he himself had received that dignity at the hands of Charlemagne. In 823 he sent the young Emperor to Italy to repress some disorders there. His mission accomplished, Lothair was about to return, when Paschal invited

* "Quam maximis poterat itineribus ad Imperatorem venire contendit; missis interim duobus legatis, qui quasi pro sua consecratione Imperatori suggererent." — Eginh. Annal., ann. 816. Stephen, the same year, caused a canon to be adopted in council, providing that in future no elected Pope should be consecrated except in presence of delegates sent by the Emperor, and also that no new form of oath should be exacted, — "ne vel ecclesia scandalizetur et Imperialis honorificentia minuatur" (Gratian. Dist. 63, can. 28), — the genuineness and date of which have been the subject of no little controversy. An allusion to it, however, by Nicholas I., in the Council of Rome, in 862, would seem to settle the question.

† "Et munera et excusatoriam Imperatori misit epistolam: in qua sibi non solum nolenti, sed etiam plurimum renitenti, pontificatus honorem velut impactum asseverat." — Eginh. Annal., ann. 817.

him to Rome, received him with all honor, and solemnly crowned him as Emperor and Augustus, — and this, to all appearance, without the consent or knowledge of his father. Following up this independence of action, shortly afterward, when two officers of high repute in the Papal court were cruelly murdered in the Lateran, and Paschal was popularly accused as author of the crime, he endeavored to escape from the Imperial jurisdiction by hastily clearing himself of complicity by a purgatorial oath before the arrival of the commissioners sent by Louis to investigate his connection with the crime, acknowledging, nevertheless, his accountability to the Emperor by two legations despatched with his explanations.*

These efforts of the Holy See to shake off the Imperial authority called for some counter-demonstration; and it is probable that the energetic Lothair was less willing than his father to permit any curtailment of his ancestral prerogatives. When, therefore, Paschal died during the next year, and his successor, Eugenius II., after a hotly contested election, contented himself, after consecration, with sending a legate to apprise the Emperors of the fact, Lothair proceeded at once to Rome. Eugenius was compelled to subscribe a written oath of allegiance, and another oath was administered to all the inhabitants, lay and clerical, in which they swore not only fidelity to the Emperors, but also that they would never consent to the installation of a Pope elect until after he had taken a similar oath to a special Imperial commissioner.† Accordingly, when, in 827, the chair of St. Peter was again vacant, the consecration of Gregory IV. was postponed until the arrival of an en-

* Eginh. Annal., ann. 823.

† "Et ille qui electus fuerit, me consentiente, consecratus Pontifex non fiat, priusquam tale sacramentum faciat in præsentia missi domini Imperatoris et populi, cum juramento quale dominus Eugenius Papa sponte pro conservatione omnium factum habet per scriptum." (Baluze, I. 648.) The expression "pro conservatione omnium" renders it probable that the oath was not taken by Eugenius without some decided proceedings on the part of Lothair, whose exercise of sovereign authority is further shown by his edict limiting the extent of suffrage in future elections. (Ibid. II. 317.) The change which occurred during the century is well exhibited by comparing this with the oath taken by the Romans on the coronation of the Emperor Arnoul in 896, in which the Papal claim to their obedience is expressly reserved, — "salvo honore et lege mea, atque fidelitate domni Formosi Papæ, fidelis sum et ero omnibus diebus vitæ meæ Arnulfo imperatori." (Annal. Fuldens., ann. 895.)

voy with powers to confirm the election. The effort, however, was too late. Events were hurrying on which were destined at length to render all such precautions futile, and Lothair himself was one of the chief instruments in the hands of Providence by which was wrought out the revolution of European institutions, resulting in the power of the priesthood and the eventual irresponsible supremacy of the Pope.

The turbulent ambition of Lothair and his two brothers, their hatred of their stepmother, Judith, and their envy of their half-brother, Charles-le-Chauve, the youngest, best, and most beloved of the children of Louis, filled the rest of his miserable reign with open war or secret intrigues. His death added fresh fuel to the flame, and until the exhausted combatants swore a hollow truce at the Treaty of Verdun, in 843, the Empire was a scene of universal confusion. This parricidal and fratricidal strife, continued with scanty intermissions until the close of the century, reduced the royal power to a shadow. Truth, faith, loyalty, patriotism, all the virtues which give stability to governments, seemed unknown. On every side the chiefs and deputies of the nominal monarch, striving for independence and hereditary authority, were transferring their allegiance, and wringing fresh concessions from the infatuated brothers, as the price of their fidelity or of their treachery. On every side the Northmen poured in upon the unguarded coasts, ascended the rivers, and, gathering confidence from almost uninterrupted success, ravaged every portion of France and of the fertile Rhinelands. On the west the Bretons, on the east the Wends and Serbs, on the south the active and unsparing Saracens, released from the terror of the invincible Charles, revenged the wrongs and humiliations of generations. Faction in the council, discord in the court, cowardice or treachery in the field, could offer but vain resistance to the encroachments of the only power which maintained its unity, which understood its aims, and which pursued its purposes with energy and consistency. Nor is it surprising that the people, ground to the dust by the senseless quarrels of their rulers, exposed alike to the unchecked tyranny of their immediate masters, the devastations of civil war, and the hideous barbarities of Pagan pirates, — the people, to whom civil

government was known only as an instrument of oppression, and never as a means of defence or redress, — should turn in despair to the Church, as the only source of consolation in the present and of hope in the future, — should welcome any change which tended to elevate the spiritual power at the expense of the temporal, and should give eager credit to the doctrines which taught that in all things the Vicegerent of Christ, and his ministers, were paramount over those who had so wofully abused their trust.*

In this revolution, so necessary to the interests of Christendom and civilization, one of the most efficient agents was the False Decretals. About this period began to circulate from hand to hand a collection of Papal Epistles, to which the names of the early Bishops of Rome communicated the authority of the primitive and uncorrupted Church, instinct with pure and undisputed apostolic tradition. The name assumed by the compiler was Isidor Mercator, or Peccator, and as the original copy was said to have come from Spain, he was readily confounded with St. Isidor of Seville, the eminent canonist, who, two centuries earlier, had enjoyed a wide and well-merited reputation for extensive learning and unquestioned orthodoxy. Denis the Less, who, in the first half of the sixth century, made an authoritative collection of canons and decretals, commences the latter with Pope Siricius, whose pontificate extended from 385 to 399; and there is no earlier epistle, unquestionably authentic, except a single one of St. Clement, the disciple of St. Peter. When, therefore, the decisions and decrees of more than thirty holy fathers, of venerable antiquity, were presented under the authority of ecclesiastics high in rank and power, and these decrees were found to suit the wants and aspirations of the moment, it is no wonder that they were accepted with little scrutiny by those whose cause

* The manner in which the Church earned the gratitude of the masses while extending its power and influence, is well illustrated in the election of Guido as King of Lombardy by the bishops assembled at Pavia in 888 or 889. One of the conditions imposed on him was, that no exactions or oppressions should be inflicted on the people; but that if, in any case of the kind, the counts did not actively interfere to repress it, they should be excommunicated by the bishops, — thus rendering the latter the legal protectors of the people and guardians of the laws. (Widonis Regis Elect. Cap. V., ap. Muratori, Antiq. Ital., Diss. III.)

they served, and who were not accustomed to the exercise of strict archæological criticism. It could hardly be expected that a prelate of that rude age would analyze the rules presented for his guidance, and eliminate the false, which served his interests or his pride, from the true, with which they were skilfully intermingled. Some, more enlightened than the rest, perceiving that, if their own power was enhanced, at the same time their bonds of subjection to the central head were tightened, muttered faint and cautious doubts; but the vast majority received the new decretals with unquestioning faith; and though political causes delayed their unhesitating adoption, yet soon after the middle of the century we find them recognized with scarcely a dissentient voice.

Riculfus, who occupied the archiepiscopal see of Maintz from 787 to 814, is accredited with the paternity of this, — the boldest, most stupendous, and most successful forgery which the world has seen. Whether or not it was brought from Spain by him, or constructed under his supervision, there is little doubt that he employed himself industriously in disseminating copies.* Another collection, somewhat less bold in its pretensions, but equally apocryphal in character, had appeared somewhat earlier, having been given by Ingilram, Bishop of Metz, to Adrian I. in 785; and it was likewise extensively circulated and cited, although Hincmar of Rheims condemns it as having little authority, and bearing falsehood on its face.† Other documents of various descriptions were

* Hincmar, created Archbishop of Rheims in 845, thus alludes to their introduction: "Sicut et de libro collectarum epistolarum ab Isidoro, quem de Hispania allatum, Riculfus Moguntinus episcopus, in hujusmodi sicut et in capitulis regiis studiosus, obtinuit, et istas regiones ex illo repleri fecit." Hincmar evidently considers them as of doubtful authority, when he declines to cite them in support of his positions, because he had plenty of authorities from the Popes after Damasus, — "superfluum duxi non necessaria in medium devocare" (Opusc. adv. Hincm. Laudun. Cap. XXIV). This does not, however, prevent his making use of them when later and more unimpeachable authorities are wanting. Thus (op. cit. Cap. XIV.) he adduces an epistle of St. Anacletus, whose pontificate dates within twenty years of the death of St. Peter, in which is described a complete hierarchy, such as, in the ninth century, was looked upon as the perfection of church government, — bishops, metropolitans, archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, with the Roman Pontiff as supreme ruler, issuing, without appeal, his commands and decrees. (Pseud. Anaclet. Epist. 1, 2, 4, 5.)

† "Quam dissonæ inter se habeantur, qui legit satis intelligit, et quam diversæ

also fabricated for the same purpose, and, indeed, we may perhaps assume that the whole series was of gradual accretion, growing from time to time under the hands of those who were watching the progress of events, and who became emboldened by their success and by the ease with which they escaped detection.

Their success at first, it is true, was rather negative than positive, and the earliest practical promulgation of the forgeries for daily use would appear to be in the canons compiled for his diocese by Remy, who was Bishop of Coire from 815 to 830. Charlemagne, indeed, as early as 806, had admitted one canon into a Capitulary;* but in general their influence over his legislation and government is imperceptible. His power was too firmly established, and his temper rendered opposition too dangerous, for any serious attempt to limit his control over ecclesiastical matters. While he made full use of clerical influence in carrying out his views of a strong and civilizing government, obedience to his will was the condition of its existence; nor, while he labored strenuously to inculcate respect for the sacerdotal character, would he permit the Church to exercise any undue interference in affairs not connected with its special office.† His influence was too deeply impressed upon the age to be at once obliterated; and, for some years after his death, the Empire maintained the dignified force with which he had invested it. The virtues and weaknesses of Louis-le-Débonnaire, however, rendered his power a prize for whoever had boldness and ambition to clutch at a fragment of it, and the penance of Attigni in 822, while it degraded him in the eyes of the fierce warriors of the Franks, proclaimed to the world that priestly influence was all-powerful in the state. It would indeed have been singular if the Church had not

a sacris canonibus, et quam discrepantes in quibusdam ab ecclesiasticis judiciis habeantur, ut hic quædam de plurimis ponam, evidentur manifestatur." (Op. cit. Cap. XXIV.) According to some manuscripts, it was Adrian who gave them to Ingilram, but the reading of the best manuscript is that given in the text.

* Capit. Car. Mag. VI., ann. 806, § 23.

† This jealousy of sacerdotal encroachment is well expressed by a passage in a Capitulary directing the clergy and the laity not to interfere with each other: "Hic interrogandum est acutissime quid est quod Apostolus ait *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus*, vel ad quos sermo iste pertineat." — Capit. Car. Mag. I., ann. 811, § 4.

advanced in the path thus laid open to it, and claimed all the supremacy to which it was invited. Accordingly, we find that the bishops soon appear as the ruling order in the state, sitting in judgment on the Emperor, deposing, absolving, and reinstating him by turns, — doing, in the name of Heaven, that which the reckless nobles still shrank from assuming as an earthly prerogative. This placed a material power in hands well qualified to use and extend it; and though, during those busy years of anarchy and strife, the Church had enough to do in protecting her property from the hands of the spoiler, and was unable to combine her forces seriously and steadily for the attainment of new legal privileges and exemptions, still the influence of the prelates, as potential members of the civil government, vastly increased the political weight of the ecclesiastical body, and placed them in a position to make good whatever encroachments they might seek to establish. In restoring order after the long and lawless struggle, it was also comparatively easy to assume that the pretensions then first seriously brought forward were merely the resuscitation of rights, familiar to the past generation, which had been trampled upon and forgotten in the fury of civil war.* At the same time, the comparative quiet which succeeded the Treaty of Verdun soon made manifest the new and pressing need of a strong ecclesiastical government. The empire of Charlemagne was then finally divided, and the nationalities of Europe spontaneously separated themselves into the limits which, with but little alteration, they have preserved to the present day. Had the Church remained under secular control, as before, it would have been split into fragments; all unity would have been lost, and the spiritual tyranny which alone could maintain the influence of religion amid the barbarous turmoil of the age would have become impossible. To elevate the sanctity of the sacerdotal character; the power of the bishops over the laity and the inferior clergy; the control of the metropolitans over their suffragans; to emancipate all from subjection to the tem-

* "Jura sacerdotum penitus eversa ruerunt.
Divinæ jam legis amor terrorque recessit,
Et scita jam canonum cunctorum calce teruntur."
Flor. Diac. de Divis. Imp.

poral power, and to bind them more strongly than ever to the foot of the pontifical throne, — such was the only apparent solution to present and prospective difficulties. If it were carried out by fraud and forgery, we are almost tempted, in view of the result, to pardon the baseness of the attempt, and to adopt the doctrine of the justification of means by ends.

The date, the author, and the special object of the False Decretals have given rise to keen speculation and fierce dispute, particularly among modern German critics, whose theories, more or less plausible, it would be useless to recapitulate or refute here. The views of the Ballerini, Wasserschleben, Gfrörer, Walter, Knust, Hefele, Phillips, and others, may be found well summed up and stated by Heinrich Denziger;* but the chief interest of the discussion arises from its showing how the over-subtile refinements requisite to support a preconceived opinion may mislead intelligent investigators. Those who see in these forgeries an effort merely to increase the power of the Pope, or, on the other hand, to enlarge the prerogatives of the metropolitans, or, again, to render the bishops independent, take a view by far too narrow of the causes and consequences of the attempt. In fact, the philosophizing tendencies of recent historical criticism have led to the assumption that the influence of the False Decretals had previously been greatly overrated. This we take to be an error, easily committed by those to whom the novelty of a brilliant sophism is more attractive than a commonplace truth, and, when time and space permit, we may perhaps undertake the proof of our position. Meanwhile we may briefly remark, that although we have described some of the causes which contributed to the triumphant success of the undertaking, it by no means follows that those causes would have produced the same effects had they not thus been artificially directed into the desired channel. It is certain that about the middle of the century a great and silent revolution occurred in the relations of church and state, and that these new canons were the instrument with which the ecclesiastical party worked upon the general popular readiness, the existence of which we have assumed, to submit to such a change of masters. To es-

* Ecloge et Epicrisis eorum quæ a recentioribus criticis de Pseudoisidorianis Decretalibus statuta sunt. (Migne, Patrologiæ Tom. CXXX.)

timate the influence of these canons and the other cognate forgeries, requires an attentive examination of the jurisprudence and legislation of the period, which they interpenetrate to an extent that shows how thoroughly they modified the condition of society in all its ramifications. Interpolated into codes of laws, adopted, amplified, and extended in canons of Councils and decretals of Popes, they speedily became part and parcel of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of Europe, leaving traces on the institutions which they affected for centuries. The Carlovingian Capitularies, which they distorted from their original purport, were the recognized laws of the western and northern portions of the Empire, until swallowed up by the all-pervading influence of feudalism, and even then they were constantly appealed to as authority. As late as the close of the eleventh century, they were cited in a suit between Centulla IV. of Béarn and the Bishop of Lescar;* in 1208, Otho IV., at his election, took an oath with the princes of the Empire, in which they mutually bound themselves to preserve intact all the laws of Charlemagne;† the *Speculum Suevicum*, which, from the thirteenth century, was the municipal code of Southern Germany, declares that all law is founded on the legislation of Charlemagne and of the Popes,‡ and it is itself, to a considerable extent, based on the Third Book of the Capitularies; while some of the Capitularies, relating more particularly to ecclesiastical matters, being drafted into the collections of canons, were perpetuated through Burckhardt, Ivo, and Gratian, during the whole mediæval period.

If the False Decretals thus left their impress on secular legislation, their overwhelming force in modifying the position and organization of the Church may easily be conceived. The pretensions and privileges conferred on the hierarchy became the most dearly-prized and frequently-quoted portion of the canon law. In each struggle with the temporal authority, it was the arsenal from which were drawn the most effective

* Mazure et Hatoulet, Fors de Béarn, p. xxxviii.

† "Ibi Rex primo, deinde cæteri principes jurant . . . . omnia etiam jura a Karolo magno instituta observanda et tuenda."— Godefrid. S. Pantal. Annal., ann. 1208.

‡ "Itaque nullum jus provinciale aut feudale subsistit aliter quam quatenus a clero Romano et ex Regis Caroli legibus derivata est."— Juris Provin. Alam. Introit. § 31.

weapons, and after each successful struggle the sacerdotal combatants had higher vantage-ground for the ensuing conflict. The satire of Rabelais loses its usual extravagance, when, dwelling upon the virtues of the "sacrosainctes Decretales,"— the development and application of the forgeries of the eighth and ninth centuries, — he exclains: "Qui faict le sainct siege Apostolicque en Romme de tout temps et auiourdhuy tant redouctable en luniuers que il fault, ribon ribaine, que tous roys, empereurs, potentatz et seigneurs pendent de luy, tieignent de luy, par luy soyent couronnez, confirmez, authorisez, vieignent la boucquer et se prosterner a la mirificque pantofle de laquelle auez veu le pourtraict? Belles Decretales de Dieu!"* For eight centuries the authority of Isidor and Ingilram was unquestioned; nor, when antiquarian research began to develop the anachronisms with which the forgeries

* When Rabelais undertook to describe "Comment par la vertus des Decretales est lor subtillement tyré de France en Romme," he only enlarged upon a theme which had long been keenly appreciated. In 1372, we find the whole body of the clergy of Maintz binding themselves by a solemn agreement not to pay a tithe levied upon them by the Court of Rome, and complaining bitterly of the exactions to which they were continually exposed, — "et propter exactiones Papales perplurimas, in his terris clerici ad magnam paupertatem redacti. . . . . Quod sedes ipsa, contra morem veterem Sanctorum Patrum, ad partes exteras nunquam his temporibus mittit predicatores vel viciorum correctores, sed cottidie mittit bene pompizantes, et facta sua proprie dirigentes, pecuniarum peritissimos exactores." (Gudeni Cod. Diplomat., T. III. p. 509.) More than a century previous, "Golias Episcopus" dwells upon it with a pertinacity which shows its importance at that period, and promulgates the discovery,

"Romani capitulum habent in decretis,
ut petentes audiant manibus repletis;
dabis, aut non dabitur, petunt quando petis;
qua mensura seminas et eadem metis."

And earlier still, in the eleventh century, the implacable virtue of St. Peter Damiani exclaims, with indignant sorrow,

"Heu! Sedes Apostolica
Orbis olim gloria,
Nunc, proh dolor! efficeris
Officina Simonis."— Epist. IX. Lib. IV.

That the moneyed value of e Papal authority was known and acted upon even in the period which we have been considering, is well illustrated by the fact that Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, a man of the highest ecclesiastical repute and consideration, when about to visit Rome on business with the Court of St. Peter, begs his friends for presents to take with him, assuming, as a matter of course, that nothing could be expected of the Pope without them. "Et quoniam in conficiendis rebus apostolici notitia indigebo, ea vero sine munerum intercessione inire commode non potest."— Lupi Ferrar. Epist. 68.

were filled, did the Church abandon her champions. The learning of Blondel, it is true, silenced his adversaries, but the Decretum Gratiani could not be mutilated, and the false and genuine continued to appear in inextricable juxtaposition. Even in our own day apologists are to be found who cannot see that the teachings of Isidor are not in accordance with the history and doctrines of the primitive Apostolic Church, or that they were innovations on the established order of things existing at the time of their production.*

To show how great was the revolution which took place about the period when the forgeries appeared, and how intimate was the connection between those forgeries and the changes which they were designed to create, will require an examination into a few points relating to the mutual dependence of the secular and clerical powers as they existed before and after the dissemination of the doctrines of Isidor. The coincidence between these events is so remarkable, that the much-abused argument, *post hoc igitur propter hoc*, may fairly be applied to them as respectively cause and effect. To do this, however, would require more space than is at present at our disposal: in a future number we hope to recur to the subject, and to show how, in the ninth century, the Church declared itself independent of the state, and was at the same time subjugated by the Papacy.

---

* A recent author does not hesitate to assume that the Pseudo-Isidor only embodies the received doctrines existing at the time of its manufacture, whence he concludes, "Pseudo-Isidoricam collectionem ingenuis juris fontibus indebito annumerari," (D. Georg. Phillips, Kirchenrecht, 1851,) seemingly forgetful that, if it is only a record, and not a source of privilege, the claims it advances for the Church must be good to the present day.

The arguments of those who endeavor to prove that the forgeries wrought no perceptible change in the institutions of the period reduce themselves to this. The attempt is made to prove that the Pseudo-Isidor was not compiled until about 850, or later, and that it was not known in Rome itself until long afterward. The effort is then made to show, by the acts of Gregory IV., Leo II., Nicholas I., and other Pontiffs, that the same principles were in vigor at a time when the Popes are presumed to be ignorant of the existence of Isidor, and that therefore the latter had no influence in establishing those principles. There are several gaps in this chain of argument, of which it will be sufficient to observe that it takes no cognizance of the fact that the canons of Ingilram existed in the eighth century; that the principles therein enunciated are nearly identical with those of the Pseudo-Isidor; and that, as soon as the strong hand of Charlemagne lost its terrors, those principles gradually came into play, to be fully evoked when the tumults of the civil war were over.

ART. IV. — *Lectures on Metaphysics.* By SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, BART., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by the REV. HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B. D., Oxford, and JOHN VEITCH, M. A., Edinburgh. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 8vo. pp. xx. and 718.

FEW persons who have any taste for philosophical studies have failed to recognize the powerful influence of Sir William Hamilton in this department of learning. In whatever light we regard him, he is certainly among the most wonderful men of the age. One is almost tempted to think that his immense erudition forms a counter-argument to his refutation of Hegel's and Schelling's doctrine of human omniscience. Every great thought on every subject discussed by the wise men of the world seems to have found its way to his capacious intellect. As we note his innumerably various references to ancient authors, and his familiarity with them, we easily credit the well-authenticated fact, that when he presented himself for his degree, the masters declined to question him in fourteen of the books professed by him in Greek philosophy, as being too abstrusely metaphysical for examination. Every faculty of a naturally well-furnished mind had been disciplined to a skilful activity in the acquisition and the arrangement of knowledge. He is no mere encyclopædia of facts, doctrines, or opinions. Extensive as is his learning, it is critical and interpretative. His judgments are little influenced by the views of others. He holds a position so far above the great mass of writers, that he can readily survey the fields they occupy, and accurately determine their true positions. The few great names which "dwell apart," like Plato and Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Leibnitz, and Kant, though they furnish much material, never brought him under their dominion; for he, too, dwelt in a realm of his own, which, though open to the freest intercourse with others, never became tributary to them.

His vast powers of generalization, of analysis, and of reasoning, his admirable precision in statement, and his mastery of language, make his vast hoards of knowledge available to his

pupils and to his readers in a wonderful manner. His writings, too, are characterized by a more healthy tone than those of any other great thinker of the present century. The direct and manly speech, the energy with which he vindicates his favorite studies, the high moral influence and the reverent piety which pervade his pages, are scarcely less remarkable than the wealth of erudition which constitutes him the most learned metaphysician of his time. The hard and difficult style which had characterized his dissertations and discussions rendered many sceptical as to the announcement that the Lectures on Metaphysics, about to be published, would be of a more popular character than his previous writings. The doubters have, however, been happily disappointed. These Lectures are evidently intended to be read, and are by no means removed from ordinary comprehension. Thousands who have heretofore been repelled by the very name of metaphysics, will find themselves powerfully attracted toward this volume. It contains forty-six lectures, delivered to the students in the University of Edinburgh, together with an Appendix embracing much valuable matter. Some of the principal features of this philosophy, as distinguished from what is usually taught among us, or as more satisfactory in the statements of disputed philosophical doctrines, we propose to notice in the present article.

The first two lectures discuss the absolute utility of philosophy, the one subjectively, the other objectively. They were not always delivered in the order of the present arrangement; sometimes one, and sometimes the other, having introduced the course. In these lectures are found the fundamental elements of the author's idea of an educational system. We must perforce neglect much that he says respecting utilitarian culture, and the relative subordination of knowledge and intellectual discipline. The great question whether truth or the pursuit of truth is the superior end, he declares to be the most important practical problem in the entire compass of philosophy. On its solution depends the whole method which an enlightened science of education must adopt in the arrangement of certain great departments of study. The question has seldom been fairly discussed, because men jump to the

conclusion that *truth* is more valuable than its *pursuit*, since an end is more important than its means. But he shows the falsity of this notion as to practical knowledge, by simply calling to mind the fact that a moral, political, or religious truth is valuable only for its application. So in speculative knowledge, "*Sordet cognita veritas*," says Seneca.

"A truth once known falls into comparative insignificance. It is now prized less on its own account, than as opening up new ways to new activity, new suspense, new hopes, new discoveries, new self-gratulation. Every votary of science is wilfully ignorant of a thousand established facts, — of a thousand which he might make his own more easily than he could attempt the discovery of even one. But it is not knowledge — it is not truth — that he principally seeks; he seeks the exercise of his faculties and feelings; and, as in following after the one he exerts a greater amount of pleasurable energy than in taking formal possession of the thousand, he disdains the certainty of the many, and prefers the chances of the one. . . . . It is ever the contest that pleases us, and not the victory." — pp. 7, 8.

In demonstrating that the object of education is incomparably less the acquisition of knowledge than the exercise of the faculties, our author brings out a thought which, in various forms, runs through this entire series of lectures, — activity regarded as an essential property of the soul. Further on, we shall mark the stress he lays on the incessant activity of the mind, and his theory of pleasure is that it is the concomitant of a perfect energy, whether of the senses or of the intellect; while pain is the result of an impeded tendency to action, or of being urged to a degree or to a continuance of energy beyond the limit to which it of itself freely tends. On this account he claims for his own science the first place, both in time and in importance, in the course of study, and gives some brief but very fruitful hints respecting the most profitable method of pursuing it. He closes the first lecture with the following paragraph: —

"These views have determined my plan of practical instruction. Regarding the communication of knowledge as a high, but not the highest aim of academical instruction, I shall not content myself with the delivery of lectures. By all means in my power I shall endeavor to rouse you, gentlemen, to the free and vigorous exercise of your

faculties; and shall deem my task accomplished, not by teaching Logic and Philosophy, but by teaching to reason and philosophize." — p. 13.

In the Appendix, in connection with this lecture, is a fragment on the subject of Academical Honors. On this topic a great deal has been written, and a great deal more has been thought, in our own country. On the one hand, it has been urged that the motive implied in such inducements is an inferior and unworthy one; that the student ought to find his incentive in the virtue or righteousness of the work, or, at least, in the excellency of knowledge and the benefit resulting from its acquisition. There are also set forth, on this side, the unhealthy ambition engendered, the base rivalries and selfish animosities excited, with the unhappy train of evil consequences, both to body and mind. On the other hand, it is asserted that the motives from the usefulness of knowledge cannot be at first appreciated, and that it requires no small culture to enable a student to act merely because it is right, or to see that virtue is its own reward. As the mental exertion is at first and for a long time painful, and as the pain is immediate while the reward is remote, an immediate stimulus is needful to induce that strenuous energy which is requisite to success. We are to appeal to the highest motive which the individual is competent to apprehend. This latter view is taken by Hamilton. "Emulation and the love of honor constitute the appropriate stimulus in education. These affections are planted in man for the wisest purposes; and, though they may be misdirected, the inference from the possibility of their abuse to the absolute inexpediency of their employment is invalid."

We must touch, *currente calamo*, on the original treatment of the objective utility of philosophy; albeit we yield to the strong temptation to linger about the statement of the relation of psychology to theology. The affirmation of a God, the author shows to be "a regressive inference from the existence of a special class of effects, to the existence of a certain character of cause." He asserts that the class of phenomena which requires that kind of a cause denominated by us Deity, is exclusively given in the phenomena of mind. The phenomena of matter, *taken by themselves*, would not only afford no infer-

ence in favor of the existence of a God, but would furnish an argument for its negation. That we are not relieved from the charge of atheism by avowing the notion of a first cause; nor even if we complement this notion with the attribute of Omnipotence; and that a veritable Divinity requires the qualities of intelligence and virtue (the latter involving liberty), — are among the propositions which he illustrates in an instructive manner. Reasoning from these he arrives at the two following affirmations: "1. That intelligence stands first in the absolute order of existence, — in other words, that final preceded efficient causes; and 2. That the universe is governed by moral laws." "The proof of these two propositions is the proof of a God." This proof is to be derived exclusively from the phenomena of mind. He draws our attention to the characteristic contrasts between the phenomena of matter and those of mind. Consciousness of freedom and a law of duty are the conditions of Theology. Psychological materialism leads to theological atheism, as in the aphorism of Dr. Henry More: "Nullus in microcosmo spiritus, nullus in macrocosmo Deus." He does not assert that all materialists deny or actually disbelieve the being of a God; "for, in very many cases, this would be at once an unmerited compliment to their reasoning, and an unmerited reproach to their faith."

Under the head of "the dispositions with which philosophy ought to be studied," there are several admirable practical suggestions. In order to any progress in philosophy "we must banish prejudice, passion, and sloth." Every person grows up under accumulating beliefs, which sprang from various influences and circumstances operative in the formation of his intellectual and moral habits. They may be true or false, or, more probably, a medley of truth and error. Looking through them at the object of his studies, one is apt to get a distorted view of facts and relations; and thus approaches the study of philosophy, not ignorant, but perverted. All these prejudices — all opinions formed on irrational grounds — ought to be removed.

"In this, if I may, without irreverence, compare things human with things divine, Christianity and Philosophy coincide, — for truth is equally the end of both. What is the primary condition which our

Saviour requires of his disciples? That they throw off their old prejudices, and come with hearts willing to receive knowledge, and understandings open to conviction. 'Unless,' he says, 'ye become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.' Such is true religion; such, also, is true philosophy. Philosophy requires an emancipation from the yoke of foreign authority, a renunciation of all blind adhesion to the opinions of our age and country, and a purification of the intellect from all assumptive beliefs. Unless we can cast off the prejudices of the man, and become as children, docile and unperverted, we need never hope to enter the temple of philosophy. It is the neglect of this primary condition which has mainly occasioned men to wander from the unity of truth, and caused the endless variety of religious and philosophical sects. Men would not submit to approach the Word of God, in order to receive from that alone their doctrine and their faith; but they came in general with preconceived opinions, and, accordingly, each found in revelation only what he was predetermined to find. So, in like manner, is it in philosophy. Consciousness is to the philosopher what the Bible is to the theologian. Both are revelations of the truth, — and both afford the truth to those who are content to receive it, as it ought to be received, with reverence and submission." — p. 58.

On pride, as a powerful impediment to progress in philosophy, the author discourses as follows: —

"Under the influence of this passion, men seek honor, but not truth. They do not cultivate what is most valuable in reality, but what is most valuable in opinion. They disdain, perhaps, what can be easily accomplished, and apply themselves to the obscure and recondite; but as the vulgar and easy is the foundation on which the rare and arduous is built, they fail even in attaining the object of their ambition, and remain with only a farrago of confused and ill-assorted notions. In all its phases, self-love is an enemy to philosophical progress; and the history of philosophy is filled with the illusions of which it has been the source. On the one side it has led men to close their eyes against the most evident truths which were not in harmony with their adopted opinions. It is said there was not a physician in Europe, above the age of forty, who would admit Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. On the other hand, it is finely observed by Bacon, that 'the eye of the human intellect is not dry, but receives a suffusion from the will and the affections, so that it may almost be said to engender any science it pleases. For what a man wishes to be true, that he prefers believing.'" — pp. 66, 67.

In stating the order which he proposes to follow, with his

class, in philosophical instruction, Sir William gives a lucid exposition of the different departments of general philosophy. He defines metaphysics as a complement of sciences exclusively occupied with mind, and says that it has a threefold object. "The whole of philosophy is the answer to these three questions. 1. What are the Facts or Phenomena to be observed? 2. What are the Laws which regulate these facts, or under which these phenomena appear? 3. What are the real Results, not immediately manifested, which these facts or phenomena warrant us in drawing?" Applying this to the philosophy of mind, and, with great clearness and precision, setting forth the various subdivisions, with his reasons for them, he presents the following tabular view of the distribution most satisfactory to himself: —

Mind or Consciousness affords

- Facts, — Phenomenology, Empirical Psychology.
  - Cognitions.
  - Feelings.
  - Conative Powers (Will and Desire).
- Laws, — Nomology, Rational Psychology.
  - Cognitions, — Logic.
  - Feelings, — Æsthetic.
  - Conative Powers.
    - Moral Philosophy.
    - Political Philosophy.
- Results, — Ontology, Inferential Psychology.
  - Being of God.
  - Immortality of the Soul, etc. (p. 88.)

The course of instruction pursued by our Professor embraced only a part of the above scheme. He excludes Practical Philosophy, that is, Ethics, Politics, and Economics; and he does not formally discuss Nomology or Ontology, nor is much said on the conative powers. Of what remains he makes two courses, — one on Logic and one on Metaphysics proper.

We cannot attempt an analysis or any adequate sketch of his lectures in detail. We only essay to bring forward some of his more important and prominent views, and to give such a statement of them as may indicate the value and interest of the author's philosophy. The first great feature of his scheme which attracts our attention is *the relativity of human knowledge*. This he sets forth in a forcible manner, and resolutely insists upon it. His views are attractive, are likely to be largely adopted, and are already becoming influential in the religious discussions of the times. He asserts that we know nothing *absolutely;* whatever we know is only in its relation

to us and our faculties. Our senses are not cognizant of *substances* at all, only of their *phenomena*. This is no more the fact in respect of mind than of matter. The soul in itself is just as knowable as the body is in itself. All that is known of matter is what appears to us under the forms of extension, solidity, divisibility, figure, color, motion, etc.

"But as the phenomena appear only in conjunction, we are compelled by the constitution of our nature to think them conjoined in and by something; and as they are phenomena, we cannot think them the phenomena of nothing, but must regard them as the properties or qualities of something that is extended, solid, figured, etc. But this something, absolutely and in itself, — *i. e.* considered apart from its phenomena, — is to us as zero. It is only in its qualities, only in its effects, in its relative or phenomenal existence, that it is cognizable or conceivable; and it is only by a law of thought, which compels us to think something, absolute and unknown, as the basis or condition of the relative and known, that this something obtains a kind of incomprehensible reality to us. . . . . The same is true in regard to the term *mind*. In so far as mind is the common name for the states of knowing, willing, feeling, desiring, etc., of which I am conscious, it is only the name for a certain series of connected phenomena or qualities, and, consequently, expresses only what is known. But in so far as it denotes that subject or substance in which the phenomena of knowing, willing, etc. inhere, — something behind or under these phenomena, — it expresses what, in itself, or in its absolute existence, is unknown." — pp. 96, 97.

In this doctrine philosophers generally coincide, though few have stated it so clearly as Hamilton. But, though all that we know is only relative, and not absolute, it by no means follows that all relative existence is, or may be, known to us. Our sphere of knowledge is further limited by the special conditions of our faculties. We perceive only such phenomena as our faculties are fitted to apprehend. But we must not infer that there are no other properties than these. A race of deaf men would never guess that there was any such property as sound, unless it were revealed to them by some other intelligence; and then it would be a matter of faith. A race of blind men might suppose that their powers of apprehension were suited to all possible modes of existence, while at the same time color would be totally excluded.

"The universe may be conceived as a polygon of a thousand or a

hundred thousand sides or facets, — and each of these sides or facets may be conceived as representing one special mode of existence. Now, of these thousand sides or modes all may be equally essential, but three or four only may be turned towards us or be analogous to our organs. One side or facet of the universe, as holding a relation to the organ of sight, is the mode of luminous or visible existence; another, as proportional to the organ of hearing, is the mode of sonorous or audible existence; and so on. But if every eye to see, if every ear to hear, were annihilated, the modes of existence to which these organs now stand in relation — that which could be seen, that which could be heard — would still remain; and if the intelligences, reduced to the three senses of touch, smell, and taste, were then to assert the impossibility of any modes of being except those to which these three senses were analogous, the procedure would not be more unwarranted, than if we now ventured to deny the possible reality of other modes of material existence than those to the perception of which our five senses are accommodated." — p. 100.

Great as was Shakespeare's range of knowledge, he probably wrote "wiser than he knew," when he talked of "more things in heaven and earth, than are dreamt of in our philosophy." At any rate, the sentiment gains a multifold force when regarded in the light of these speculations. As a better illustration still, our author introduces the ingenious conceit of Voltaire, in which an inhabitant of one of the dog-star planets, while making a tour of the universe, calls on the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences in Saturn, and is surprised to learn that the inhabitants of that little world have only seventy-two senses; though not surprised to hear that they complain of the smallness of the number; that their imagination far outruns their wants; that they feel painfully the restriction of being cooped up within their ring and their five moons; that in spite of their curiosity, and of as many passions as can result from six dozen of senses, the hours hang very heavily on their hands; and that they can always find time enough for yawning. To which the Sirian Micromegas replies: —

"'I can very well believe it, for in our globe we have very near one thousand senses; and yet, with all these, we feel continually a sort of listless inquietude and vague desire, which are forever telling us that we are nothing, and that there are beings infinitely nearer perfection. I have travelled a good deal in the universe. I have seen many classes

of mortals far beneath us, and many as much superior; but I never had the good fortune to meet with any who had not always more desires than real necessities to occupy their life. And pray, how long may you Saturnians live, with your few senses?' continued the Sirian. 'Ah! but a very short time indeed!' said the little man of Saturn, with a sigh. 'It is the same with us,' said the traveller; 'we are forever complaining of the shortness of life. It must be a universal law of nature.' 'Alas!' said the Saturnian, 'we live only five hundred great revolutions of the sun (which is pretty much about fifteen thousand years of our counting). You see well, that this is to die almost the moment one is born. Our existence is a point, — our duration an instant, — our globe an atom. Scarcely have we begun to pick up a little knowledge, when death rushes in upon us, before we can have acquired anything like experience. As for me, I cannot venture even to think of any project. I feel myself but like a drop of water in the ocean; and, especially now, when I look to you and to myself, I really feel quite ashamed of the ridiculous appearance which I cut in the universe.' 'If I did not know you to be a philosopher,' replied Micromegas, 'I should be afraid of distressing you, when I tell you, that our life is seven hundred times longer than yours. But what is even that? and, when we come to the last moment, to have lived a single day, and to have lived a whole eternity, amount to the same thing. I have been in countries where they live a thousand times longer than with us; and I have always found them murmuring, just as we do ourselves. But you have seventy-two senses, and they must have told you something about your globe. How many properties has matter with you?' 'If you mean essential properties,' said the Saturnian, 'without which our globe could not subsist, we count three hundred, — extension, impenetrability, mobility, gravity, divisibility, &c.' 'That small number,' replied the gigantic traveller, 'may be sufficient for the views which the Creator must have had with respect to your narrow habitation. Your globe is little; its inhabitants are so too. You have few senses; your matter has few qualities. In all this, Providence has suited you most happily to each other.' The Academician was more and more astonished with everything which the traveller told him. At length, after communicating to each other a little of what they knew, and a great deal of what they knew not, and reasoning as well and as ill as philosophers usually do, they resolved to set out together on a little tour of the universe." — pp. 101, 102.

In addition to the fact that our knowledge is confined to phenomena, to the exclusion of substances, and the fact that

existence is cognizable only under a few of the thousand possible modes of which it is capable (by reason of the fewness of our faculties), is the still further fact that the properties of existence are not known in their native purity. Whatever we know is not known as it is, but only as it seems to us to be. For instance, in the act of perception, the object is modified first by the medium through which it becomes sensible to the soul, and still further by the sense appealed to. Thus, of an object perceived by the mind, the notion which the mind has is made up of three parts, — what is contributed by the object, what is contributed by all that intervenes between the object and the organ of sense, and what is contributed by the organ itself. "This is the most difficult and important function of philosophy; and the greater number of its higher problems arise in the attempt to determine the shares to which the knowing subject, and the object known, may pretend in the total act of cognition. For according as we attribute a larger or a smaller proportion to each, we either run into the extremes of Idealism and Materialism, or maintain an equilibrium between the two."

In close relation to this relativity of human knowledge in our author's system, though presented at a later period in the course of instruction, is the Law of the Conditioned. It forms, perhaps, the most important feature in Hamilton's philosophy, and is likely to exercise an untold influence on the thinking processes of the age in other departments of study. He has more fully elaborated this principle in his Discussions, but gives a very distinct view of it in the Lectures. Preparatory to the statement of this doctrine, he discusses the subject of *necessary truths*. He discriminates these as positive and negative. In this distinction he takes an important step in advance of all previous philosophers. The thought of one of the former is an act of power, — of the latter, an act of weakness. This imbecility of the human mind constitutes a great negative principle, to which some of the most important phenomena of intelligence are to be referred. The principle of contradiction, or, as Hamilton says, "more properly the principle of non-contradiction," he declares to be the highest law of thought. "A thing cannot be and not be at

the same time, — *Alpha est, Alpha non est*, are propositions which cannot both be true at once. A second fundamental law of thought, or rather the principle of contradiction viewed in a certain aspect, is called the principle of Excluded Middle, or, more fully, the principle of Excluded Middle between two Contradictories. A thing either is, or is not, — *Aut est Alpha, aut non est;* there is no medium; one must be true, both cannot." These principles he lays down as preliminary to the discussion, and then proceeds as follows: —

"All that is conceivable in thought lies between two extremes, which, as contradictory of each other, cannot both be true, but of which, as mutual contradictories, one must. For example, we conceive space, — we cannot but conceive space. I admit, therefore, that Space, indefinitely, is a positive and necessary form of thought. But when philosophers connect the fact that we cannot but think space, or, to express it differently, that we are unable to imagine anything out of space, — when philosophers, I say, connect this fact with the assertion that we have a notion — a positive notion — of absolute or of infinite space, they assume, not only what is not contained in the phenomenon, nay, they assume what is the very reverse of what the phenomenon manifests. It is plain, that space must either be bounded or not bounded. These are contradictory alternatives; on the principle of Contradiction they cannot both be true, and on the principle of Excluded Middle, one must be true. This cannot be denied, without denying the primary laws of intelligence. But though space must be admitted to be necessarily either finite or infinite, we are able to conceive the possibility neither of its finitude nor of its infinity." — p. 527.

We cannot conceive space as bounded, — as a whole beyond which there is no further space; for in that case we should not be obliged to think of everything in space. Limited space is thus one of the contradictory alternatives which we can by no means conceive. We can no more realize in thought the opposite contradictory, — space without limits. We cannot conceive the infinite. Both contradictories are equally impossible to our thought. Could we limit our attention to one alone, we should regard it as impossible and absurd, and the other as necessarily true. But when we consider both, we find that they are equally incomprehensible; and yet, though unable to view either as possible, we are forced by a higher

law to admit that one, but only one, is necessary. "That the conceivable lies between two inconceivable extremes, is illustrated by every other relation of thought." The minimum of space is no more comprehensible than the maximum. However small, it is still extended and divisible. Of course it may be halved and quartered, and each of these parts may be again divided, and so on *ad infinitum*. What is true of space is true also of time. As an absolute whole, *a parte ante*, it is inconceivable. As an infinite regress, it is the same; also as an infinite progress; as a maximum and as a minimum, it is equally impossible to thought.

It is this law of mind, that the conceivable is in every relation bounded by the inconceivable, which he calls the "Law of the Conditioned." He pronounces the opinion, held by so many philosophers, that the Absolute is a native or necessary notion of intelligence, to be founded on vagueness and confusion.

"The sum, therefore, of what I have now stated is, that the Conditioned is that which is alone conceivable or cogitable; the Unconditioned, that which is inconceivable or incogitable. The conditioned or the thinkable lies between two extremes or poles; and these extremes or poles are each of them unconditioned, each of them inconceivable, each of them exclusive or contradictory of the other. Of these two repugnant opposites, the one is that of Unconditional or Absolute Limitation; the other, that of Unconditional or Infinite Illimitation. The one we may, therefore, in general, call the Absolutely Unconditioned, the other the Infinitely Unconditioned; or, more simply, the Absolute and Infinite; the term *absolute* expressing that which is finished or complete; the term *infinite*, that which cannot be terminated or concluded. These terms, which, like the Absolute and Infinite themselves, philosophers have confounded, ought not only to be distinguished, but opposed as contradictory. The notion of either unconditioned is negative, — the absolute and the infinite can each only be conceived as a negation of the thinkable. In other words, of the absolute and the infinite we have no conception at all." — pp. 530, 531.

Sir William makes, in passing, a brief application of this doctrine to our conceptions of God. We must believe in the infinity of God. But the infinite God cannot by us be comprehended or conceived. A Deity understood, would be no Deity at all; and it is blasphemy to say that God only is as we

are able to think him to be. "We know God, according to the finitude of our faculties; but we believe much that we are incompetent properly to know. . . . . Faith — Belief — is the organ by which we apprehend what is beyond our knowledge."

It is on this great principle of the Conditioned, as set forth by Hamilton, that Mr. Mansel proceeds in his Bampton Lectures on "The Limits of Religious Thought." The mutual contradictions involved in the fundamental ideas of Rational Theology, — the Absolute, the Infinite, and the First Cause, — with a thousand other inconsistencies existing in both extremes of Dogmatism and Rationalism, — are set forth in a manner worthy the pupil of so great a master. It is something in favor of the thoroughness of Mansel's work, that it is unsparingly attacked by the ultraists of both sections. This feature of Hamilton's philosophy, we repeat, is likely to work an incalculable influence in the processes, not only of theology, but of many other departments of thought.

Returning to the course pursued by our author, we delay a little on his explanation of terms, to which he devotes two or three lectures. Two classes of terms form two opposite series of expressions. "1. Those which denote the relative and the known. 2. Those which denote the absolute and the unknown." To the former belong such words as *phenomenon*, *mode*, *modification*, *quality*, and *property*. In the latter are found such as *subject*, *substratum*, *substance*, and the like. One would think, *a priori*, that two or three chapters of definitions would be very dry reading, and might suggest the reflections of the old lady, after a persistent effort to read the dictionary. But this would be a mistaken inference. We know of no author in any language, who, in a brief space, has conveyed so much important information in so entertaining a manner. The explanations are very clear. The different significations are so illustrated as to fix themselves permanently in the mind, and the definitions, though sometimes drawn with exceeding delicateness, are remarkably distinct.

On the terms *mind* and *conscious-subject* he remarks, that the former can be defined only *a posteriori*, "as that which *perceives*, *thinks*, *feels*, *wills*, *desires*, etc., being, in itself, quite unknown." Of the latter he says, that "though

consciousness be the condition of all internal phenomena, still it is in itself only a phenomenon; and, therefore, supposes a subject in which it inheres." As he has before asserted that there can be no knowing, feeling, willing, or other mental phenomena, without consciousness, he naturally makes the term *conscious-subject* a brief but comprehensive definition of mind itself.

The terms *subjective* and *objective* — which have proved so unmanageable to many aspiring American and English youth in their philosophical studies, and which are so slippery to the apprehension even of many advanced students, that they have appeared like foreigners whom it is impossible to acclimate, or even to naturalize — are made the topic of two or three lucid paragraphs. These terms, the author insists, are the only words that can be made to represent respectively the mind and the things about which it occupies itself, and to discriminate the share which each has in the total act of cognition. He expresses his conviction that the whole mental philosophy of Great Britain has been checked in its development, and involved in the greatest perplexity and misconception, for want of these terms. To this defect he attributes the confusion of Reid in the fundamental feature of his philosophy; — "a confusion so great, that the whole tendency of his doctrine was misconceived by Brown, who, in adopting a modification of the hypothesis of a representative perception, seems not even to have suspected that he and Reid, and modern philosophers in general, were not in this at one." "Deprived of these terms, the whole Critical Philosophy — indeed the whole philosophy — of Germany and France would be a blank."

The parallel expressions *self* and *ego* are explicated and illustrated with great ingenuity and satisfactory clearness. Hamilton quotes here a long passage from the First Alcibiades of Plato, where Socrates is made to show, with characteristic skill, that the man being something different from that which he uses, inasmuch as he uses his body, he is therefore distinct from his body; or, in other words, that "the mind is the man."

Some of the author's remarks on *hypothesis* are worth con-

sidering. Defining this as an effort of the mind to recall the objects of its knowledge to order and unity, by assigning them, *ad interim*, to some principle through which the mind is able to comprehend them, he lays down two conditions of legitimate hypothesis. First, the phenomena must be ascertained to have an actual existence. This he pleasantly illustrates by the familiar anecdote of Charles II. and the Royal Society, respecting the difference of weight in a vessel of water with a live fish in it and the same with a dead one. The angry discussion, the hints of "constructive treason," as implied in doubting whether the thing suggested by the king were fact or fiction, and other incidents of the affair, together with the final discovery that they had formed their profound theories to fit a mere witticism, are amusingly set forth. We certainly have no need to go so far back as the time of the "merry monarch," to illustrate the propriety of the rule here laid down. Every year we have some painful, as well as some ludicrous, evidences of the importance of thoroughly considering the *an sit*, before attempting an explanation of the *cur sit*.

The second condition of permissible hypothesis is, — "that the phenomenon cannot be explained otherwise than by an hypothesis. It would, for example, have been absurd, even before the discovery of Franklin, to account for the phenomenon of lightning by the hypothesis of supernatural agency." These conditions and some criteria of the excellence of an hypothesis, which we have not room to quote, are frequently referred to and applied in the subsequent discussion of various theories.

To *consciousness* much attention is given. With Hamilton it is the most important topic in this department of philosophy; for "it is the one essential element of the mental phenomena." Certainly no other author has so thoroughly examined the ground occupied by this feature of the mental character, and so fully explained and admirably illustrated all its offices, its conditions, and its relations to other powers of the mind. He is anxious to give his pupils correct and definite notions on this difficult subject. Most of our mental philosophers have been defective here, — many of them fatally so. Even Reid and Stewart, so trustworthy in other respects, have furnished no special and articulate account of consciousness.

"Consciousness cannot be defined." Some have undertaken to define it as a *feeling*. But a feeling is something of which we are conscious. Consciousness quite as necessarily enters into the definition of a feeling, as feeling into a definition of consciousness. Others say that consciousness is a knowledge, — and others still, that it is a belief or conviction of knowledge. Here we run into the same logical seesaw. There is no knowledge or belief of which we are not conscious. Therefore knowledge and belief are contained under consciousness, not the latter under the former. But though it cannot be defined, it may be analyzed. In the various operations and passions of the mind consciousness is necessarily involved. Knowing, feeling, and desiring are possible only under the condition of being known, and being known by the subject of them. "If I did not know that I knew, I would not know, — if I did not know that I felt, I would not feel." This knowledge of these modifications is what we call *consciousness*. The expressions, *I know that I know*, — *I know that I feel*, and the like, are translated by, *I am conscious that I know*, — *I am conscious that I feel*.

"Consciousness is thus, on the one hand, the recognition by the mind, or ego, of its acts and affections; in other words, the self-affirmation, that certain modifications are known by me, and that these modifications are mine. But, on the other hand, consciousness is not to be viewed as anything different from these modifications themselves, but is, in fact, the general condition of their existence, or of their existence within the sphere of intelligence. Though the simplest act of mind, consciousness thus expresses a relation subsisting between two terms. These terms are, on the one hand, an I or Self, as the subject of a certain modification, — and, on the other, some modification, state, quality, affection, or operation, belonging to the subject. Consciousness, thus, in its simplicity, necessarily involves three things; — 1. A recognizing or knowing subject; 2. A recognized or known modification; and, 3. A recognition or knowledge by the subject of the modification." — p. 133.

Thus consciousness and knowledge involve each other. Consciousness is further shown to imply *actual* knowledge, in distinction from potential or dormant; *immediate* knowledge, in distinction from mediate; a contrast; a discrimination; a judgment; and a memory. So far Hamilton's views, though

more clearly and tangibly stated than by any other writer, do not materially differ from those of the great body of reputable philosophers. Now, however, he diverges from the common track, and separates from some great minds respecting some of the special conditions of consciousness. One of these is, the coextensiveness of consciousness with our knowledge. Reid's position is, that consciousness is a special faculty, and that it takes cognizance only of things in the mind. "It is improper to say, I am conscious of the table which is before me. I perceive it, I see it; but do not say, I am conscious of it." He makes consciousness perform the same office toward the operations of the mind, which perception performs to things without. In this he has been followed by perhaps a majority of instructors in this country. This doctrine is contested by Hamilton. He argues that the knowledge of an operation necessarily involves the knowledge of its object; from which it follows that it is impossible to make consciousness conversant with the intellectual operations, to the exclusion of their objects. He shows that our intellectual operations exist only in relation, and since, according to a logical axiom, the knowledge of relatives is one, it must be impossible to take cognizance of one term of their relation and not of the other.

"Knowledge, in general, is a relation between a subject knowing and an object known, and each operation of our cognitive faculties only exists by relation to a particular object, — this object at once calling it into existence, and specifying the quality of its existence. It is, therefore, palpably impossible that we can be conscious of an act without being conscious of the object to which that act is relative. This, however, is what Dr. Reid and Mr. Stewart maintain. They maintain that I can know that I know, without knowing what I know, — or that I can know the knowledge without knowing what the knowledge is about; for example, that I am conscious of perceiving a book, without being conscious of the book perceived, — that I am conscious of remembering its contents without being conscious of these contents remembered, — and so forth. The unsoundness of this opinion must, however, be articulately shown by taking the different faculties in detail, which they have contradistinguished from consciousness, and by showing, in regard to each, that it is altogether impossible to propose the operation of that faculty to the consideration of consciousness, and to withhold from consciousness its object." — p. 147.

Our author proceeds to examine Reid's views, as applied to the several faculties of imagination, perception, and memory. In discussing the subject with reference to memory, he presents, what is a prominent doctrine with him, the distinction between *immediate* and *mediate* knowledge. Dr. Reid asserts that memory is an immediate knowledge of the past; consciousness, an immediate knowledge of the present. This Hamilton denies, and declares that an immediate knowledge of the past is impossible. What we know, we know in the present. When we are conscious of an act of memory, we are conscious of it as a present act. It may *represent* some fact of the past, but this past fact we know only by inference. It is not an immediate knowledge, yet we are conscious of the present object of memory. But we have not space to give his able and brilliant reasoning on this point.

On the question whether we can attend to more than a single object at once, Hamilton takes the affirmative, in opposition to some distinguished metaphysicians. His view, if we mistake not, is not the prevalent one in our schools. Stewart's doctrine is, that "we cannot attend, at one and the same instant, to a plurality of objects, which we can attend to separately." He admits that there are a variety of cases in which the mind *apparently* exerts different acts of attention at once; but he explains this by the astonishing rapidity of thought, which enables the mind to pass to a great number of objects in an imperceptible lapse of time. He illustrates this by the case of an equilibrist or rope-dancer, where the rapidity of thought is proved by the accompanying movements of the eye. It is also adduced, that, in a concert of music, a good ear can attend to the different parts of the music separately, or to all at once. In the latter case, he argues, the mind is constantly varying its attention from one part to the other; the rapidity of its operations giving no perceptible interval of time. To this Hamilton replies as follows: —

"What are the facts in this example? In a musical concert, we have a multitude of different instruments and voices, emitting at once an infinity of different sounds. These all reach the ear at the same indivisible moment in which they perish, and, consequently, if heard at all, — much more if their mutual relation or harmony be perceived, —

they must be all heard simultaneously. This is evident. For if the mind can attend to each minimum of sound only successively, it consequently requires a minimum of time in which it is exclusively occupied with each minimum of sound. Now in this minimum of time there coexist with it, and with it perish, many minima of sound which, *ex hypothesi*, are not perceived, are not heard, as not attended to. In a concert, therefore, on this doctrine, a small number of sounds only could be perceived, and above this petty maximum all sounds would be to the ear as zero. But what is the fact? No concert, however numerous its instruments, has yet been found to have reached, far less to have surpassed, the capacity of the mind and its organ." — pp. 168, 169.

He proceeds to show that, on Stewart's doctrine, it would be impossible to understand how we can perceive the relation of different sounds. The feeling of harmony must proceed from the feeling of the relation of the sounds. If these are successively perceived in different points of time, we must compare the past sound, as retained in memory, with the present as actually perceived. But, in this case, we must attend to the past sound in memory, and to the present sound in sense, at once, or there will be no perception of harmony. "But one sound in memory, and another sound in sense, are as much two different objects as two different sounds in sense." If we do thus attend to two objects at once, the hypothesis is disproved. If we do not, then all knowledge of relation and harmony is impossible. This is absurd.

Stewart illustrates his doctrine again from the phenomena of vision. He admits that the mind *perceives* simultaneously every point in the image on the retina, — "for perception, like consciousness, is involuntary." But he argues, that it is impossible for the mind to attend to more than one of these points — the *minimum visibile* — at once, and therefore concludes that perception of figure by the eye is the result of a number of separate acts of attention. Hamilton replies: —

"On this hypothesis, we must suppose that, at every instantaneous opening of the eyelids, the moment sufficient for us to take in the figure of the objects comprehended in the sphere of vision is subdivided into almost infinitesimal parts, in each of which a separate act of attention is performed. This is, of itself, sufficiently inconceivable. But this being admitted no difficulty is removed. The separate acts must be laid up in memory, in imagination. But how are they there to form

a single whole, unless we can, in imagination, attend to all the *minima visibilia* together, which in perception we could only attend to severally?" — pp. 169, 170.

This is very good; but he does not at all meet another argument of Stewart's respecting the perceptible lapse of time requisite to comprehend a complicated figure. "If perception of visible figure were an immediate consequence of the picture on the retina, we should have, at the first glance, as distinct an idea of a figure of a thousand sides, as of a triangle or a square." This is obviously not the case. Hamilton, though advocating the doctrine, that the mind can attend to more than the one object at a time, reminds his pupils, that the greater the number of objects among which the attention is distributed, the feebler and less distinct will be its cognizance of each.

"Consciousness will thus be at its maximum of intensity when attention is concentrated on a single object; and the question comes to be, How many several objects can the mind simultaneously survey, not with vivacity, but without absolute confusion? I find this problem stated, and differently answered, by different philosophers, and apparently without a knowledge of each other. By Charles Bonnet, the mind is allowed to have a distinct notion of six objects at once; by Abraham Tucker, the number is limited to four; while Destutt-Tracy again amplifies it to six. The opinion of the first and last of these philosophers appears to me correct." — pp. 176, 177.

Hamilton also controverts the opinion of Stewart, in which the latter coincides with Reid, that attention is only a voluntary act, — that is, under the control of a free and deliberate volition. When we are occupied by other matters, the clock may strike, or a person speak to us, without our having any consciousness of the sound; but it is impossible for us to remain in this state of unconsciousness intentionally and with will. We cannot determinately refuse to see by voluntarily withholding our attention. He distinguishes three degrees of attention. "The first is a mere vital and irresistible act; the second, an act determined by desire, which, though involuntary, may be resisted by our will; the third, an act determined by deliberate volition." The faculty of attention is not, in his estimation, a special faculty, but merely consciousness acting under the law of limitation to which it is subjected.

There is a magnificent lecture on the "Evidence and Authority of Consciousness," but we can hardly give an idea of it by any outline or epitome. It is already evident that he would insist on this faculty as the source from which we must derive every fact in the philosophy of the mind. This doctrine brings him into collision with the phrenologists. He was accustomed to introduce into his course, at this point, three lectures, containing a summary view of the nervous system in the higher animals, more especially in man. These are omitted in the text, as being foreign in their details from the general subject of the course; but the substance of them is contained in the Appendix. They form the most powerful and discomfiting attack on this somewhat pretentious science that has ever been made, — an attack, too, that has never been repelled. For the purpose of qualifying himself for this discussion, and testing, on its own ground of physiological facts, this new theory, he went through a laborious course of comparative anatomy, dissecting with his own hands several hundred different brains. He sawed open a series of skulls of persons of different nations, of both sexes, and of all ages, to ascertain the facts in regard to the *frontal sinus*, on which the phrenologists had founded so much. He also experimented largely and carefully on the size and weight of the brain. From the facts registered, he conclusively proves that "no assistance is afforded to mental philosophy by the examination of the nervous system, and that the doctrines which are founded upon the supposed parallelism of brain and mind are, as far as observation extends, wholly groundless."

On the mysterious and perplexing subject of the intercourse between mind and body, there are four hypotheses held by different classes of philosophers. 1. The System of Assistance, or Occasional Causes. It proceeds on the supposition of the impossibility of actual communication between spiritual and material substances, and terminates in the assertion that the Deity, on occasion of motions in the bodily organism, excites correspondent thoughts and representations in the mind; and *vice versa*. 2. A Pre-established Harmony. In an infinite variety of possible souls and possible bodies, there could be found souls whose series of perceptions and determinations

would correspond to the series of movements which these possible bodies would execute. Always putting such a soul and such a body together, God would make a man between the two departments of whose nature there would be the most perfect harmony, although there is no actual communication between them. 3. The Theory of a Plastic Medium; which, participating of the two natures, can act upon both; the middle term of a continuous proportion. This hypothesis is at present revived with considerable energy in certain quarters, and by influential thinkers, to account for the phenomena exhibited in mesmerism, and what is vulgarly termed the "spirit-rappings." Whatever may be the value of the theory, Hamilton, at least, regards it as utterly untenable. He hardly devotes to it as much attention as it merits. 4. That of Physical Causes. "On this doctrine external objects affect our senses, and the organic motion they determine is communicated to the brain. The brain acts upon the soul, and the soul has an idea, — a perception."

These hypotheses are discussed, their histories outlined, and many interesting criticisms and illustrations presented. Hamilton pronounces them all unphilosophical, "because they all attempt to establish something beyond the sphere of observation"; and because two of them are contradictions of the fact of consciousness, while the other two are at variance with the fact which they suppose. He quotes and indorses the saying of Pascal, that "Man is to himself the mightiest prodigy of nature; for he is unable to conceive what is body, still less what is mind, but least of all is he able to conceive how a body can be united to a mind; yet this is his proper being." To this he adds a remark of his own: "A contented ignorance is, indeed, wiser than a presumptuous knowledge; but this is a lesson which seems the last philosophers are willing to learn. In the words of one of the acutest of modern thinkers, 'Magna immo pars sapientiæ est, quædam æquo animo nescire velle.'"

Are we always consciously active? Each side of this question has had its advocates among the leading philosophers. But perhaps a majority of those who have speculated on it have given the impression that it is unsolvable for lack of

data. Hamilton, however, thinks that there are undoubted facts discernible, from which the inference is strong that the mind is perpetually active. He premises that a discrimination must be made between this question and the question whether we have always a memory of our consciousness. The latter must be at once answered in the negative. He limits his inquiries and observations to the states of sleep and somnambulism. Plato and the Platonists unanimously maintain the theory of perpetual activity. Aristotle is in doubt, and his followers are divided with regard to it. Cicero and Augustine adopt the affirmative. This too is a fundamental doctrine of the Cartesian philosophy. Locke takes the opposite view, and brings some strong arguments in favor of it. Leibnitz refutes Locke very thoroughly, but he does not explicitly answer the question. Wolf follows in the track of his master, though he does not appear to know what the opinion of the latter was. Kant says little on the subject, but asserts, decidedly enough, that "to cease to dream in sleep, is to cease to live." Believing that thought is the necessary result of the soul's vital force, he declares that the cessation of a force to act, is tantamount to its cessation to be. Thus far there seems to have been no real argument in favor of the affirmative by its supporters. They reasoned from hypothesis rather than from experience, and arrived at little more than conjecture. Only one philosopher, previous to Hamilton, had undertaken to gather facts from observation, on which to establish a valid argument. This was M. Jouffroy, from whom our author quotes largely, and whose conclusions he indorses.

From the phenomena of somnambulism Hamilton deduces proof that the mind puts forth activities of which there is no remembrance in the normal state. The subject frequently experiences the most exalted condition of his intellectual powers, — the reason, the imagination, the sense of propriety, and the memory, are far more vivid than in the waking life; and yet of these activities there is no recollection in the normal state. This proves nothing in favor of the activity of the faculties in natural sleep, except that we may be consciously active, and yet have no recollection of the fact.

In proper sleep there are certain noises which always awaken

those who charge their minds with them. Thus nurses, or those having the care of children, arouse at the slightest movement; while it would not disturb a person having no responsibility. On the other hand, a man may sleep in the midst of the most tumultuous sounds, to which he has become accustomed; while a new-comer to the locality of such noises would be continually disturbed by them, till he had learned to reason aright concerning them. These phenomena indicate that the mind reasons in sleep, no less than it exercises other faculties. We have not space for the numerous and forcible illustrations quoted from M. Jouffroy, on this subject. The following are the conclusions, as stated by him: —

"1. That in sleep the senses are torpid, but that the mind wakes. 2. That certain of our senses continue to transmit to the mind the imperfect sensations they receive. 3. That the mind judges these sensations, and that it is in virtue of its judgments that it awakens, or does not awaken, the senses. 4. That the reason why the mind awakens the senses is, that sometimes the sensation disquiets it, being unusual or painful; that sometimes the sensation warns it to rouse the senses, as being an indication of the moment when it ought to do so. 5. That the mind possesses the power of awakening the senses, but that it only accomplishes this by its own activity overcoming their torpor; that this torpor is an obstacle, — an obstacle greater or less, as it is more or less profound." — p. 232.

We can follow the author no further in his proof and discussion of Consciousness, though we stop before arriving at what will be to many the most interesting part of the work. Nor are we able to give even a synopsis of his consideration of the Special Faculties of knowledge. We rejoice in the republication of this volume so promptly in this country, and are glad to know that it has already been introduced as a text-book into many of our highest institutions. We trust that Hamilton will be thoroughly studied by all our thinking and professional men, and especially by those whose province it is to mould and guide the thoughts of others.

ART. V. — 1. *Autobiographical Recollections.* By the late CHARLES ROBERT LESLIE, R. A. Edited, with a Prefatory Essay on Leslie as an Artist, and Selections from his Correspondence, by TOM TAYLOR, ESQ., Editor of the Autobiography of Haydon. With portrait. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860.

2. *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, Esq., R. A.* By CHARLES R. LESLIE. London. 1845.

3. *A Hand-Book for Young Artists.* By C. R. LESLIE. London. 1855.

THROUGH his various writings Leslie has become associated with the world of letters, as well as of art. It is very possible that his name will be even more widely known by means of his pen than of his pencil; for works of art, unless very popular in their subject, and reproduced by copy or engraving, are to be seen only in those few collections which are so fortunate as to possess them; whereas books, through the activity of the press, are indefinitely multiplied, circulating freely among all classes, and becoming familiarly known, even through widely separated nations. The costliness of an elaborate work of art places it beyond the reach of the multitude, but books can become the possession of all. Thus, while there may not be more than ten or twelve of Leslie's paintings in America, his writings will be welcomed at thousands of firesides. Probably every artist in the land will read what he has written, and very many who are not artists will derive from his pages instruction and pleasure.

Before the invention of printing, when each sentence, letter by letter, was slowly produced on parchment, so great was the value of a book that few could be purchasers; and, as was natural under these circumstances, few could read. At such a period, paintings and frescos constituted the wider medium of communication, and a work of art diffused more extensively than books the lessons of history or of religion. What a marvellous change, now that the illustrated page is scattered by hundreds of thousands through vast communities, hardly a member of which could be found without taste to appreciate and capacity to understand!

Thus the artist who can embody his idea in writing, as well as upon canvas, must exert an extended influence. There is a natural affinity between art and literature, and the same mind may express its best thoughts through both. Some of the sonnets of Michel Angelo are as remarkable as the marble that burst into life beneath his chisel. Leonardo da Vinci, among his many gifts, was profoundly conversant with science and philosophy, and proved himself, in several departments of thought, an accomplished writer. Sir Joshua Reynolds did perhaps as much, even for the advancement of art, by his lectures as by his masterly portraits; and, in our own country, Washington Allston, both in poetry and prose, has left that which is stamped by the peculiar impress of his genius. Many artists are undoubtedly wise in devoting their energies exclusively to the special branch for which they feel best qualified; but if there are those, who, in addition to their other achievements, can, through their writings, reach the public mind, they must thereby stand upon higher vantage-ground; and, in proportion to their ability, will gain the respect of mankind.

Leslie's writings are such as crown his memory with merited honor. They are characterized throughout by unexaggerated truthfulness, a genial and healthy tone, and an elevated spirit. There is in them no striving for extraordinary brilliancy; no blaze of epithet; no eccentricity or morbid egotism; no jealousy or bitterness; no foolish extravagance of censure or of praise. They indicate, throughout, sober discrimination and sound sense; yet there is no lack of true enthusiasm, insight, and power. They have, moreover, a colloquial ease and pleasantry reminding one at times of Addison and Irving. They unite a rare felicity of expression with purity of taste and manly independence. The same characteristics which marked Leslie socially as a man are perceptible in all that he has written. He has a plain straightforwardness, an honest candor, which disarms criticism, and calls forth a feeling of confidence and friendship.

Leslie's "Memoir of Constable" is a model of that class of writing, — lucid in style, unaffected, simple, and graphic. It is the lifelike portraiture of a beautiful character; the

history of a mind that loved nature, and was ever in harmony with her best influences. No one can read the work without acquiring a deep interest both in the writer and in the subject. It is easy to perceive that there was a kindred spirit between Leslie and Constable; it is pleasant to follow them in their common tastes, to observe the attachment which bound them to each other, and the manner in which they helped to mould and modify each other's judgments.

Leslie is at no pains to conceal his admiration for his friend; yet he never obtrudes his praise; but, by the pleasant recital of facts and conversations, with selections from letters and journals, he brings us naturally into the circle of sympathy, until we feel united to them in affection, and participate in the same elevated tastes. We confess that this memoir has for us the interest of a romance. Indeed, the power it possesses is greater than could be conceded to a mere work of fiction. The reality of all wins upon the heart, till the experiences of joy and trial portrayed actually seem our own, and the noble perseverance and loyalty to duty awaken feelings approaching to veneration. Through good report and through evil report Constable adhered to what he considered correct principle in art. He willingly sacrificed immediate popularity to his convictions; and when we perceive, in the midst of opposition and ridicule, the untiring devotion with which, in his pursuit of art, he studied the works of God, his course has an element of grandeur. The great error among artists of that day was an unwillingness to represent nature truthfully. In opposition to this, Constable sought to delineate nature as she actually appeared, with the fresh breeze and sparkling dew-drop. An artificial taste prevailed; Constable determined to break from the thraldom. Leslie heartily sympathized with his friend, and gave to him, when at times it required some courage to do so, the most cordial approval and support. Whether Constable always succeeded in realizing upon canvas his own idea or not, no one can withhold from Leslie the credit of a worthy independence in his manly sympathy with his friend, and in his adherence to Constable, both within the Royal Academy and out of it, when so many were opposed to him. Under the circumstances, it displayed a genuine noble-

ness of character. As a tribute to the truthfulness of Constable's pictures, Fuseli, on seeing his representation of an approaching shower, called to his servant to bring him his coat and umbrella; while another declared that he could feel the wind blowing on his face. It is a curious fact, that while the artists of England were slow to recognize the merit of Constable, the artists of France no sooner became acquainted with his style than they burst into a blaze of enthusiasm, his works in that country producing an actual revolution in art. He united depth of observation with strength of feeling, depicting nature with lifelike freshness. He delighted in the most familiar objects. An old mill, a running stream, a meadow, a cottage-door, a village church, — these were the favorite themes of his pencil. Not the Vale of Tempe, with Juno or Jupiter, but some rural nook nearer home, with personages such as are oftener seen in the walks of daily life; the corn-field, with the simple ploughboy; the river, with its ford or ferry; the neighboring hill-side, with bending grass and flitting shadows, along which the laboring peasant is seen returning to his home, — such were the subjects dear to his heart, and which it was his chief joy to portray.

We can imagine Leslie and Constable together, studying with poetic fervor the open volume of nature, and, with a genius kindred to that of Wordsworth, detecting the truest beauty and the grandest thought in the most familiar objects. Sir Richard Steele, (or shall we simply call him Dick?) with keen satire, speaks of an author who determined to write "in a way perfectly new, by describing things exactly as they happened." Constable resolved to act upon the same principle in painting; — not to manufacture pictures at second-hand; not to rest in any feeble mimicry of the old masters; but to go directly to nature, transferring thence the very life and motion of things. Nature he loved with a constant affection. At times he would sit through the whole day watching every minute change in light and shade, in cloud and atmosphere, remaining often so still that the field-mice have been known to creep into his pocket. In this love of nature Leslie and Constable were in perfect sympathy, and it was Constable's truth to nature that Leslie specially admired. "Among all the

landscape painters," he writes, "ancient or modern, no one carries me so entirely to nature; and I can truly say, that since I have known his works, I have never looked at a tree or the sky without being reminded of him." The long attachment which existed between these brother-artists was honorable alike to both; and in Leslie's memoir of his friend, while he has raised a fitting monument to the character and genius of one whom he truly loved, he has unconsciously left, by the same act, an impressive proof of his own excellence.

In the "Hand-Book for Young Painters," we have what was first given in lectures, recast in a form appropriate to wider use. As lectures, they were delivered before the Royal Academy, in 1850, and were the earliest given at the Academy which were honored by the presence of ladies. Their clearness of statement, beauty of illustration, and force of argument amply sustained the reputation of their author, and gained for them a wide-spread popular reception. They are full of valuable suggestions. The writer, purposely avoiding the ostentatious use of technical terms, addresses himself at once to the common understanding, giving, with great transparency of diction, the result of much personal experience and close observation. He speaks independently his own thought, dissenting occasionally from Sir Joshua Reynolds, and at times from Ruskin; but, while true to his conviction, he never dogmatizes. His opinions are given with frankness, and the reader is then left to form his own judgment. There is no sweeping denunciation or scathing satire; but through every page there breathes a genial appreciation and generous candor. The discourse rises or falls with the natural feelings of the writer, who prefers to state his view with simplicity, and let it rest upon its own merit, rather than to attempt to dazzle by any false glare of rhetoric. This work is filled with able criticisms, and pervaded by a fresh and genuine spirit.

In the Autobiography of Leslie we have reminiscences of his own life, interwoven with recollections and anecdotes of the most eminent men of his time, with many of whom he was intimate.

Leslie's parents were natives of Maryland. His maternal ancestors were from England, his paternal from Scotland.

His father, at the head of a mercantile house in Philadelphia, with his family, was on business in London when Leslie was born, October 19, 1794. There they remained until his fifth year, when, in 1799, they returned to America. They sailed in an East-Indiaman, and were exposed to unusual danger, from the war then existing between the United States and France. Having passed the English fleet from the Mediterranean, they soon fell in with a French ship, with which they became involved in a severe engagement. Of this sea-fight Leslie always retained a vivid remembrance. So serious were the damages received by their vessel, that they were obliged to make for Lisbon, five hundred miles distant, where they were detained five months, and put to an expense of £10,000 sterling. After leaving Lisbon they encountered severe gales, and at length arrived at Philadelphia on the 11th of May, seven months and twenty-six days from London. His father died in 1804, leaving the family in rather straitened circumstances. At this time Leslie was pursuing his studies at the University of Pennsylvania. From his infancy he had been fond of drawing; but his mother, lacking the means to educate him as an artist, in 1808 apprenticed him to Messrs. Bradford and Inskeep, booksellers, with whom he remained three years, when a likeness which he hastily sketched of Cooke, an English actor, then popular in Philadelphia, attracted attention. Such was the skill which this drawing displayed, that many encouraged him to devote himself to art. Funds were liberally contributed by private individuals to give him the opportunity of visiting England, that he might gain every advantage which could there be found. While a lad in Philadelphia he had looked with admiration upon the pictures in Peale's Museum, and he states that the windows of the print-shops were so many Academies to him. Thus did his natural tendencies show themselves, and they received in this country the first impulse in that profession in which he was afterward to become so honorably distinguished. While he was in Philadelphia, Sully gave him a few lessons in oil-painting, and furnished him, when he embarked for England, with letters to Benjamin West, Sir William Beechey, and other artists. He arrived at Liverpool on the 3d of December, 1811, and was soon in London, of which he had "a kind of dreamy remembrance."

In Mr. Bradford's shop he had become acquainted with the most interesting books from the English press; and, through engravings, he knew the characteristic styles of the principal English artists. West's great picture of "King Lear in the Storm," he had seen in Philadelphia, and now he was to receive instructions from the artist, at that time President of the Royal Academy. Leslie — a boy of sixteen — entered with youthful enthusiasm upon the enjoyments and privileges which now opened before him.

He was soon established in rooms in Fitzroy Square, had visited the various galleries, formed a pleasant acquaintance with West, and numbered among his friends Mr. Morse and Washington Allston. Morse was about his own age, and Allston some fifteen years his senior. The name of Morse has since become associated with the Electric Telegraph, which, through his scientific knowledge and persevering industry, was introduced to the world, he having had the honor of establishing in this country, as a practical working power, the first line known to exist; since which, lines have been extended, till now they may be said to encompass the globe. During their early artist-life in London, Leslie and Morse occupied the same room, Morse painting at one window and Leslie at the other. In the dramatic world, Mrs. Siddons and John Kemble were at the acme of their popularity, and, together with Liston, Munden, and Matthews, were making Drury Lane and Covent Garden scenes of unprecedented excitement. Is it not probable that these wonderful representations had their effect in the works which in after life, through his pencil, found their "way upon canvas"? "Henry VIII.," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "Twelfth Night," "The Winter's Tale," have all become associated with his masterly delineations.

Leslie's earliest instructors in painting were Sully, West, and Allston, all of whom, it is interesting to remember, were Americans. The latter, he tells us, was the first to awaken his perceptions to the beauties of color, especially as displayed in the marvellous productions of Titian, Paul Veronese, and the masters of the Venetian School. He soon became acquainted with Fuseli, and was studying the Townley Marbles at the British Museum, and the Elgin Marbles at Burlington

House. Thus did Morse and Leslie at that time employ their summer mornings. During the second year of Leslie's residence in London, Allston's health so far failed that he was obliged to leave London for Bristol. Leslie accompanied his friend, and while upon the journey Allston became too ill to proceed. As a proof of the devoted affection which existed between Coleridge and Allston, the moment that Coleridge heard of Allston's illness, he came to the town where they were, and remained until Allston was able to proceed. The house being crowded, Coleridge shared the same room with Leslie. On the first night, Leslie having a copy of "Knickerbocker's History of New York," then just published, Coleridge became so deeply interested that he passed nearly the whole night in reading it, giving frequent expression to his delight. From this time Leslie continued on terms of friendship with Coleridge, often visiting him at Highgate. In a note which Coleridge wrote, after Allston had returned to America, he says: "Why, my dear Leslie, do you so wholly desert us at Highgate? Are we not always delighted to see you? Now, too, more than ever, since, in addition to yourself, you are all we have of Allston." Leslie was impressed, as so many others have been, with the extraordinary colloquial powers of that remarkable man. The musical intonations of his voice, the vast resources of his mind, the richness and unending variety of his illustrations, and the spontaneous eloquence with which he expressed himself, threw an irresistible charm over nearly every listener. Leslie heard, both at Clifton and in London, several of Coleridge's lectures on Milton and Shakespeare, from which he states that he gained more satisfactory views respecting poetry and painting than he had acquired from any other source. Various pleasing reminiscences are related both of Coleridge and of Charles Lamb.

During 1816 Leslie was a student in the Antique Academy, at that time under the superintendence of Fuseli. This eccentric man generally entered the room in which the students were assembled with a book in his hand, engrossed in reading, the students, meanwhile, pursuing their work according to their inclination, — a course which Leslie, on the whole, considered wise: saying that "Art is to be learnt, not taught,"

and that under Fuseli's "wise neglect" such men as Wilkie, Etty, Landseer, and Haydon distinguished themselves. After the students had worked in their own way for a time, Fuseli examined their drawings, correcting them with his left hand, and often making remarks such as could never be forgotten. Notwithstanding his occasional violence of temper he was very popular with students. His knowledge, wit, and unmistakable genius, rendered him a general favorite. Fortunately Leslie knew what to avoid, as well as what to seek. Hence the wild spirit of Fuseli, which was at times lawless in its daring, spurning indignantly the simpler realities of life, did not exert an injurious influence upon his mind. Leslie, however much he might appreciate what was good in the qualities of another, never parted with his own sound sense. In speaking, at that time, of a picture by Fuseli, he says: "It is one of the most tremendous exhibitions of appalling sights I ever beheld. The figures glare across the picture like a horrible dream. He has certainly never been equalled in the visionary, and there it is he shines as a genius; but whenever he attempts commonplace he is contemptible." Leslie obtained two silver medals while at the Academy.

Edwin Landseer was a fellow-student with Leslie, — "a pretty, curly-headed boy." He attracted attention by his talent, and Fuseli, looking round, would say, "Where is my little dog-boy?"

Leslie's first large picture — "Saul and the Witch of Endor" — was purchased by Sir John Leicester, for one hundred guineas. In 1816 he commenced in a style and upon a class of subjects which became more and more congenial to his tastes. He had until now principally confined himself to the antique; from this period he entered upon the illustration of scenes from Shakespeare, Addison, Fielding, Smollett, and Goldsmith. Many of the characters of Cervantes, Le Sage, and Molière are also identified with Leslie's pencil. His earliest picture in this department was "The Murder of Plantagenet by Clifford," and he tells us that Sir Edwin Landseer (the "curly-headed youngster") sat for the pleading boy, with a rope round his wrists.

While the great controversy was going on respecting the

Elgin marbles, in which Haydon took a prominent part, Leslie showed his usual discrimination. He writes to Philadelphia, — the city to which he looked with strong affection, — urging the Academy to send for casts from these finest antiques in the world, just brought from Athens by Lord Elgin. "It will be an incalculable advantage to our artists, and their being in Philadelphia would make me quite content to fix my residence there for the remainder of my life." "Tell Sully," he adds, "that I entreat him not to lose a moment's time in persuading the Academy to procure them. He will look upon their arrival as a sure prognostic of the rise of arts among us."

Of late the merits of Turner have been so often and so ably discussed, and Mr. Ruskin, in his successive volumes of the "Modern Painters," has written so eloquently, that it is pleasant to look back forty or fifty years, and see what is said by a young man, fresh from this side of the Atlantic, and without any previous elaborate criticisms from others to aid him. In a letter dated December, 1816, Leslie, after alluding to other artists, writes as follows: —

"Turner, however, is my great favorite of all the painters here. I went to see his pictures yesterday, and was delighted, as I always am, with them. He combines the highest poetical imagination with an exquisite feeling for all the truth and individuality of nature, and he has shown that the ideal, as it is called, is not the improving of nature, but the selecting and combining objects that are most in harmony and character with each other."

In 1817, Leslie, in company with Allston, visited Paris; and thence, with Stuart Newton, went to Brussels and Antwerp. In a letter from Paris he writes: —

"The following day we went to the Louvre, and revelled all the morning in the richest luxury of art. It is impossible for me to describe my feelings. Had my whole life before been one of misery, it seemed as if this day would have balanced the account, and made me consider myself the happiest of human beings."

We find Leslie during this year corresponding with Washington Irving, and preparing various illustrations for "Salmagundi," "Knickerbocker," and "The Sketch-Book." "I have put the sketch of the Dutch Courtship," he writes, "into the

hands of a very excellent engraver." A short time previous to this, Irving had been associated with his brothers in a mercantile house; but financial troubles soon changed his plans, and he had resolved upon a course in accordance with his natural tastes, and was now devoting himself to literature. Indeed, he was just then embarking upon literary efforts which proved a series of successes and triumphs, reflecting honor alike upon himself and his country. "The Sketch-Book" was published in numbers, and Irving writes to Leslie: —

"The sale is very rapid, and altogether the success exceeds my most sanguine expectations. Now, you suppose I am all on the alert, and full of spirit and excitement. No such thing. I am just as good for nothing as ever I was, and, indeed, have been flurried and put out of my way by these puffings. I feel something as I suppose you did when your picture met with success, — anxious to do something better, and at a loss what to do."

At another time he writes: —

"I trust that you and Newton have a long career of increasing success and popularity before you. Of my own fate I sometimes feel a doubt. I am isolated in English literature, without any of the usual aids and influences by which an author's popularity is maintained and promoted. I have no literary coterie to cry me up; no partial reviewer to pat me on the back: the very Review of my publisher is hostile to everything American. I have nothing to depend on but the justice and courtesy of the public; and how long the public may continue to favor the writings of a stranger, or how soon it may be prejudiced by the scribblers of the press, is with me a matter of extreme uncertainty. I have one proud reflection, however, to sustain myself with: that I have never in any way sought to sue the praises nor deprecate the censures of reviewers, but have left my works to rise or fall by their own deserts. . . . . I long to hear from you. How often do I miss you, in moments when I feel cast down and out of heart, and how often at times when some of the odd scenes of life present themselves which we used to enjoy so heartily together!"

Washington Allston was on terms of intimate friendship with Irving at the time of those financial troubles which swept away his property. We have often listened to Allston, on pleasant evenings, at his fireside, as he dwelt upon the noble spirit Irving displayed at that severe crisis of his life. At

the moment when everything had been sacrificed, Irving exclaimed, "Well, now I have not got a groat in the world; and I never was happier in my life." About this time Irving seriously thought of becoming a painter, and Allston encouraged him in the idea, and in their rambles together through picturesque regions they planned schemes for their common pursuits in art. But the pictures which Irving was destined to give to the world were those graphic descriptions on the written page, which can never grow dim with time. A large edition of "The Sketch-Book" was soon published by Murray, the success of which was so great that a thousand guineas were offered for his next work, fifteen hundred guineas for the "Tales of a Traveller," in 1824, and three thousand guineas for the "Life of Columbus"; besides which he received a fifty-guinea gold medal by direction of George IV., and an honorary degree from the University of Oxford. With such signal success, and the honors that ever after spontaneously followed him, it is pleasant to see the beautiful simplicity of his heart, and the manner in which some of his most popular writings had their origin.

Toward the close of 1821, Leslie made a delightful excursion with Irving into Derbyshire. They journeyed, chatting together, on the top of a coach, to Oxford. On the day following there was a heavy rain. That day suggested the story of "The Stout Gentleman." After this they visited Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick, and Kenilworth. At intervals Irving continued busy with his pencil, while Leslie was making sketches. Irving, seated on a stile, or on some stone by the road-side, still proceeded with his writing, every now and then laughing to himself, — and at times reading aloud to Leslie that they might enjoy what had been written together. The inimitable picture of the inn-yard on a rainy day was an exact account of their experience at Derby.

As an illustration of the sympathetic character of Irving's nature, and his affection for Leslie, we take the following extract from a letter, dated at Paris: —

"My dear boy, it is a grievous thing to be separated from you, and I feel it more and more. I wish to heaven this world were not so wide, and that we could manage to keep more together in it. This continual

separating from those we like is one of the curses of an unsettled life, and, with all my vagrant habits, I cannot get accustomed to it."

In another letter, he writes: —

"I often look back with fondness and regret on the times when we lived together in London, in a delightful community of thought and feeling, struggling our way onward in the world, but cheering and encouraging each other. I find nothing to supply the place of that heartfelt fellowship."

One of the pleasant facts in Leslie's life is his long-continued and unbroken friendship with Irving. This intimacy was alike honorable to both, and their correspondence, running through many years, has a charming freshness.

In 1821 Leslie was elected an associate of the Royal Academy. This naturally brought him into greater intimacy with the most distinguished artists of the time. With such men as Wilkie, Stothard, Flaxman, Chantrey, Turner, and Lawrence, he now mingled on terms of pleasant friendship; and Leslie, with his social temperament and appreciative spirit, was particularly calculated to enjoy such intercourse, and to improve by it. Trammelled by no narrow prejudice, goaded by no petty jealousy, he rejoiced in the popularity of those who were successful; while he was willing to perceive, and glad to honor, the ability which many had not the sagacity to detect.

Leslie was now fairly on his way to fame and fortune. His works were widely appreciated, and his society was valued and sought. Sir Walter Scott called to study his pictures while in progress. Leslie's pictures, so peculiarly his own, awakened general interest. His "May-Day in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," with its portrayal of rustic manners and joyous merriment, was a picture that Scott greatly relished; and very many less eminent than Scott relished it also. Another bright and sunny picture, full of life and character, representing the good old English times, was "Sir Roger de Coverley going to Church." These universal favorites were soon followed by "Sancho Panza in the Apartment of the Duchess." West, Wilkie, Constable, and the best artists of the time, expressed the heartiest commendation, while Lord Egremont, the Earl of Essex, the Duke of Bedford, and a host of others, were anxious for new pictures, and, what was more, were willing to pay for

them most generous prices. Thus Leslie might well be considered a fortunate man. He had the satisfaction (which all artists have not) of seeing his works at once appreciated, of being met with universal kindness, and of receiving, without the slightest personal solicitation, ample encouragement.*

In 1824 he visited Abbotsford, in order to paint a portrait of Sir Walter Scott, for Professor Ticknor of Boston. Of this visit the volume before us gives an interesting account.

In 1825 he became united by marriage to one who, through later years, proved a sympathizing companion and a devoted wife. Their domestic life was unclouded, continuing to the end peculiarly peaceful and pleasant.

The only thing to break the even tenor of his days, was his being appointed Teacher of Drawing at the Military Academy at West Point, — an office which he was led to accept in 1833, and on account of which, during that year, he visited America. But Leslie's expectations in connection with this position were not realized, and in 1834 he returned to England.

In twenty days after leaving New York, with unfeigned joy he landed in England; from which time, through a period of five and twenty years in that country of his adoption, he was surrounded by success and happiness. "I have known people," he in one place writes, "who I fancied would not be quite satisfied with heaven itself, if they should ever come there." Leslie was not of this class. He had no desire to turn exclusively to the dark side, to dwell upon faults and foibles, or to waste life in unreasonable complaints. It was this disposition, which, added to his fine tastes and agreeable manners, made him a delightful companion. He threw sunshine over the path of others, and he enjoyed the sunshine himself. The delineation he gives us of his friends — many of them men of distinction — is most graphic. An eye like his

* Lord Egremont voluntarily offered Leslie a thousand pounds for a companion picture to "Sancho and the Duchess," to which Leslie replied, that he could not feel justified in taking more than half that sum; and when, after the death of the poet Rogers, his paintings were sold at auction, one by Leslie brought eleven hundred and fifty guineas. A country dealer, not knowing Leslie, exclaimed, "Good gracious me! eleven hundred and fifty guineas for one of Leslie's pictures! Did you ever hear such a price, sir?" "Monstrous, is it not?" said Leslie, who afterward told the story with great glee.

could see quickly enough the failings of men. With his keen sense of the ludicrous, and his deep love of humor, few weaknesses or follies could escape his observation; but these were not the things upon which he loved to expatiate. He believed that friends were given for a better use than to be made the objects of censure and ridicule. If, therefore, there is nothing which can be said kindly, he says nothing; but as it happens, (fortunately for us, as well as for himself,) there is much which he could write, and which all can read, with unmingled satisfaction. Yet he deals not in fulsome panegyric. Far from it; he shows habitual discrimination. Every character upon which he dwells is both natural and individual. Through his lifelike descriptions, his friends become our friends. We feel that we know Constable, with his purity of taste, and firm, yet gentle nature; Fuseli, with his impetuosity, shrewdness, and wit; Flaxman, kind and scrupulously polite; Wilkie, modest and cautious, always deliberate, never impulsive, apparently grave, yet with sparkling humor; Haydon, with his egotism and dogmatism, alternately attracting and repelling; Edwin Landseer, the true gentleman, yet best of mimics, — he who can throw such pathos, vivacity, mirthfulness, over the animal creation, — we see him to be both dignified and mirthful himself. Here, too, we admire Stothard, preserving a cheerful spirit through a life of many sorrows; we become acquainted with Northcote, whose sharp eye was typical of his sharper tongue; we are amused by Chantrey, with his John Bull bluffness, yet pleasant and playful; and are astonished at the amazing genius of Turner, with his varied power and untiring industry, — shy in manner, yet, withal, frank and genial. On those varnishing and painting days at the Academy, when the artists dined together, Turner was the life of the table; with voice deep and musical, no one was more joyous; a recluse at times, yet truly social in his nature. So, also, we occasionally accompany Leslie on some of his pleasant rounds. Now we go to the well-known mansion of Samuel Rogers, with its splendid attractions, where we listen to the wise discourse of Sir James Mackintosh, and the brilliant repartee of Sydney Smith. We hear Tom Moore half recite and half sing his Irish Melodies; or Mrs. Siddons relate, with startling

effect, some dramatic reminiscence; or Rogers himself tell a story with the same exquisite finish with which he would write a lyric. Or we breakfast with Sir Walter Scott, where we meet Irving and the poet Crabbe. We hear, perhaps, the Great Magician speak of the hunters who chase wild deer along the braes of Athol, or describe some wild pass in the Highlands, made famous by heroic deeds; or we find ourselves in the grand old library of Holland House, while Lord Holland converses upon Horace Walpole and Charles Fox, or amuses those who will listen with recollections of Boswell; or we are transported to Petworth, where we pass a week with Lord Egremont, and, in partaking of his generous hospitality, see how a nobleman can be doubly noble, and show munificence without ostentation; or we step into Somerset House, and attend a meeting of the Academy, Sir Thomas Lawrence presiding; or we stroll from London to Coombs Wood, and there, in the quiet shade, we stretch ourselves on the grass with Constable and Stothard, and watch the sunbeams as they tremble in the foliage.

Thus we make pleasant acquaintance with most agreeable people; we listen to amusing anecdotes; we hear now and then weighty remarks; and have imparted to us, in confidence, as little gossip as could possibly be expected, — indeed, so little that we rather wish for more. It is plain that nothing has been set down in malice. In fact, we have enjoyed our visits so much, that we should not object to their repetition, and we congratulate ourselves that we have made such friendships. And this reminds us, just now, of one whom we cannot but mention, — Peter Powell, — to whom we are introduced in these pages. "That merry, amusing, light-hearted, discontented little radical," we do hope we shall meet again.

Before closing these remarks, it may naturally be asked what was Leslie's rank as a painter. There is, indeed, a sphere of transcendent excellence into which only a few of the kingliest spirits out of the passing ages have been admitted. Michel Angelo, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci there sit supreme. As in literature, Shakespeare and Milton, Dante and Tasso, Homer and Virgil, find no one to dispute or divide their sovereignty; so in art, there are unapproachable elevations

to which but a few of the most daring spirits have climbed, and these not altogether by strength of their own, but by those pre-eminent powers with which they had been marvellously endowed. Who can account for Shakespeare? or who believe that, by any process of culture, another like him can be produced? Such beings are not made, but sent; and they have a mission of their own. No exaltation so great is claimed for Leslie, — least of all would he claim it for himself. He had a just estimate of his own capacity. The same good sense which he displayed in everything else characterized him here. He did not exaggerate his ability, or attempt what was beyond his power. He felt that there was a certain province which he could fill, and that province he did fill, well and honorably. This was his wisdom. He did not spend his days in vainly striving to do what Nature and Providence never intended he should do. He studied his own gifts, and sought to make the best use of them; and in doing this, he achieved a good work, and gained his reward. Not to those lofty triumphs of ideal art which kindle within the soul the fire of devotion, did he chiefly turn his mind. Nor did he satisfy himself with feebly attempting to copy what he could not originate, by imitating at a long distance those heaven-directed masters who lift the mind into holy aspiration, and whose great works are so instinct with worship that they find their fitting place by the sacred altar, and in the temple of God. To a less elevated, but still to a noble sphere, he felt called. His mission was not so much to awaken directly high spiritual life, as to impart innocent pleasure, to suggest thought, and to give to cultivated tastes an added intellectual gratification; and, to his honor be it said, in all he did there was an absolute purity of sentiment, without the slightest admixture of coarseness.

In the mechanical execution of his work he slighted no detail. In coloring, perspective, and composition there was rare excellence. The accessories were harmonious, the grouping skilful, and the unity of idea complete. You could walk into his distances, and inhale the atmosphere in which they were bathed. He loved the good old English times, and the happy scenes of that day he rejoiced to bring back again through his magical art. But he did not dwell upon exter-

nals alone. He had a delicate feeling for nature, a constant perception of grace, and a keen love of humor. He painted mind, as well as costume. His forms were more than shapes, they were alive with soul. In them you saw the nicest delineation of character, the finest shades of feeling, the faintest dawnings of thought, the first tremulous budding of emotion. Every picture told its story. Each person was an essential part, and the most hidden motive was seen, while over all was the impress of reality, the fulness of life, the inspiration of truth.

Still, it must be admitted that his works were in some respects more the result of memory than of imagination. He did not so much actually originate what he represented, as illustrate the creation of others. His was rather a perceptive than a creative genius. He was an interpreter between the author and the world. Addison, Cervantes, Shakespeare, brought thought, feeling, wit, love, into being; Leslie gave to those aerial conceptions of their minds color and form. If he called spirits from the vasty deep, they might not always come at his bidding; but when with Shakespearian power they were called up, he had the eye to perceive their mysterious beauty, and the most subtile workings of their inmost natures were revealed to him, while, as in a magic mirror, he could render their forms, even their minutest expression, visible to others. To him they were not imaginary, but real beings. Certainly Falstaff and Don Quixote actually sat for their portraits. Most obligingly Uncle Toby twice came, with his usual good-nature, in his buff waistcoat, looking just as he did when he had that dangerous *tête-à-tête* with the Widow Wadman in the sentry-box. Here also truly are Robin Hood, and Maid Marian, and Littlejohn, and Friar Tuck. Nay, we actually look in upon Master Slender's courtship, and have a fellow-feeling for him as he sheepishly stands with his hat in his hand; or we behold Lady Jane Grey, as she was seen by Roger Ascham in the oriel window, meditating upon the open page of Plato. There she stands, lost in delight over Phædo Platonis, while the Duke and Duchess and all the gentlewomen are hunting in the Park, and smilingly she says, "I wist, all their sport is but a shadow to that pleasure which I find in Plato." Or we look again, and see the queenly figure of Victoria, or Anne Boleyn, or the lovely Beatrice.

Leslie acquired a European, nay, we may affirm, a world-wide celebrity; and it is saying much when we add that he did so without pandering to a single unworthy taste or feeling. There is a pure and elevated tone in all that he did. If his aim was to confer pleasure, it was innocent pleasure. He showed how much of real interest may be connected with common objects, what a charm may be associated with domestic life, how literature may be illustrated and enriched by art, and how the customs of a past day may be brought before the vision for present instruction and enjoyment.

Mr. Taylor, the editor of the first-mentioned work before us, has performed his labor most successfully. His former work of this kind was the Autobiography of Haydon. A more complete contrast it would be difficult to imagine. Taylor himself dwells upon it with great truthfulness.

"Haydon," he writes, "presents to us a nature all self-confidence, passion, and combativeness. He was exclusive in his theories; reckless in his defiance of difficulties; unscrupulous in the means he took to relieve them; untiring in his appeals to patrons, and public men, and the public. Regarding himself as a martyr to high art, he claimed to the full all the immunities and indulgences that the most lenient and sympathetic judgment could attach to that position. Alternately elated with the most buoyant hope, and depressed by the deepest despair. . . . .

"In Leslie, on the other hand, we see the man of cautious, trustful, respectful nature from the first. Slow in the formation of his judgment, disposed to defer to others in his art and out of it, but strong in principle, and apt to hold stubbornly to convictions once grasped; not given to court notoriety or publicity, and rather shrinking from than provoking conflict; asking only leave to pursue the even tenor of his way in the practice of the unambitious art he loved, among the quiet friends he valued; equable, affectionate, self-respecting to the point of reserve and reticence; valuing good taste and moderation as much in art as in manners; averse to exclusive theories, or loud-sounding self-assertion in all its forms; closing a happy, peaceful, successful, and honored life by the calm and courageous death of a Christian, and leaving behind him pictures stamped in every line with good taste, chastened humor, and graceful sentiment, — pictures which it makes us happier, gentler, and better to look upon, — pictures which help us to love good books more, and to regard our fellow-creatures with kindlier eyes."

In another place he writes: —

"How genuine all these qualities were in Leslie, is best shown by his life and by his character, as indicated in his conversation and his writing. How could *he* be other than truthful, lovely, charitable, and tasteful in his pictures, who, in his home as in society, in his teaching as in his conduct, was habitually sincere, affectionate, equable, thoughtful of others, tolerant, loving to dwell rather on the good than on the bad about him? It would be well if there were more lives that should show so exact a parallel of good attributes in the workman and his works."

In 1859, on the 5th of May, after a brief illness, Leslie closed this life with full faith in a glorious immortality. He had always cherished bright and cheerful views of a future existence. To his son George he said, "he thought it very likely that part of our happiness in the next life would be derived from finding out the wonders of creation which are hidden to us here." The realities of that state of being upon which he had often mused, he was now soon to know. As he approached the change, his love of art seemed to grow stronger. He had several of his favorite pictures placed so that he could see them from his bed, and his son remarks that he never saw him enjoy anything more keenly than he did some photographs from the cartoons of Raphael. Thus did the art which had cheered him through the journey of life shed its halo around him during his latest moments here, and throw a splendor into the eternal world. He met his last change with that calm faith in God and Christ which was apparent in all he had said or done. The religion which, through life, had been his guide and support, gave to him, as he passed upward and onward, an unclouded and delightful trust. Nothing could alter his conviction in the Divine truth which was uttered by the Saviour. With his usual liberality, he declared that he believed that God permits different estimates of Christ's character to exist in the world, that our attention may be constantly drawn to it by discussion; and the following passage was found, written in his own hand, on a slip of paper attached to his will: —

"I trust I may die as I now am, in the entire belief of the Christian religion, as I understand it from the books of the New Testament; that

is, as a direct revelation of the will and goodness of God towards this world, by Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world. In full reliance on the special providence of God, I feel sure that whenever, and by whatever means, I die, will be the best for me; and I trust this belief will always make me patient and submissive to the will of God, feeling sure that there is no *real evil but sin*, from which I pray God to deliver all of us, now and hereafter."

ART. VI. — 1. *Chemical Technology, or Chemistry in its Applications to the Arts and Manufactures.* [Article *Gas Illumination.*] By DR. EDMUND RONALDS and DR. THOMAS RICHARDSON. London. 1855.

2. URE'S *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines, containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice.* [Article *Coal-Gas.*] Edited by ROBERT HUNT, F. R. S., F. S. S. London. 1860.

WE are not disposed to encroach upon the territory of our neighbors in the domain of science, nor to ramble beyond our own acquaintance with the grounds we are about to exhibit to our visitors. We shall only offer a few observations on a subject of general interest, as well in a speculative as in a practical point of view, and of growing importance in the daily life of increasing numbers. The manufacture of illuminating gas deserves attention, whether we consider the material from which it is obtained, the history and the process of the manufacture, or its many relations to the convenience and comfort of the community.

The numerous and great varieties of coal (from some of which gas can be obtained, while others yield no such product) are the evidence of a state of vegetation in many, and indeed in almost all parts of the globe, which was probably very different, in many particulars, from any present product of the soil and atmosphere. Of a woody and fibrous texture, coal contains ingredients which are not found in equal abundance in substances which now grow on the surface of the earth in a similar manner. Not only must the vegetable growth

have been singularly dense at some former age of the earth's history, but it must have been somewhat suddenly subjected to a varying degree of pressure, and to an amount of heat sufficient to modify or to expel some of the chemical constituents of the great masses exposed to this influence. There is every variety of position, from the immediate vicinity of the surface of the ground to a great depth beneath it, of every kind of coal, from the hardest anthracite to the richest Boghead or Cannel. In this country the hardest and least inflammable coal is found in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, while as one travels to the West the coal-beds become softer and richer; and the excellent coal of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky is as valuable as the best specimens of English or Scottish production. In the North and South, too, valuable coals are found, of the softer kinds, but not of the rich quality that may be seen in the vast coal-beds of the West. It would seem as if the eastern part of Pennsylvania had been exposed to some great or enduring heat, which had nearly expelled the more inflammable constituents of her coal-beds, and the influence of which was less felt in every direction as the distance increased. This process of nature, if the idea be a just one, is rudely imitated in the manufacture of charcoal, by which the aqueous particles contained in the fibre of wood are driven off, and the remainder resembles, in some points, a light sort of anthracite, that burns with a good degree of heat, but with little flame.

The difference of structure, and of component parts, between the buried vegetation which now constitutes the extensive coal-beds of the world, and the classes of plants now existing, must have been very great. The proportion of water contained in vegetable fibre of a given weight is now probably much larger, and that of other chemical ingredients much less than in the great coal-beds of the world; and it does not appear that the mere burying of wood under a considerable mass of earth would have any tendency to convert it into coal. Indeed, the more perfectly the air is excluded from the surface of wood, the more perfectly, and the longer, it retains its structure and its strength; and timber that has been buried, either in swamps, the beds of rivers, or wherever it has been secure from the action of the atmosphere, has been discovered with very little

tendency to become what we call coal. It has been supposed that the very timbers constituting the foundations of bridges, constructed in the rivers of Gaul, by Julius Cæsar, have been found in our own times, with little change in their organization, while the trunks of trees have been discovered in bogs, deeply buried beneath the surface, which must have lain there for a period beyond the memory or tradition of man, without the slightest tendency to become coal. On the other hand, coal of all kinds, from the hardest to the softest, from the least combustible to that which is most combustible, is found as well on the surface as beneath many hundreds of feet of mingled earth and stone. The coal-mines of Europe are generally far below the surface of the ground, while many in this country and in Asia crop out on the sides of hills; and some of the beds of anthracite in Pennsylvania are actually on the tops of very considerable elevations. It is probable, therefore, at first sight, that pressure has little to do with the production or the character of coal formations. Indeed, the pressure on the deepest mines may not be greater than that upon strata nearer the surface, and at all events cannot be extreme, as the roofs of subterranean passages through earth, of convenient width, are easily sustained by timber of no unusual strength. The chemical constitution of wood and coal is very different, the latter comprising many more ingredients than the former. The residuum, too, of wood and of coal is essentially different in texture and appearance, as well as in composition and in useful materials. The inference, then, which seems to be irresistible from these considerations, is that the vegetation which produced the existing strata of coal was very unlike that which we see around us, — not merely in appearance, but in its essential nature; and that no conceivable compression of the present vegetation of the globe could produce the various qualities of coal which we discover upon, as well as beneath, its present surface. The conjecture that the coal-beds have been thrown down and thrown up again by successive convulsions of the surface of the earth, is among those theories which scientific men sometimes make, but which require explanation themselves, and serve to give an air of profoundness to what is, in fact, mere supposition.

The processes by which these immense resources of power are usefully employed, by human ingenuity, are subjects of more positive knowledge; and it is only in quite modern times that these great treasures of light and warmth have been developed for the convenience and comfort of mankind. The history of gas-lighting, especially, is so brief, that it scarcely deserves the name of history as yet. In 1726 Dr. Hales performed experiments by which he ascertained the amount of gas which could be obtained from the distillation of Newcastle coal, and his results agree remarkably with those obtained by careful investigations in more recent times. Dr. Watson, in 1767, published some experiments in the making and preserving of gas; and the Earl of Dundonald erected furnaces and obtained gas in 1786, but applied it to no purpose except the amusement of his friends. In 1792 Mr. William Murdoch lighted his house with gas; and in 1798 Messrs. Bolton and Watt used it for lighting their manufactory, or a part of it, in Soho. In 1802, on occasion of the celebration, in London, of the peace of Amiens, an exhibition of the new light was made, and soon afterward a cotton-mill was lighted with it. The use of it gradually extended, and it was introduced into various manufactories, and into the Lyceum Theatre in London. One side of Pall-Mall was lighted with it; and its superiority for use in public buildings, and in the streets, was soon acknowledged. The imperfection of the art of purifying it from the substances causing an offensive odor, and the tarnishing of polished metallic surfaces, offered so great objections to its use in private houses, that its progress in that direction was slow. The gradual improvement, however, in purification, and the vast superiority, in convenience, of gas to oil, slowly effected its introduction into more common use. In England and Scotland, which are supplied with an abundance of rich coals for the purpose, its use has greatly extended; and in this country, also, in many parts of which suitable coals are abundant, it has become common in cities and towns where the population is dense enough to render its distribution possible at a reasonable cost. There are more than three hundred cities and towns in the United States where it is in common use. The process of manufacture is a simple one, but cannot be described

in detail without illustrations which would be out of place in this journal. It must suffice to give a general account, as far as it can be given intelligibly without diagrams, of the mode in which a bright and pleasant light is obtained from such an apparently unpromising material as the black and heavy bituminous coals.

From a hundred and fifty to three hundred pounds of coal are thrust into an iron or clay retort, and subjected, from four to six hours, to a steady heat, varying in intensity in different establishments, according to the nature of the coal used, from a moderate red to a strong white heat. This drives off, through tubes arranged for the purpose, the volatile contents of the coals, and they are forced by the heat of the retort along the conduit prepared for them, which is partly filled with water and tar, and is called the hydraulic main, till they reach the condensing apparatus. This is commonly a series of upright iron pipes, along which the gas is made to pass, and which are kept constantly cool, by the atmosphere in winter, and by the evaporation of water from their surface in summer. The object is to reduce the temperature of the gas, which comes directly from the retorts, and to precipitate the tarry and watery particles brought along with it. It is next conveyed along a number of other large upright iron tubes, in passing up and down which successively the gas is subjected to a sprinkling by water, thrown on it through a spout pierced with small holes, so that the effect is like that of a shower of fine drops of rain. By this operation some of the impurities which the gas brings with it from the retort are thrown down to the bottom of the tubes, and it is easy to see the amount of foreign matter deposited by the gas, in the color of the water as it runs off, after it has performed its office of washing the gas. It is thus freed from some impurities which might otherwise be carried along with it, to be deposited in the pipes, or to diminish the brilliancy of the light.

The next step is to the purifiers, which are large iron boxes containing lime, either dry or wet, according to the judgment of the manufacturer, in order to absorb some of the contents of the gas from the retorts, which it is not desirable should enter into the circulation, such as ammonia, sulphuretted hy-

drogen, and carbonic acid. In the wet purifiers the mingled lime and water are kept in agitation by machinery, and the gas is forced into the box containing them at one end, and out of it at the other, so that it is thoroughly exposed to the chemical action of the lime and water. In the dry purifiers the lime is laid upon perforated shelves, through which the gas is made to pass successively, so that it is brought into contact with a large surface of dry lime. The passage through the purifiers is the last operation upon the gas before it is deposited in the holders constructed to receive and keep it till it is wanted for consumption. The *vis a tergo*, derived from the heat of the retort, is sufficient to force the gas through a meter safely into the holder, which is a large iron vessel inserted with the mouth downward into a tank containing water. The weight of this vessel is counterbalanced by masses of iron suspended by chains passing over columns placed around the holder, and attached to the upper part of it. When properly counterbalanced it is in condition to receive the gas, which enters it with a force sufficient to overcome the remaining weight of the holder. When the evening consumption begins, the drawing off of the gas causes the holder to descend, as the weights are carefully adjusted so as to produce the requisite motion, according to the impulse of the entering or the diminution of the departing gas. The slight degree of pressure on the elastic fluid is felt at every orifice at which it issues into the atmosphere, and the consumer can control the quantity he uses by means of a stop-cock near the mouth of the pipe. It contributes materially to render the pressure equal to have large holders at different points of the more distant consumption of gas, and to propel it through mains of a large size, so as to diminish, as far as may be, the retarding effect of friction. From the holders are laid pipes of smaller size for the use of each street, and these again are drawn upon for each building. It is important that all pipes, especially those entering a house or shop, should be laid below the reach of frost, as great obstruction is caused by the congelation of any aqueous particles carried along with the gas. This difficulty may be removed, when it occurs, by pouring a small quantity of whiskey into the pipe ; but it

may be still more easily prevented by reasonable caution in placing the pipes. Another annoyance caused by frost is the occasional fracture of a pipe which lies partly in original, native soil, and partly in what is called "made land." If this last be of recent construction, its gradual settling creates a strain upon the pipe at the point of junction, which often produces a fracture which is betrayed by the escape of the gas, and sometimes occasions an explosion.* In the laying of street pipes it is necessary to provide a sufficient inclination of them to enable the liquid deposits, made in greater or less amount, to run into small reservoirs, prepared for the purpose, which are called siphons, or draining boxes, and thus to be prevented from obstructing the flow of the gas.

When the gas has been brought to the place of consumption, the house, the shop, the theatre, the lecture-room, or the church, it becomes necessary to ascertain the quantity used by each consumer; and for this purpose a measure has been devised, which registers, with all possible accuracy, the number of cubic feet of gas that pass through it. For this end a chamber of definite capacity is prepared, through which the gas must pass; and the motion of the gas turns a drum upon an axis, each revolution of which indicates the passage of a known quantity of the article. The revolutions of the drum are recorded on the outside by an index, or rather several indices, for tens, hundreds, and thousands of cubic feet; and the passage of the gas is the only thing that can affect the record of measurement. There are two kinds of meter, the wet and the dry. In the former the gas is made to pass over water, placed in the lower part of the meter, at a given level. If this level be carefully maintained, it will measure the passing gas with entire accuracy. If, however, the water should reach a level a little too high, less gas would pass in the remaining space during a revolution of the drum; and if the water be too low, more gas would pass in the same period. In the one case the customer would receive less than the amount registered, in the other case he would receive more. To guard

* Gas becomes explosive when mixed, in certain proportions, with atmospheric air. In its pure state explosion is impossible.

against the former injustice, an outlet for the water is provided, so that no more can be retained than the proper quantity; while the only security of the company against loss is an occasional visit of a person appointed for the purpose of seeing that the meter is properly filled.

In the dry meter, a space of known size, containing an accurately measured quantity of gas, is opened and shut by machinery; and at each motion a precise amount of it is passed through the meter, and is recorded on the outside as in the other kind of instrument. The advantage of this meter is, that there is no such simple process as lowering the level of the water, by which the quantity of gas passing through it can be affected. The machine is too nice for any one to touch who is not accustomed to such delicate instruments, and if it were touched it could not be altered. When it wears out, as it must fail at last, it ceases to act at once, and no gas can pass through it to be registered injuriously against one party or the other. The reason of this is, that the chambers, which measure the amount of gas passing through them, are made of an elastic material, which is constantly in motion when the instrument is used; and when it is worn out, or from any cause is broken, the machine cannot act at all, and will not pass any gas, to the loss of either party.

We have said nothing yet of the quality of the coals necessary for the manufacture of this important article. In this there is great choice, and room for that knowledge and judgment, in the employment of an article of better or of inferior quality, which constitutes the skilful or the unskilful, the successful or the unsuccessful manufacturer. It is desirable that gas should be of good quality, without being too costly for use; and the price of the material from which it is made must, of course, be one of the chief ingredients in the cost of the manufactured article. A quality of gas, five cubic feet of which are equal in illuminating power to twelve candles of a given size, is generally adopted in England as satisfactory. In this country a higher quality of gas is commonly used, ranging from the equivalent of twelve to that of twenty candles; and there are many species of coal, both here and in England, from which gas may be obtained of a sufficiently

good quality for this purpose. It is the business of the manufacturer to decide what kind of coal will make the gas he offers for sale at the least expense, as well as to produce it in the most skilful manner from the coal he purchases. It is thus necessary to combine two things not often found together, scientific knowledge and commercial skill, the tact which enables one to observe the phenomena of nature, and that which enables him to understand the phenomena of the market. The number and variety of kinds of coal from which gas may be made, of good or poor quality, affords a great opportunity for the exercise of judgment. There are sixty or more varieties of coal found in England, Scotland, and Wales, or rather there are more than sixty different mines from which suitable coal is raised, the quality and price of which are to be considered in determining the quality and price of the gas to be manufactured. The number of mines opened in this country, too, is great, and is constantly increasing, which furnish suitable material for the manufacture of gas; the coal-fields of the Middle, Southern, and Western States being of an extent unequalled in other regions. It is one of the striking marks and evidences of an all-wise disposition of the relations of things in this world, that, uncounted ages ago, preparation should have been made for the wants of a population which did not then exist, and which has not existed till within a recent period. The use of this material for domestic as well as manufacturing purposes, has been introduced within what may be considered a short time ; and it is but a few years since the existence of the immense deposits of it in this country became known. The prospect which is opened to the busy and enterprising generations to come, of employment, comfort, and convenience of all sorts, is one of the most agreeable on which the mind can dwell.

But we need not extend our view to the dim future to perceive the important relations of this art to the benefit of society. The illumination afforded by gas, when properly manufactured from a suitable material, is very superior to that which has ever been obtained from any of the various oils that have been burned; while the convenience of its use is so great, and releases such a large number of persons from a burden-

some and disagreeable office, — that of the care of lamps, — that its financial advantage, in this single respect, is not easily to be over-estimated. A considerable proportion of the time of one domestic in every private house, and of more than one in every hotel, was formerly spent upon the lamps and candles in use. Scarcely a moment of any one's time is now required for that purpose, and no more demand is made for the requisite skill in fitting wicks and trimming lamps. The labor of two hundred or two hundred and fifty men, at the gas-works of a city of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, has supplanted the dirty work of trimming twenty or thirty thousand lamps every day, by half that number of individuals, and has driven out of recollection the anxiety on grand occasions, and the frequent feeling of discomfort, arising from neglect or mismanagement of the lamps, the poor quality of the oil, or the chill which would render it useless for a long time on a cold winter evening. Of all these inconveniences the last is the only one that ever happens now-a-days where gas is used, and its occurrence must be attributed to the exposure of the gas-pipe to cold, if it is not secured from frost in its passage from the street to the burner, and not to the quality of the gas itself. This is a not inconsiderable economy of time and money, which is seldom, if ever, thought of by those who are very watchful of their gas bills.

Another saving effected by the use of gas, in the place of oil or candles, is that of the eye. Instead of straining the organ by the light of a single lamp or candle, the scholar can obtain, at less expense, a light equivalent to that of a dozen candles, — the lady may read, sew, or dress, by a brilliant light unaccompanied with any annoying exhalation; and the man of business may finish the labor of the day without fear of straining his eye, or greasing his ledger. If these advantages were obtained at the cost of a considerably increased expense, most persons would say that it was a judicious expenditure; but it is demonstrable that an equivalent amount of light has never been produced, for common consumption, for an equally small cost. The consumer of gas will, perhaps, immediately deny this assertion, and appeal to his bills, confident that he can prove his expenditure for light to have been

much larger than it used to be in the days of lamps and candles. Most probably this will be found to be true, — not because gas is dearer than candles, but because he employs more light than he would, if he were troubled with the care of the lamps and candles. The unavoidable annoyances attending the use of them rendered him cautious to avoid waste. The freedom from all trouble, on the other hand, and the satisfaction of having abundant light, easily and constantly provided, render one thoughtless of the amount used, and the consequent expense, till the presenting of the bill, at the close of the usual term, suddenly shows the fact, in the amount of gas charged. The first impulse of the consumer is, of course, indignantly to deny that he has consumed so much gas; and the second is, to rush to the office of the company, and pour out a torrent of vituperation upon the officers, the meters, the innocent gas itself, and to affirm most strenuously that he never used the quantity charged; or, — without much regard to consistency, — that if he did, it was because the gas was so bad, and so dim, that he could not see by it, without turning on a large quantity; and it is only by showing him the operation of the meter, and convincing him, if possible, that it is a more accurate measurer than his eye, that he can be soothed at last, though he will probably quit the office with the words on his lips, that he does not believe he ever did burn so much gas. The most discreet way for the company to treat such discontented people has been found by experience to be, to allow the monstrous bill to remain unpaid for the moment, till the angry customer has time to examine more carefully into his rate of consumption, and satisfy himself as to the amount of light used in his premises. The number of conversions produced by this simple and patient treatment is something remarkable, and would be incredible, if it were not confirmed by the constant experience of gas companies. The fact that more light is produced by gas than by oil, at equal cost, and the great facility and convenience of its use, sufficiently explain the increase of gas companies in all places where coal of suitable quality can be obtained. The use of it may, indeed, be included among those great improvements in social life which have so distinguished the present century from its pre-

decessors, and which are the harbingers of many more to be enjoyed by our successors. When we look back upon the state of things not many years ago, in relation to individuals, to society, and to national intercourse, and compare it with what is now common, whether in our own country or in others, we are forced to acknowledge the progress made in all departments, whether of science, art, education, or habits, which is visible wherever freedom is allowed for the exercise of the human faculties. The customs which have been retained in some despotic countries, by the political powers, — the only things that have remained stationary, — serve to mark the progress of nations among whom despotism has not prevailed, and the degree of practical freedom may be shown by the comparative progress in all departments of mental and physical development, from a point fixed by the arbitrary governments of a former day, and retained by those of our own. The manufacture and use of gas are among the best illustrations of the advance of this age. Other periods have had their lights, great and many, but it is the good fortune of this epoch to rejoice in various important discoveries and improvements of condition, which at once distinguish it from its predecessors, and will lead future years to yet greater and more beneficent changes.

It will be perceived, from the preceding account, that the manufacture of gas requires the practical application of much that is called science ; and that accuracy of observation and measurement, and careful comparison of results, which deserve the name of scientific investigation. It does not diminish this claim to an honorable position, that the result sought is a profitable investment. It only renders the accuracy and exactness of the process the more imperative. Any error is liable to be followed, not only by the objections of scientific men, but by the loud complaints of customers and stockholders, who are not very likely to appreciate fully the difficulties that may be encountered. Improvements are to be made, and the only way in which they can be made is by careful and thorough investigation into the productions and laws of nature, just as in any other scientific inquiry. The false pretensions of speculators, too, are to be set aside and disproved only by means of

that accurate knowledge resulting from wide and systematic investigation, which is properly called science, if anything human deserves so magnificent an appellation.

It is a strong claim to the interest of the community, that the product of the labors of gas companies is used by so large a proportion of society; and it well deserves the consideration of law-makers, whether some provision could not be made, by the appointment of scientific men as inspectors of the gas manufactured throughout the Commonwealth, to secure a suitable quality for consumption by prescribing a grade below which it should not be salable. Prices for anything cannot be made uniform by law, in a community varying in circumstances so much as ours; but there are many points which might be so regulated, to the mutual advantage of manufacturer and consumer. An inspector of meters might be of great service to both parties; and some protection ought surely to be given to such important articles as meters, mains, and service-pipes, for the benefit both of the consumer and of the company.

The statements we have made show the magnitude, the delicacy, and the importance of the subject; and it is probable that all these will continue to increase in the future, as they have increased in the past. Our notice requires no apology, therefore, to those who are accustomed to consider our journal as having an interest in literature only. The diffusion of knowledge on all subjects is as necessary as its increase.

ART. VII.—*Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature. A Classed List of Books published in the United States of America during the last Forty Years. With Bibliographical Introduction, Notes, and Alphabetical Index.* Compiled and edited by NICOLAS TRÜBNER. London: Trübner & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. cxlix., 554.

WE Americans are like "the ostrich, which leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in the dust, and forgetteth that the foot may crush them, or that the wild beast may break them." Boastful as we no doubt are, the taunt would be less frequently thrown at us from abroad, were we disposed to preserve so much as the register and number of our own progeny. But, contented with the consciousness that we are a great people, we do exceedingly little toward furnishing ourselves or others with a record of the elements of our greatness. Our egotism is that of mere self-assertion, not of self-description. We have done our full part toward perpetuating the glory of other nations. Most of our historians have taken other than American themes. Spain and her former dependencies owe more than our own country to our authors; and while no detailed account of American literature has been attempted, this city has furnished, through one of her accomplished scholars, by far the most thorough history of Spanish literature that has ever been written. Allibone's great and invaluable work, in the volume already published, comprises, indeed, the American authors of acknowledged eminence; but it omits the mention of many of our countrymen whose merits are superior to a large part of the English writers to whom articles are dedicated. Even in statistics we have as yet been hasty and untrustworthy. Each successive census has been impugned on sufficient grounds connected with its preparation before its results have been published; and the accusation has been made, and not disproved, that whole classes of facts have been so adjusted as to subserve the special ends of the party in power.

Meanwhile, foreigners have done our work. Accurate books on our institutions and their results have been written in

France and Germany. Edinburgh has given us our best American Atlas. The important issues of our press are noted and criticised by various Transatlantic journals with a fidelity which has no parallel on this side of the ocean. Among the numerous bibliographical works on books relating to America, and on American literature, few of any considerable magnitude or importance have been published here; and we must resort for the most part to foreign sources of information, would we learn the amount of the contributions of our own people to the intellectual wealth of the world. It is therefore without surprise that we welcome from the London house of Trübner & Co. the massive volume now under review.

The plan of this work is more comprehensive than we might infer from its title. The closely printed one hundred and fifty pages which precede the list of books, contain more copious memoranda concerning the history of authorship, printing, publishing, and libraries in America, than we know where to look for in any other single work. We have at the outset an account of the principal American Bibliographies. We are glad to find at the head of this series the prospectus of Mr. Stevens's proposed work, under the patronage of the Smithsonian Institution, which will comprise a detailed description of all books published in, or relating to, America, that made their appearance before the beginning of the last century, together with such unpublished manuscripts as deserve a permanent record. This book, it is estimated, will contain not less than five thousand titles, and — what is of prime importance — it will be admirably provided with indexes. It has already employed the labor of twelve years; we have no intimation how near it is to completion. It can serve no valuable purpose to name the other works described in this connection. We are not familiar with any of them, and could therefore only copy from the book under review.

The first work of marked literary merit penned on this continent was a Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, by George Sandys. He had previously published a book of travel in the Holy Land and the countries on the Mediterranean. From the East he turned his course westward, became treasurer of the company engaged in the colonization of Virginia, wrote

his version of Ovid on the banks of James River, dedicated it to Charles I., and returned to England with this as the sole revenue from his residence in the New World. It was printed in London, in folio, in 1626. Its versification, in rhymed iambic pentameters, is singularly smooth and euphonious, and in point of harmony it will bear a favorable comparison with Dryden's Virgil. In strong contrast with this, we have the Bay Psalm-Book, — the first book printed north of Mexico, — in which the problem of the entire elimination of the characteristics of poetry from its ostensible form was solved, once for all, so completely as to distance all subsequent endeavors in the same direction. This *travesty* of the Hebrew lyrics, as most of our readers know, was issued in 1640, from the University Press, the rude precursor of the printing-house to whose scholarly supervision and mechanical skill we, for the whole term of our editorship, have such abundant reason to express our indebtedness and gratitude. The first *original* work published in the British Colonies was a volume of poems by Mrs. Bradstreet, of whom our author says, that "her rhythm is far from defective, her language chaste, and her ideas neither altogether puerile nor insipid." How far this praise is justified in full may appear from the following couplets on Semiramis: —

> "She like a brave virago played the rex,
> And was both shame and glory of her sex."

> "Forty-two years she reigned, and then she dy'd,
> But by what means, we are not certified."

At this period, both New England and Virginia were fruitful in versifiers; but most of their productions were printed in the mother country. It would seem that the spirit of adventure and the excitement of a wilderness life roused an ambition which could not content itself in prose; while in none of those early writers does there seem to have been enough of "the vision and the faculty divine" to entitle them to the name of original poets.

During the colonial period, the only American writers whose works have an enduring reputation and value were Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin, — antipodes in their lines of

thought and their characteristics of style; the former representing the culmination of the Puritan mind and genius, — the latter, the prototype of the utilitarian school which has since his day held so large a place in our literature. Apart from his unrivalled ability as a metaphysician, Edwards has had few superiors as a writer. On the profoundest themes of speculation, his choice and collocation of words are such as to make his diction always definite and transparent; in the more terrific forms of pulpit eloquence he has had no equal; and we have from his pen some descriptions of nature that are absolutely ravishing in their sweetness. Franklin, indeed, never transcends the plane of Anglo-Saxon common-sense; but on that plane who is there that exceeds him in perspicuity, simplicity, and ease? His very lack of ornament and of artistical endeavor has more than the effect of studied elegance. His autobiography has a charm equally for readers of every age and every grade of intelligence; and his letters, to persons of the most widely various conditions, and on almost every class of subjects within the cognizance of a mind like his, display a wonderful versatility of power, never indeed rising above, but never sinking below, the level of practical wisdom and shrewd material philosophy.

The events which preceded and accompanied the American Revolution had, no doubt, an indirect agency of the most potent character in the birth and growth of our national literature. Speeches and documents were the earliest weapons of the patriots, and were largely resorted to during every convenient pause in material warfare. The popular form assumed by the new governments, and, in New England, the multitude of little municipal republics, — each a nation in miniature, — gave the largest and most constant scope for the living voice, or, in default of it, for the pen; for it was a public necessity that every man should be fully apprised of the condition and prospects of civil liberty, and it was every man's right — as one of the sovereigns — to bear his part in conference and counsel. The exigencies of the times thus accustomed large numbers of men to the artificial and rhetorical expression of their thoughts, and aroused in many the latent capacity of authorship. We accordingly have, in the period immediately succeeding the

peace with Great Britain, a goodly company of authors trained in the Revolutionary school, not a few of whom had borne arms to establish the republic which they now sought to enrich and adorn with letters. Among these were many poets or versifiers, whose works met the demands of a partially developed public taste, though there is not one of them whose reputation outlived his age. Philip Freneau's lyrics and ballads had in their day an extended fame, and certainly manifest no small measure of genius and spirit. John Trumbull's "McFingal" was a not unsuccessful imitation of Hudibras, and his "Progress of Dulness," a mock-heroic poem, had it been of English authorship, or had Americans possessed sufficient self-respect to do justice to their own men of genius, would not have dropped into the oblivion that buries it from the knowledge of the present generation. Barlow's "Columbiad" and Dwight's "Conquest of Canaan" sank by their own weight; it is hardly possible that any persons except their authors should have had patience to read them through. In leaden dulness and heaviness they have been seldom equalled, never surpassed, though some of Barlow's shorter pieces are full of sprightly wit and humor; and Dwight, as an accomplished and versatile prose-writer, more than atoned for the absence of inspiration in his poem. Thomas Green Fessenden's "Terrible Tractoration" was much read thirty or forty years ago, and would be a favorite now, had it not passed wholly out of print, while the form of charlatanry which it ridiculed has faded from the knowledge of mankind.

Charles Brockden Brown was the first American who made literature a profession. His best novels, "written with considerable elegance and taste," are now better known in England, as a part of Bentley's Library of Standard Romance, than in the country which gave them birth. He distinguished himself, also, as a writer of literary essays and of political tracts, and in various directions merited the eminence, while he shared the usual fortune, of a pioneer-author. Of the low condition of the arts accessory to authorship, when he commenced his career, we may form some idea from the fate of one of his early poems. It was an Address to Franklin, complimenting him on his bloodless career, his peaceful life, and

his eminence as a philosopher. The printer of the periodical for which it was designed inserted, throughout the poem, Washington's name instead of Franklin's, deeming it more creditable to the journal that the first man in the country should be thus celebrated! It is worthy of note that Brown, in his ephemeral articles, anticipated the principles that lie at the basis of the (so-called) Temperance reform, and started sundry notions concerning food, which correspond very closely with those of the dietetic precisians of our day. His earliest writings appeared in 1793; he died in 1811. During this interval American literature passed from infantile tenuity and feebleness to a healthy and vigorous condition.

Within this period, also, there was an enlargement — we will not say a transfer — of the arena of American genius. When Brown first came upon the stage, Philadelphia held without dispute the rank of our literary capital, and several of the essayists and humorists of that city had a high national reputation, and would have it still, had the same talent been bestowed on solid works, or on subjects of permanent interest. At the time of his death, Philadelphia had not declined; but New York and Boston had become her rivals. Paulding and Irving, Channing, Buckminster, and Dana, were but the foremost names of a numerous body of young and highly gifted authors in each of those cities. The Monthly Anthology was closing its eight years' life, during which it had been of incalculable service, both as the nucleus of an association of able and cultivated men, whose mutual encouragement first superseded, then drew forth public appreciation, and as stimulating and directing the literary aims of the generation of scholars of which Mr. Everett may be taken as the representative.

To recur again to Brown, we may justly date from his successful authorship the era of American literary independence, and may trace to him the first declaration of that independence. Our mental vassalage outlasted our political subjection. Till near the close of the last century, English books, opinions, tastes, and standards maintained a despotic sway over the revolted Colonies. Not even our woods and waters, still less our life and manners, were deemed worthy of literary recognition. Imitation held the place of creation. Brown's

novels contain numerous descriptions of forest scenery and life, and vindicate the adequacy of strictly American subjects to a place in the higher departments of literature. He complained of the stubborn Anglicanism of American writers and readers, and dwelt strongly on the necessity of a development of our own intellectual resources *pari passu* with the elements of our material growth.

Since the beginning of the present century, our literature has had a definite national character. The diction of our best authors has its distinguishing features, — in some respects inferior, no doubt, but, we maintain, in some respects greatly superior, to that of British writers of corresponding reputation. They, in general, excel us in ease and euphony; we surpass them in grammatical and rhetorical precision and accuracy. Some of their great men have a style which would hardly be tolerated here. The Carlylese dialect, had it originated in the United States, would have been repudiated as barbarous; it has been copied only because it came from beyond the sea. Chalmers approached an idea as a besieging army approaches a city, by successive circumvallations and onslaughts, — a method which has needed with us the prestige of his fame to render it even endurable. Whately's slipshod sentences and tedious self-repetition betray a carelessness on which no writer among us who sought reputation and influence would venture. There is hardly an article in the North British Review which contains not such solecisms in language as would be barred peremptorily from our best periodicals. On the other hand, there is in many of our standard works a rigidity and formalism which we seldom encounter in an English book. Our habit of speech-making — may we not add, our habit of working up speeches into review-articles, chapters of books, treatises, and essays? — gives to our writings an overwrought, grandiose, oratorical air. We declaim with the pen on subjects and occasions on which the most calm and subdued style is alone appropriate. Some of our foremost statesmen have written state papers that seemed of the same staple with popular harangues, and such documents have had the almost universal suffrage in their favor. This tendency constitutes the chief blemish in Cooper's novels. His interlocutors do

not converse, but throw speeches at each other. Even history sometimes borrows this intense, stilt-like method, so that it is hardly possible to reach simple facts through the piled-up epithets by which they are overlaid.

We cannot follow our writer in his review of the last forty years, in which he has embraced almost every name of note, and has in general shown an intimate knowledge of the ground he covers; though in some instances he has passed over a writer of deserved eminence with brief mention, and bestowed labored encomiums on those who are but little read or known by their own countrymen. We pass from a field which it is impossible to survey within our limits to a curious chapter on "Foreign Writers in America." The first pair noticed, Paine and Witherspoon, united in their zealous services in the cause of our national independence, were in every other aspect mutually opposed. Paine's "Common Sense" and "Crisis," had they been his only works, would have endeared his memory to every citizen of our republic, and it is impossible to over-estimate their effect in the Colonies and in the mother country. His "Age of Reason" was not written here. Witherspoon was a lineal and a worthy descendant of John Knox. Eminent equally as a statesman, a divine, and an educator, he is no longer read, mainly because his writings were too closely adapted to the exigencies of his time to retain their interest, now that their occasions have passed from distinct and vivid recollection. Mrs. Susanna Rowson, the author of "Charlotte Temple," the most popular novel of its time, was for some years a resident of Nantucket. Priestley wrote his latest works, and closed his days, in Pennsylvania. Duponceau, who had no equal as a philologist, emigrated from France with Baron Steuben, and did not become an author till many years after he was an American citizen. Several of the most distinguished office-bearers in our colleges have been foreigners. Dr. Thomas Cooper, who, after filling two professorships in Northern colleges, became President of South Carolina College, was a native of London. Dr. Lieber, than whom we have no more able writer on political economy and philosophy, brought to his several successive posts in our seminaries of education the various and recondite erudition of his native Germany.

No man has ever been more profoundly loved for his excellence, esteemed for his learning, or lamented in his death, than Dr. Follen, who so closely identified himself with our political institutions and social life, that none who knew him counted him as other than a native-born American. Among our most erudite Theological Professors is Dr. Schaff, of Franklin and Marshall College, — a Swiss by birth, — whose elaborate "History of the Apostolic Church" was published first in German, then in the English form in which we were glad to commend it to our readers. Least of all, among the adopted of our universities, can we omit Agassiz, who, in his own department, makes the place of his residence the metropolis of the scientific world, and whose Museum, if completed according to his design, will fix that metropolis for centuries to come where it must needs remain fixed for his lifetime.

The writer whom we have for the most part followed passes from authorship to education, and gives a succinct sketch of the history and statistics of the public-school system, which, he says, at the present time cannot embrace less than five millions of pupils.

The next topic is the "Introduction and Progress of Printing." It is believed that for more than thirty years from 1638 the Cambridge printing-office was the only one in the British Colonies, the second having been established in Boston in 1674; and it is well known that the Mathers, and other prolific writers among their contemporaries, were often obliged to have their sermons and pamphlets printed in England, on account of the accumulation of work waiting for its turn at the American presses. Philadelphia had not a printing-press till 1686, nor New York till 1693. There was not a press in either of the now Southern States before the beginning of the last century. The estimated number of printers in the United States, at the present time, is twenty thousand, and they work with a capital of at least twenty-four millions of dollars, — a sum which falls considerably short of the value of the paper annually produced in the country.

The chapter on the "Remuneration of Authors" presents a more favorable condition of the guild than we had imagined. The specifications of high prices are miscellaneous, and seem

incapable of being reduced to a general law; but, on the whole, it would appear that the compiler of a successful school-book has the surest prospect of substantial returns. We quote the whole chapter.

"Authorship has assumed the dignity of a profession in the United States; and, notwithstanding the cynical complaints of a few disappointed aspirants for literary fame and fortune, the well-written American book not unfrequently brings its author both fame and profit.

"As early as 1817 authorship was occasionally fairly compensated by American publishers. In that year, George Goodrich and Sons paid Noah Webster 40,000 dollars for the copyright of his *Spelling-Book*. And, prior to 1837, a Philadelphia publisher paid 135,000 dollars to native authors; 30,000 dollars of the same being for two works only. Mr. Bancroft had received for his Histories, before 1854, quite 50,000 dollars; and up to that year Mr. Barnes had been paid fully 30,000 dollars for his *Notes on the Gospels*. The Harpers paid Mr. Stephens 30,000 dollars for his entertaining travels, in a few years. Professor Andrews received 6,000 dollars for the first edition of his *Latin Lexicon:* and Professor Anthon has been paid upwards of 30,000 dollars for his valuable classical publications.

"Ivison and Phinney, of New York, pay Sanders for his educational works about 30,000 dollars per annum; and to Mr. Thompson, the sum of 10,000 dollars yearly, as his share of the profits arising from his Arithmetical books. In the first six months of 1855, there were 244,000 of Sanders's and 38,500 of Thompson's books sold by this firm.

"Childs and Peterson, of Philadelphia, have already paid 60,000 dollars, or more than £12,000, to Dr. Kane's family for his *Arctic Explorations in the Years* 1853–1855. This firm exhibits a liberality worthy the warmest praise. Their allowance of one dollar per copy in this case, to the holder of the copyright, is not only liberal, but generous.

"We are informed on the best authority that J. B. Lippincott & Co., also of Philadelphia, have paid to Drs. Wood and Bache 80,000 dollars for their *United States Dispensatory;* and Little, Brown, & Co., of Boston, can show receipts for 500,000 dollars paid for copyrights. Of this large sum, 200,000 dollars were given to Judge Story and family, as their part of the profits arising from the sale of the works of that distinguished jurist.

"The munificent patronage extended to Agassiz, the celebrated naturalist, in the publication of his *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States of America*, surpasses any previous similar encouragement given to a scientific man. The work is to consist of ten volumes.

Two are already published. The size is a large quarto, and each volume will cost, in America, 12 dollars, or about £ 2 12*s.*; and although the author never hoped for more than five hundred subscribers, he has been rewarded with a list of twenty-five hundred. He himself states these subscribers were obtained 'from all the principal cities, and from towns and villages in the west, which a few years since did not exist. From California, from every corner of the United States,' they came to encourage him in his work; and the generous patronage thus extended induced him to decline a Professorship at the hands of the French government.

"It is known to all those familiar with American literature, that Washington Irving, Cooper, Willis, Longfellow, and many others of note, live wholly by the profession of letters; and the success of J. B. Taylor is a marked instance of the reward which attends authorship in the United States. When a writer secures public regard, fame and fortune are his. In fact, it may be stated with confidence, and investigation will substantiate the assertion, that, next to the authors of Great Britain, those of the United States are the best paid in the world." — pp. lxxxvi., lxxxvii.

The next chapter relates to "The Book Trade and its Extent." Under this head we copy a series of statistics, which cannot have been prepared without ample care and deliberation, and for whose general accuracy the authority cited is an ample guaranty.

"Mr. Goodrich, the venerable Peter Parley, in his recently published Recollections of his life, gives some valuable facts respecting the growth of the publishing and bookselling business in the United States. He states the value and description of the books published in the country in 1820 to be as follows: —

	Dollars.
School,	750,000
Classical,	250,000
Theological,	150,000
Law,	200,000
Medical,	150,000
All others,	1,000,000
	2,500,000

"In 1830 this had increased to 3,500,000 dollars, the school-books alone being valued at 1,100,000; and in 1840, there was a further increase to 5,500,000 dollars, the school-books then standing at the value

of 2,000,000. In 1850 the trade had more than doubled, the amounts being as follows: —

	Dollars.
School,	5,500,000
Classical,	1,000,000
Theological,	500,000
Law,	700,000
Medical,	400,000
All others,	4,400,000
	12,500,000!

"He estimates the book-trade of 1856 at 16,000,000 dollars; and as his statement is curious, we print it. It is proper, however, to say that this is a low estimate. The book-trade of Boston is here put down at too low a sum. It was 5,500,000 dollars in 1855.

Books published at	Dollars.
New York City,	6,000,000
Albany, Rochester, etc.,	600,000
Boston,	2,500,000
New Haven, Hartford, etc.,	600,000
Philadelphia,	3,400,000
Cincinnati,	1,300,000
Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukie,	100,000
District of Columbia, by government,	750,000
Baltimore, Charleston, etc., etc.,	750,000
	16,000,000

"According to the same intelligent authority, the number of persons, in 1842, employed in book publishing, printing, bookbinding, type-founding, engraving, plate-printing, and paper-making in the United States, was 418,048, and the amount of business annually done in all these callings was 28,348,912 dollars. 12,000,000 of volumes, 3,000,000 of numbers of magazines, and 300,000,000 of newspapers were produced annually, the entire capital invested in their production being 16,600,000 dollars, of which 4,000,000 dollars were invested alone in books and magazines.

"It is proper to notice here the wonderful change in the relative proportions of British and American books published in the United States since 1820. Mr. Goodrich is an authority for the statement, and we take his word unhesitatingly. He says the consumption in 1820, of American works in the Union, was 30 per cent; that of British books 70 per cent. In 1830 the consumption of American works was 40 per

cent to 60 per cent of British works. In 1840 it was 55 per cent of American, to 45 per cent of British. In 1850 it was 70 per cent of American, to 30 per cent of British; and in 1856, it was estimated, on reliable data, that the consumption of American books had increased to 80 per cent, while that of British books had decreased to 20 per cent; or from 70 per cent of the entire consumption in 1820, to but 20 per cent in 1856." — pp. lxxxix., xc.

"Newspapers and Periodicals" is the title of the next chapter. The earliest newspaper was begun in Boston in 1690. There are now at least four thousand daily, tri-weekly, semi-weekly, and weekly sheets, and in 1850 at least fifteen newspapers were printed for every inhabitant, which would be equivalent to a daily paper for every twenty-four inhabitants. The aggregate circulation of the daily, semi-weekly, and weekly New York Tribune (all of which contain substantially the same news and literary matter) considerably exceeds two hundred thousand. It is believed that the American newspaper press, in its collective aspects, will bear a highly favorable comparison with both the French and the English. It has less of genius, indeed, than the French, but more of properly journalistic ability. The French newspaper connects with its legitimate character that also of a magazine or review, and, in the dearth of news, depends on the purely literary element, for its popularity; while the American editor must confine to an obscure corner, or, in a daily, must almost exclude, such matter as is distinctively literary, while he is expected (or his contributors for him) to write accurately, forcefully, and often elegantly, on the fresh subjects of the day. Of course, what we now say applies to the newspaper proper, and has no reference to the ostensibly religious or literary papers, or to such as, without any worthy title to either of those designations, are intended simply to furnish salable reading for the many. As compared with the leading English papers, the most prominent dailies of our several great cities will hardly suffer in point of ability. There is, indeed, in the English journals of the higher order, a terseness of diction, which is opposed equally to the habits of our writers and the tastes of our readers; while our editors and paragraphists indulge in euphemisms (as *tragedy* for *murder*) and grandiloquisms which

would disgust a sensible Englishman. But in the vigor of mind with which subjects of public interest are grasped; in the thoroughness with which they are discussed; in the skilful division of editorial labor; in the comprehensiveness of each day's issue; and in adequacy to maintain its place as a co-equal power with the pulpit, the senate, the caucus, and the popular book-trade, over the opinions and the conduct of men, — the American newspaper press falls not one whit behind that of the mother country.

Of monthly and quarterly publications our author says but little. The works of this class that have had the most persistent life are the journals devoted to the interests of particular religious sects. Most of our literary periodicals have commenced under auspices that made their existence necessarily brief. Of monthlies the Knickerbocker Magazine is by many years the oldest, and its age is an often-renewed youth, never more vigorous than now, at the beginning of its fifty-seventh volume. The Atlantic Monthly must already, we think, have had a longer life than any of its predecessors in Boston since the Anthology, and it can hardly fail to be a permanent institution of our literary republic. Alike in its able and vigorous editorial administration, in the subtile and versatile genius of "the Professor," and in publishers whose very names are typical of merited success, it has assurance of a prolonged and brilliant future.

We pass over, without special notice, the chapter on "Printing-Presses," and will pause on that entitled "Typography, Type-Foundries, Paper, Binding, etc.," only to say a word or two about paper. In a country where "Cotton is king," the very rags bear the sovereign's stamp; and we are told that the alleged inferiority of American to English printing consists not in any deficiency as regards the mechanical process, but mainly in the fact that paper manufactured from cotton is less susceptible of beautiful typography than linen paper is. We learn also from this chapter, that, so far as the consumption of paper is an index of intelligence, America immensely outdistances all other countries, — the consumption in the United States reaching thirteen and a half pounds per head, to four pounds in France, and four and three quarters in England.

A chapter of "General Remarks" concludes the "Contributions towards a History of American Literature," for which we are indebted to Mr. Benjamin Moran. From this chapter we offer our readers the following extract with reference to the past and present reputation and influence of American books in Europe.

"It has been justly observed, that we are not so much governed by the opinions writers teach, as by the sentiments they inspire. For years the teachings of American authors were coldly received in Europe; but the sentiments their writings elicited have rewarded them with a more patient reception at the hands of the present generation than the criticism of thirty years ago augured. And at this period American authors find readers in Europe because of the purity of their style, the originality of their views, and the thoughts they suggest. Notwithstanding all the severe remarks expended on the works of Transatlantic writers, their teachings are by no means powerless in the Old World. It is not claiming too much to say, that American literature has a marked original character; that much of it is destined to endure for ages, and that it has already a powerful influence in advancing the mental and material welfare of civilized man. It is a recognized power through the sentiments it inspires.

"It is not yet forty years since the United States were taunted with the allegation, that in the fifty years they had been a nation they had not produced a book that would stand the test of time. The remark was illiberal. A nation's literature is not the growth of a day. Carthage had no literature, although she existed four hundred years in the full enjoyment of the light of Grecian learning. She expired, and left no sign of her mental power. Rome was no better off during the same period, and, had she shared the fate of her rival, the Latin tongue would not now be a depository of pure classical literature. Is it presumptuous, then, to ask whether, if the American Republic were now to meet the doom of Carthage, there is not much in her literature that would not live? Irving's pure English will assuredly continue to adorn the language of which it is a part, so long as that language shall remain recorded. He and his fellow-American authors have stamped the impress of their nationality upon the English tongue. In the four hundred years that Rome occupied Britain, she failed to leave a single living evidence of it on the language of the people. But in the eighty-two years of the existence of the United States, the Republic has infused her spirit into the English language, and has extended that language over the greater part of the continent of North America, to say nothing of the remote islands of the Pacific.

"The steady progress of American authorship, in the face of unjust opposition, is not the least remarkable event in the history of the nation. A people less self-reliant would have been disheartened with half the illiberal criticism to which the Americans have been subjected. For very many years European critics viewed all American books with disdain. As a rule, American works were subjected to the most illiberal tests, and not only underwent the ordeal of severe criticism, but were often received with that prejudice so long entertained in Europe towards everything American. In the first twenty-five years of the present century, American books were often reviewed for the sole purpose of fault-finding and ridicule. The critics had a standard of their own creation, formed from European ideas solely, and never for a moment seemed to imagine that other people had a right to think for themselves, or that what was a proper model in one country might, from the prevalence of a different style of thought and education, be totally unadapted to another. They believed, or pretended to believe, that theirs was the rule of excellence, and in its application not only committed palpable blunders, but dealt unjustly and unkindly with meritorious works, simply because of their origin; and, not content with denouncing the books themselves, wandered abroad to indulge in uncalled-for vituperation of the American people and their institutions. That these ill-advised effusions had a bad effect on both sides of the Atlantic was natural. But their influence has happily passed. The feelings they temporarily aroused have been extinguished, and criticism of the order under notice is now only indulged by the envious and illiberal few, American literature being fairly recognized in Europe by all whose opinions merit respect." — pp. cii.* – civ.*

The paper from which we have quoted so largely is followed by an account of the "Public Libraries of the United States," which bears the name of Edward Edwards. Separate chapters are devoted to "Collegiate Libraries," "Proprietary and Subscription Libraries," "Congressional and State Libraries," "Town Libraries," "The Smithsonian Institution," and "Public School and District Libraries." These are followed by a summary of Professor Jewett's "Report on Public Libraries" in 1849, and a tabular view of the principal libraries in the country, which gives a total of 341 libraries, containing 2,371,887 volumes. This view excludes Public School, District, and Township Libraries, and is of value only as regards the individual collections of books, which are given by name.

The entire number of public libraries now existing must be five or six times, and the number of books at least twice, those given in the table. The census of 1850 contained returns of 15,615 libraries other than private, with 4,636,411 volumes.

The "Classed List of Books," which constitutes the greater part of the volume under review, is arranged under thirty-one general heads, three of which are subdivided, with a copious list of "Addenda," making in all forty alphabetical catalogues. Each book is given with its entire title, its date, its size, generally its price, and sometimes its contents. The catalogue of works on Mormonism is the shortest, embracing fifteen titles. That of works on (so-called) Spiritualism includes not far from sixty titles. Under the head of Theology we have no less than fifty-six pages; under that of College and School-books, eleven pages, exclusive of many titles under the heads of Philology and Modern Languages. The volume closes with a complete General Index, in which the authors are arranged alphabetically, and their books placed under their names with abbreviated titles, and references to the pages on which they are respectively described.

These catalogues are, of course, incomplete. They contain, for the most part, such books as in the course of trade, and principally through the agency of Trübner & Co., have found a more or less extensive circulation in Great Britain. They exclude most of the works that are of value solely to their authors, of those which are limitedly local in their interest, and of those which, however excellent, have been issued from other places than the great publishing centres of their respective sections of the country. They therefore fail to represent in full the book-making and literary activity of the last forty years. But they are amply sufficient to vindicate our claim to the distinction of a writing and reading people *par eminence*. In point of fact, we have more authors in proportion to our population than any nation upon the earth; and the number of volumes printed and circulated among us is, no doubt, greater by the same standard than in any other country. Of this latter pre-eminence we may justly feel proud; while the former is an inevitable evil, and one not likely, we fear, to be

speedily checked. But it were to be wished, if possible, that a large proportion of those who undertake to give, would be content to receive, instruction and edification through the press. The Creator has adjusted productive talent and receptivity in every department, in proportions which cannot be deranged without injury. In the fine arts, the ratio of those who can minister to the general delight to those who can appreciate and enjoy the fruits of their genius, is small. We believe that this is the case as regards literary capacity also. Authorship is a special gift, — an office to which not every cultivated man and woman is called; and it will be a token of progress in the future, if we shall be able to count fewer writers, with constantly growing numbers of patient, assiduous, and discriminating readers.

ART. VIII. — *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.* By HENRY HALLAM, LL. D., F. R. A. S., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1861. 3 vols. Small 8vo. pp. xiv. and 484, 404, 488.

THE recent appearance of these volumes — the first instalment of a new and elegant edition of Mr. Hallam's Works — affords a fit occasion for presenting some remarks on his character as an historian, and for re-examining his separate books with reference to their intrinsic merits and to their relative place in English literature. Of the personal history of this eminent man comparatively little is known even by the best-informed readers. It is not necessary, however, for the proper execution of our purpose at this time, to retrace the outlines of his life, or to attempt any estimate of his character as it was exhibited either at home or in society. Few persons ever projected less of their own individuality into their writings; and little or no light would be thrown on our subject by a narrative of events whose influence was scarcely felt beyond the domestic circle. In Mr. Hallam we see a man of a singularly

cool temperament dealing with the vexed questions of history and criticism without anything of personal or party bias; and his works are to be considered as almost purely intellectual productions. Reserving, therefore, a sketch of his personal history for another opportunity, we design now to confine ourselves to an examination of his historical writings, irrespective of his life and character.

The first work which brought him prominently before the public was his "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages," published in 1818. Nearly twenty-five years had then elapsed since the death of Gibbon, the last of the three illustrious historians, who, in the latter half of the preceding century, had enriched English literature by their writings, and secured for themselves a place among the most distinguished authors of any age or nation. This interval had teemed with works of great ability in several departments of elegant letters; but it had produced few historical compositions of permanent interest and worth. During this period the revival of English poetry had occurred, and most of the poems of Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth had been written; a few young men, accidentally brought together in the Scottish capital, had started the Edinburgh Review, and its establishment had been followed by a remarkable change in the general character of periodical criticism, which at once became more elevated and more searching; Sir Walter Scott had published the first of the Waverley Novels, and had shown what are the capabilities of the historical romance; and physical and intellectual science had been diligently cultivated by men whose names are as familiar as household words. But historical literature had not shared in this progress; and although during this interval the poet Southey had composed an elaborate "History of Brazil," and Turner, Coxe, Roscoe, Malcolm Laing, and other writers, had sought to illustrate various portions of British and Continental history, the great historians of the last century had left no successors worthy to wear their mantles.

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Hallam gave to the world the first acknowledged fruits of his historical studies, and at once acquired a reputation of the first order. He was

then forty years of age, and in the full maturity of all his intellectual powers. His qualifications for the task which he had assumed were peculiar. He had been educated as a lawyer; and his legal studies had given him the skill in sifting testimony, and had fostered the habits of clearness and precision in statement, which are of the first importance to an historian. At the same time, he had never presented himself as an advocate at the bar, and he had not acquired the narrowness of view and the disposition to distort facts to which an ambition for forensic success has sometimes been thought to lead. He had not, indeed, enjoyed the advantage of sitting in Parliament, to which Gibbon ascribed so beneficial an effect in qualifying any one to become an historian, but he was familiar with the minutest details of Parliamentary history, as well as with the whole course of social and political progress in England. Nor was his knowledge confined to these subjects alone. His acquaintance with the classical writers of antiquity, with the mediæval authors, and with the languages and literatures of the principal nations on the Continent, was scarcely less exact and comprehensive. His memory was tenacious; and the facts which he had amassed had been carefully digested, and were always ready at command. His views as to the province of history were more enlarged than those of his immediate predecessors; and he had a deeper sense of the duties and responsibilities of an historian. "The philosophy of history," he said in his first work, "embraces far more than the wars and treaties, the factions and cabals of common political narration; it extends to whatever illustrates the character of the human species in a particular period,—to their reasonings and sentiments, their arts and industry." His principles were liberal, and were the result of intelligent conviction, rather than of education. His researches had been thorough, and sometimes exhaustive; and his historical theories had been long and carefully weighed. In society he has been described as disputatious, but a taste for controversy is not one of the characteristic features of his writings.

Such a man was not likely to base his conclusions on insufficient premises, or to be hasty in publishing his opinions; and no important change in his method of dealing with historical

or literary questions occurred between his earliest and his latest works. What he was at the outset of his literary career, he was through its whole course; and the same moral and intellectual qualities were exhibited in the "View of the Middle Ages," which were shown in the "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," published more than twenty years afterward. In each work we find abundant evidence of vast and various erudition, as well as of candor and impartiality,— of sober judgment, as well as of intellectual acuteness.

In the breadth and accuracy of his knowledge, indeed, which must always be regarded as the most important qualification of an historian, Mr. Hallam is scarcely surpassed by Gibbon, while in this respect he is much superior to Hume and Robertson. His text offers to us only the ripened fruits of a thoroughly cultivated mind; and his notes are immense storehouses of curious and minute learning, often drawn from recondite sources, and indicating a range of previous reading seldom attempted in England, except by some laborious drudge. "I have quoted to my recollection," he says in the Preface to his latest work, and we suppose the remark is not less true of his other books, "no passage which I have not seen in its own place; though I may possibly have transcribed in some instances, for the sake of convenience, from a secondary authority." The plan of each of his works included the discussion of a great variety of topics, and though he is much better informed as to some of them than he is as to others, there are very few which he has not investigated with conscientious fidelity, or on which he has not shed much light. It is true, that some parts of his "View of the Middle Ages" have been pronounced superficial; but this is the judgment of those writers alone who were disappointed or aggrieved that greater prominence is not assigned to the topics in which they were most interested. Indeed, the extent of his researches and the copiousness of his information on these very topics have been frequently attested by writers who had made them a specialty; and since Mr. Hallam's death, a distinguished mathematician, Mr. De Morgan, has publicly borne witness to the fulness and accuracy of his history of mathematical studies during the Middle Age, — one of the subjects as to which it

has sometimes been alleged that his knowledge was insufficient. On this point no higher authority could be cited; nor could a more explicit declaration be desired. "Were I to write the History of Mathematics," says Mr. De Morgan, in a letter to the London Athenæum, "I should certainly look on Hallam as one of the writers of authoritative opinion whom I should be glad to cite in my favor, and bound to oppose with reason when I differed from him."

This thorough and accurate acquaintance with every fact relating to the subject before him is, perhaps, the most noteworthy element in Mr. Hallam's character as an historian, though the greatest prominence is not usually assigned to it in speaking of his works. Without it he could not have secured the place among English historians which he has long maintained by universal consent; for his writings exhibit few graces of style when compared with the productions of other historians of the same rank. In this respect there can scarcely be a greater contrast than that which exists between Mr. Hallam's books and Hume's "History of England." The latter work is marked by a notorious carelessness and by frequent misrepresentations; but it has secured a permanent place in English literature by its simple beauty of style, scarcely less than by its happy blending of general observations and philosophical reflections with the narrative. In reading Mr. Hallam's works, on the other hand, we feel entire confidence that we are under the guidance of a writer whose knowledge of his subject is ample, and who bases his statements on a personal examination of the authorities cited, while we constantly miss the transparent simplicity of Hume's unambitious style. This amplitude of knowledge, however, would be insufficient, and indeed worthless, if it were not accompanied by equal acuteness in determining the real worth of any authority, and in deciding between conflicting accounts of the same transaction; and this quality Mr. Hallam also possesses in large measure. Though he had a firm belief in the truths of religion, his mind was naturally sceptical; and he brought to the examination of all historical questions a disposition to investigate them thoroughly for himself, and a determination to take as little as possible on trust. His discussion of them shows the effect of

his legal training, and is uniformly marked by great logical skill. Many of his notes afford striking illustrations of his acuteness in detecting mistakes and misrepresentations, and in settling disputed points. At the same time his mind was not by nature analytical; and while he was acute in investigating facts, his literary criticisms, though for the most part judicious, often fail to lay bare the heart of the subject. Of this defect he seems to have been fully aware; and in the Preface to his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," he expressly says, that he does not wish the work "to be considered as a book of reference on particular topics, in which point of view it must often appear to disadvantage," — adding, that, "if it proves of any value, it will be as an entire and synoptical work." In one word, Mr. Hallam is to be regarded as a philosophical historian, rather than as a philosophical critic.

Closely connected with these fundamental qualities of knowledge and discrimination is a third characteristic not less obvious in any analysis of Mr. Hallam's character, — his extreme caution. We have already referred to his disinclination to quote anything at second hand, and to state any fact without reference to the original sources of information. But his caution is even more apparent when it becomes necessary for him to express an opinion on any doubtful point. Numerous illustrations of this characteristic will occur to every one who is familiar with his writings. They are found in all his works; but we are inclined to think they are most numerous in the eighth chapter of his "View of the Middle Ages," which treats of the early Constitutional History of England. Thus, in speaking of the origin of county representation in Parliament, he says: "Since there is no sufficient proof whereon to decide, we can only say with hesitation, that there *may* have been an instance of county representation in the fifteenth year of John." Such passages show at once the cautiousness and the candor of a writer, and are among the most convincing proofs that he is entitled to confidence when his language assumes a more positive tone.

Passing now from these qualities, which are exhibited in an equal degree perhaps by many other historians, we have to consider another class of moral and intellectual traits in

respect to which Mr. Hallam has fewer rivals, and no superior. Of these the most conspicuous is his impartiality; and here his pre-eminence is at present undisputed. "On a general survey," says Lord Macaulay, "we do not scruple to pronounce the Constitutional History the most impartial book that we ever read." This strong commendation is almost equally applicable to his other works, and has been sanctioned by the concurrent testimony of nearly an entire generation of readers, though at the time of its publication the book referred to was fiercely attacked by some of the party journals. With the blindness of partisan malice, they denied that Mr. Hallam possessed even this merit; and one writer, Mr. Southey, went so far as to assert, that the author "carried into the history of the past, not merely the maxims of his own age, as infallible laws by which all former actions are to be tried, but the spirit and the feeling of the party to which he has attached himself, its acrimony and its arrogance, its injustice and its ill-temper." But this grave charge is utterly unfounded. There is not a page in either of Mr. Hallam's works which is acrimonious, arrogant, or ill-tempered; and few writers have endeavored more sedulously, or more successfully, to avoid even the appearance of injustice. His path often lies across the battle-fields on which rival biographers, historians, and critics have contended with characteristic bitterness; but he never suffers himself to be drawn aside by either faction, or to become the advocate and apologist of any party. Yet he never exhibits that weak and timeserving spirit which regards with an indifferent eye virtue and vice, liberality and bigotry, the cause of popular rights and the cause of irresponsible power. "Tyranny, indeed, and injustice," he says, "will by all historians, not absolutely servile, be noted with moral reprobation"; and it is in the spirit of this declaration that all his writings are composed.

Mr. Hallam's impartiality does not proceed, therefore, from indifference as to the topics which he discusses, but from the moderation of his views, and the calmness of his judgment. Extreme opinions find little favor in his eyes. He was a Whig; but he was a Whig educated at Oxford, and this circumstance doubtless exerted a very fortunate influence on the

character of his writings. Even when he expresses the strongest disapprobation of any system of policy, or pronounces the most unfavorable opinion as to the character of any individual, or any body of men, he never suffers himself to lapse into partisanship, and his language has the calmness and dignity of a judicial opinion. Unlike Mr. Carlyle, he never attempts to make a man odious by personal abuse, and in his delineation of character he uses other colors beside black and white. It is this moderation in his views — this inflexible determination to follow the narrow path between the mountain and the sea — which, as we conceive, constitutes Mr. Hallam's least questionable title to a place among the greatest historians who have written in our language. It is very easy to be a partisan: it is very hard to hold moderate opinions.

Akin to this important element in the character of a great historian, is a modesty unfortunately as rare as it is praiseworthy. Though Mr. Hallam's information on nearly every topic is so copious, his whole tone is singularly free from pedantry and dogmatism; and, as we have already intimated, his language is never positive unless he is perfectly sure of his ground. He does not disparage other writers; nor does he boast of his own labors. He makes no pretension to a knowledge which he does not possess, and if he has occasion to cite any authority which he has not personally examined, or to refer to any fact beyond his personal observation, he never fails to mention the circumstance. Thus, when speaking of the controversy respecting the authorship of the treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, he commences an elaborate note with the declaration, "I am not prepared to state the external evidence upon this keenly debated question with sufficient precision." In quoting some observations of Mr. Panizzi on Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, he introduces them with the modest confession, "The following remarks on Pulci's style come from a more competent judge than myself." Of Lord Stuart of Rothsay's collection of ancient Portuguese songs, he says: "I have been favored by my noble friend the editor with the loan of a copy, though my ignorance of the language prevented me from forming an exact judgment of its contents." At the same time, it is certain from other passages that he had a

sufficient knowledge of Portuguese to read portions of this very book with some degree of ease. Many other passages of a similar character might be cited in illustration of this honorable trait; but it is needless to multiply instances of the direct manifestation of a quality which underlies all of Mr. Hallam's writings.

Only one other prominent characteristic of his works remains to be noticed. We mean their clearness of statement. On every subject which Mr. Hallam examines, either cursorily or at length, his views are free from obscurity, and are stated with precision. His materials are judiciously arranged, according to a definite and well-considered plan; his narrative is luminous; and his judgments are expressed in no ambiguous terms. In his own mind he had a clear view of his subject under all its relations; and therefore he had no difficulty in conveying a clear view of it to other minds. Occasionally, indeed, he presupposes in his readers a degree of familiarity with his subject which many of them perhaps do not possess, especially in his first two works; and in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe" his plan is faulty in not combining in a single view all that is said of each writer under different heads. With the qualification implied in this remark, his writings cannot be justly charged with obscurity of thought or ambiguity of expression; and these defects, if they are to be regarded as such, do not affect the substantial excellence of his works. In distinctness of purpose and general clearness of statement, his books leave little to be desired.

If these observations on Mr. Hallam's character as an historian are well founded, he may be briefly described as learned, acute, and cautious, candid in the discussion of controverted questions, sober in judgment, moderate in his opinions, modest in the estimate of his own labors and the expression of his own views, and luminous in statement. To combine these various qualities in one consistent and balanced character, it was only necessary that he should have a firm grasp of his subject; and this additional merit will be readily conceded to him. However various may be the topics which he has to discuss, and into whatever paths his inquiries may lead, he is always the master of his subject, and holds it steadily in view.

His philosophy of history, too, is sound and comprehensive. He recognizes a general progress of the human mind; but it is not a uniform progress, and occasionally yields to a retrograde movement. "The trite metaphors of light and darkness, of dawn and twilight," he says, "are used carelessly by those who touch on the literature of the Middle Ages, and suggest by analogy an uninterrupted progression, in which learning, like the sun, has dissipated the shadows of barbarism. But with closer attention, it is easily seen that this is not a correct representation; that, taking Europe generally, far from being in a more advanced stage of learning at the beginning of the fifteenth century than two hundred years before, she had in many respects gone backwards, and gave little sign of any tendency to recover her ground. There is, in fact, no security, as far as the past history of mankind assures us, that any nation will be uniformly progressive in science, arts, or letters; nor do I perceive, whatever may be the current language, that we can expect this with much greater confidence of the whole civilized world." Nor does he regard great men — the leaders in the world's progress, the poets, statesmen, or philosophers of any age — as merely fulfilling an apparent law of demand and supply. "There is only one cause," he says, "for the want of great men in any period; — nature does not think fit to produce them. They are no creatures of education and circumstance." The underlying principles on which his works are composed present, indeed, a strong contrast to the materialistic philosophy according to which Mr. Buckle proposes to write "The History of Civilization in England." Mr. Hallam does not confound the ineradicable distinctions of race; nor does he find the cause of a peculiar civilization in the adventitious circumstances of climate, food, soil, and the general aspects of nature, or trace the growth of poetry to the prevalence of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Such superficial views find no place in his works, which are conceived in a very different spirit, and wrought from very different materials, from those on which Mr. Buckle bases his conclusions.

Mr. Hallam's style, considered merely as such, presents few salient features to provoke adverse criticism, or to invite com-

mendation; and it may be described in general terms as concise, nervous, and unaffected. If it seldom rises into sustained eloquence, it seldom falls below the level of the subject, and is always free from the admixture of foreign idioms. It is less stately and sonorous than Gibbon's, less simple and lucid than Hume's, less graceful and flowing than Robertson's, and it exhibits none of the rapid movement and breadth of illustration which characterize the immortal work of Lord Macaulay. It is not so good as Prescott's and Irving's, but it is incomparably better than Bancroft's. In this respect, however, it is not easy, nor perhaps quite just, to compare Mr. Hallam's works with histories composed on an entirely different plan. Laws, institutions, and customs are the topics of which he treats; and these do not require or permit so much variety of expression and briskness of movement as we demand in compositions more strictly narrative in form, and into which the details of battles and sieges and the pomp and ceremony of courts may enter. All that we can justly require is clearness and exactness of statement, and ease and simplicity of diction, changing only with the varying interest of the topics discussed. That Mr. Hallam's works contain few passages of genuine eloquence, and that his imagery is often tawdry and commonplace, must be ascribed to the poverty of his imagination, as compared with the affluence of his mind in other respects. His strength lay in his ability to deal with abstract questions, and to trace the relations of cause and effect along the course of events, rather than in the faculty of reproducing to his own mind the common life of a past age; and this defect is reflected even in his style, which is seldom or never picturesque.

In passing from this general survey of Mr. Hallam's works to an examination of them in detail, little need be added to what has been said already; and any discussion of the manner in which he has treated particular topics would be foreign to our purpose. By many persons his first book is regarded as his greatest production. If not strictly original in its plan, it was much superior to any previous publication of its kind in our language, and the labors of no subsequent writer have diminished its value as a masterly account of the social and

political condition of Europe from the invasion of France by Clovis, in 486, to the expedition of Charles VIII. against Naples, in 1494. Indeed, the only sketch of this period which can be compared with it is the preliminary dissertation in Robertson's "History of the Reign of Charles V."; but notwithstanding Mr. Hallam's great inferiority to Robertson in the command of a fluent and graceful style, his "View" is in every other respect a much more satisfactory production. It is more profound, more exact, more comprehensive in plan, and more copious in illustration. Its object, as he remarks in his Preface, is "to exhibit, in a series of historical dissertations, a comprehensive survey of the chief circumstances that can interest a philosophical inquirer during the period usually denominated the Middle Ages." The work is accordingly divided into nine chapters, treating severally of the history of France, of the origin and decline of the Feudal System, of the history of Italy, Spain, Germany, the Greeks and Saracens, and Ecclesiastical Power in the Middle Ages, of the Constitutional History of England, and of the State of Society. To this distribution of topics no valid objection can be taken. It presents, under a judicious arrangement, and with but little repetition, all the facts that are necessary for the proper execution of Mr. Hallam's design, together with a sketch of the history of each of the principal kingdoms which had existed during this period. From the comprehensiveness of his plan, some omissions occur, but they are of comparatively little importance; and whether we consider the work as a whole, or examine its separate parts, it must be regarded as a splendid monument of the author's various learning, his unwearied industry, and his humane and liberal principles. It is a striking proof of the conscientiousness with which his researches were conducted, and of his devotion to the cause of historical truth, that thirty years after this work was published Mr. Hallam returned to the subject, and gave to a new generation of readers a supplementary volume of notes and illustrations, which have been carefully embodied in the subsequent editions.

Mr. Hallam's next work was to some extent a continuation of his first, though its plan was far more limited, and embraced only one of the topics which had formerly engaged his atten-

tion. In the eighth chapter of his "View of the Middle Ages," he had traced the Constitutional History of England through the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods to the accession of Henry VII., and had shown the gradual rise of free institutions and the dawn of English liberty. At this point, which is only a few years earlier than the event selected by Mr. Hallam as marking the close of the Middle Age, he resumes the discussion and carries it forward to the accession of George III. This period of nearly four centuries is the most momentous in English history, and includes a series of events and transactions without a parallel in the history of any other age or nation. In tracing its history Mr. Hallam has occasion to deal with nearly all the great questions about which Whigs and Tories had contended for the last two centuries, and to clear the ground from the abundant misrepresentations of Hume and other partisan writers. When he wrote, party spirit raged with a fury but little abated by the lapse of time, and on few or none of the fundamental questions relating to the theory of the Constitution was there even a substantial agreement among historical critics. Yet Mr. Hallam never allows himself to swerve from the line of a rigid impartiality, and he treats every topic with equal candor. It is this quality, always rare among English historians when speaking of the political changes and revolutions in their own country, which forms the crowning merit of "The Constitutional History of England." Other historians have shown equal or even greater familiarity with the course of events, and an equally vigorous understanding; but no one else has exhibited such entire freedom from prejudice and such well-considered moderation in his opinions.

Ten years after the publication of this History, and when he was in his sixtieth year, Mr. Hallam published the first volume of his third and last work, to which he gave the modest title of "Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries." Like the preceding work it was suggested by his early studies, and the first three chapters were designed partly as an expansion and partly as a correction of the statements in the ninth chapter of the "View of the Middle Ages." Its design included notices of nearly

every distinguished writer in the cultivated nations of modern Europe; but it was impossible within the limits which he had assigned to himself to treat any subject much in detail, or to present any exhaustive criticisms. Hence, there is an inequality of execution in the different parts of the work; and not unfrequently the real grounds on which an author's position depends are missed. It would be obviously unfair to Mr. Hallam to compare so compendious a survey of the literatures of many nations with those works which treat of the literature of a single people only. But if we bear in mind the precise objects which he had in view, and consider his work as a whole, rather than in its several parts, its great excellence will be generally admitted by competent critics. It worthily closed Mr. Hallam's labors as an historian and critic, and gave roundness and completeness to the series of his writings. Twenty-one years afterward he breathed his last.

His position in English literature was settled beyond the probability of change even before his death; and no historian is held at the present time in more honorable estimation. On many points his authority is undisputed; and on all, his opinions have much weight. His influence, both direct and indirect, has been very widely and deeply felt; and few of his judgments have been overruled, or seem likely to be affected by more extensive researches, or by the discovery of new sources of information. This is especially true of his opinions on the controverted questions of English history, in the discussion of which his best characteristics as an historian are very clearly exhibited. No one now entertains the views on these topics which were very generally received before the "Constitutional History" was published; and the change in the common judgment concerning them may be ascribed in no small degree to Mr. Hallam's labors. A new spirit was breathed into this important study; more accurate researches have been made; and a more liberal and candid tone has been adopted. A more searching analysis has been applied to the examination of the primary sources of information; and a more profound philosophy has traced the connection of events and exhibited their mutual dependence. For the whole period covered by this great work, Mr. Hallam is an eminently trust-

worthy guide; and the same remark will apply to his "View of the Middle Ages." His "Introduction to the Literature of Europe" has undoubtedly exerted much less influence than his other works, though few books are more frequently cited by writers on literary history, or can be read with greater advantage by all who are interested in tracing the intellectual progress of Europe.

ART. IX. — *Essays and Reviews.* [Contents: *The Education of the World.* By FREDERICK TEMPLE, D. D., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Head-Master of Rugby School. *Bunsen's Biblical Researches.* By ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D. D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter, Vicar of Broad Chalke, Wilts. *On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity.* By BADEN POWELL, M. A., F. R. S., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. *Séances Historiques de Genève. The National Church.* By HENRY BRISTOW WILSON, B. D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hunts. *On the Mosaic Cosmogony.* By C. W. GOODWIN, M. A. *Tendencies of Religious Thought in England,* 1688–1750. By MARK PATTISON, B. D. *On the Interpretation of Scripture.* By BENJAMIN JOWETT, M. A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford.] The Second Edition. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1860. 8vo., pp. 433.

THE publication of this volume is a strange and even a startling event. But it is strange and startling not so much from the nature of its contents, as from the character and position of its authors. Certainly there is nothing new or deserving of especial notice, either in a studied attack upon the authority and truthfulness of large portions of the Bible, or in a scornful depreciation of the evidences and a denial of many of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, or in a bold and dogmatic assertion that any supernatural event whatever, and therefore any special and immediate revelation of

God to man, is, in the present state of science, essentially incredible, whatever may be the amount of apparent testimony in its favor. All this has been dinned into our ears so often that we have ceased to wonder, though not to grieve, at its repetition. And the argument has as little originality as the doctrine. There is little or nothing in the volume which is not already familiar to those who are acquainted with the writings of the English Deists of the last century, with the speculations of Hume and the later German metaphysicians, and with the doctrines of those physicists, belonging to the school of Comte, who have attempted to limit the study of nature to an observation of the laws of phenomena, rigidly excluding all inquiries into their efficient or final cause as unscientific and useless.

But if not entirely unprepared to see these sceptical arguments and sceptical conclusions repeated by clergymen, we did not expect their revival at the seat of orthodoxy by dignitaries of the English Church and officials of high standing in the University of Oxford. The title-page, with studied brevity and reticence, contains only these words, "Essays and Reviews," with the usual imprint by the publisher. We have supplied this lack of information by annexing the Table of Contents to the title as reprinted at the head of this article. Hence, or from other sources, we learn that, of the seven writers in the volume, two are Professors at Oxford, and three others are, or have recently been, Fellows and Tutors at that ancient University, one of them being a Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen and a successor of Dr. Arnold as Head-Master of Rugby School. A sixth, Dr. Williams, now Vice-Principal and Professor at St. David's College, was recently Fellow and Tutor of King's College at Cambridge. Of the seventh, Mr. Goodwin, we know nothing except that he is a graduate of Cambridge, and was recently a Fellow in one of its Colleges. All but one are clergymen, and most of them hold benefices in the English Church. A prefatory note contains the usual caution in the case of a joint publication, that the authors "are responsible for their respective articles only," and that they have written without concert or comparison. No one will desire to push the responsibility beyond the limit here in-

dicated; but in this instance, as in the more famous one of the "Tracts for the Times," those who have joined in writing a series of articles upon the same general subject, to be published together as one work, must be presumed to harmonize with one another, in the main, in their opinions and purposes. This presumption is borne out by the contents of the several Essays when examined separately. Each has its peculiarities, but there is a general agreement among them in the purport and tendency of the doctrines which they teach. In short, the book must be regarded as the manifesto of a new school in philosophy and theology, which has sprung up chiefly at Oxford, though it finds adherents at Cambridge also, and which probably owes its origin to a reaction against the famous "Tracts," as it certainly rivals them in hardihood.

The first question which the reader of this volume will be apt to ask himself is, how its authors contrive to reconcile the opinions which they here avow and advocate with their allegiance to the Church of England, whose ministers they continue to be, whose Articles they have subscribed, and whose revenues they still share. We are not left in the dark upon this point. One of the Essayists, in an article upon the National Church, undertakes to answer the question, and his curious and elaborate casuistry respecting it we propose hereafter to examine. But we must first know what the opinions are, before we can pronounce upon the feasibility of the attempt to reconcile them with the standards of the Church of England.

We gladly admit, in the first place, that the tone of these Essays is unexceptionable in point of taste and decorum. The doctrines which they controvert are treated with decency and respect. Scoffs and jeers are left for those who relish such condiments of controversy, and who cannot respect the feelings, the honest prejudices it may be, of their opponents. At any rate, if the weapons of ridicule and sarcasm are ever wielded, they are directed where their use is legitimate, — not against the main opinions which are assailed, but against the weak or sophistical arguments, or what are supposed to be such, that have been adduced in their support. We find once in a while a gibe at the Evidences of Christianity, but never at

Christianity itself. This decorum we hope to imitate, by speaking with perfect freedom of the doctrines maintained in this volume, but with entire respect of its authors. Their conduct even in continuing to wear the robes and perform the functions of English clergymen demands to be treated with leniency; the attempt to play the casuist upon such a point is one that carries its own punishment along with it, and needs no sharp reproof from others.

One of the evils inseparable from the institution of the Christian ministry as a distinct profession, and from the course of studies which is the necessary intellectual preparation for it, is, that it sometimes leads the neophyte to sceptical opinions. Especially is this the case in England, where the Church, viewed in its relations to the state, in its hierarchy, its system of patronage, and its large endowments, is a great political institution, which maintains its Holy Orders to some extent as indelible, which consequently prohibits those who enter its service from casting any look behind them, but which is still bound to uphold at least the appearance of free thought and inquiry as one of the leading principles of Protestantism, and as a part of the inalienable birthright of Englishmen. It is a part of the original perversity, if not of human nature in general, at least of many sensitive and delicate minds, that they no sooner see the great doors close behind them which cut off all retreat, than they are immediately tempted to quarrel with the discipline and arrangements of their new home. Egress is still possible, it is true, but only at a sacrifice of immediate welfare and long-cherished purposes, from which they shrink even with greater dislike than from the obligatory performance of their newly imposed functions. The teachings of their new mother become distasteful just as soon as she claims authority over them, and a right to determine their opinions and dispose of their time. If an earnest and heartfelt attachment to the peculiar duties of their new position had always preceded the assumption of them, such mental revolt would be less frequent and less serious. But the Church offers a profession, a career in life, a subsistence, such as is offered by any of the other vocations to which educated men may turn; and thus men are tempted into it from a mixture of

motives, just as many enter into matrimony, with a hope that love will come at least after the indissoluble knot is tied. Of course, this hope is not always realized; and then they quarrel with the knot rather than with the spouse.

To minds of such a caste, and in such a state, the study of theology is apt to be rather injurious than beneficial. What they most need is a discipline of the heart and the affections, rather than of the intellect. The mind is in a morbid state of revolt against the new duties that have been laid upon it, and seeks occasion to question and controvert the authority that imposes them. Inquiry is begun with a bias in the wrong direction, with a predisposition rather to find or invent difficulties than to clear them away, and thus to justify the complaining and rebellious spirit in which the student commences his work. Too many enter upon a course of theological study in such a temper that scepticism is already with them a foregone conclusion. The inquiry is made to turn upon some of the dark questions of metaphysics, or the quibbles which may be raised against any point of history, whether sacred or profane, by those who will accept no proof but that of demonstration. The study of the Evidences is peevishly rejected, because the mind is really incapable of reasoning, and closed against conviction. The only effective medicine for such a perverted state of the intellect would be, to give up the study of theology altogether, or to postpone it till, by the practical exercises and duties of religion, the heart may be won back to the sacred profession, and the labor be resumed only when it has become a labor of love. To the theological student, far more frequently than to any other person, the question respecting any form of doctrine seems to concern its truth alone. He asks only, "Is it true?" Others ask, "Is it fitting, instructive, consolatory, or elevating? Does it harmonize with my conscience in reproving me of sin, or does it aid me in striving after holiness?" He judges the doctrine by its antecedent evidence, as a matter of science; they try it by its results, as a matter of life and conduct. The worst result of the inquiry, in the former case, is scepticism; in the other, it is only neglect or indifference.

Of course, we do not mean that the systematic study of

theology is generally harmful, but only that it will do more harm than good to those who have previously quarrelled with their religious profession. However it may be accounted for, the fact itself hardly admits of question, that, in proportion to their respective numbers, there is more scepticism among the clergy than among the laity. Hence the ministrations of the Church do not effect half as much good as they would otherwise accomplish in the world at large. Affliction, anxiety, or remorse stirs and softens the religious affections, and begets a craving for sympathy, counsel, and support. The most important office of a Christian pastor is, to minister to minds in such a state. But what aid or consolation can he bring whose own faith has been previously shaken or perverted? How can he offer or counsel prayer, who does not believe in its efficacy, or thinks that its power is exhausted upon the mind of the utterer, and that it is not heard and answered in heaven? How can he urge resignation under calamity as a duty of submission to God, when he believes in the fatalistic succession of all events under physical laws, and consequently rejects, as essentially incredible, the doctrine of Divine interposition? How can he aid in robbing death of its terrors, who does not believe in immortality, except in some incomprehensible phase of the reunion of the finite with the infinite, or who maintains that eternity hereafter means only eternity here and now? Yet such are the cold and vague speculations which the clerical writers of this book would substitute for the vital doctrines of Christianity. Among the other criteria of theological opinions, why did they never think of applying this practical test, — How will my version of the dogma work as a means of elevating the faith and purifying the lives of the people of my own parish?

The first Essay in the volume, on "The Education of the World," is one of those fanciful exercises of the intellect which consist rather in playing with a metaphor, or hunting a similitude to death, than in the sober and conscientious evolution of a truth. All those points in regard to which the parallel holds are brought into prominent and even exaggerated relief, while those on which it fails, generally more numerous, are either explained away to the perversion of the

truth, or are kept altogether out of sight. Such speculations are seldom more than half true, and half-truths, because more insidious, do greater harm than whole falsehoods. Dr. Temple begins by assuming, that, as each generation of men inherits the knowledge, and enters into possession of the works, of its predecessor, the whole human race is in fact "a colossal man, whose life reaches from the creation to the day of judgment." This is a very pretty idea to play with, and the fancy is ingeniously carried out with a careful selection of such facts of history, *and such only*, as can, with a little paring and shaping, be dovetailed into it. The successive generations of men "are days in this man's life"; the discoveries and inventions of all time "are his works"; the successive states of society "are his manners"; and, what is most important, "*the creeds and doctrines*, the opinions and principles of the successive ages, are his thoughts." Sometimes, the writer's eagerness to carry out the similitude tempts him to make rather hazardous assertions, as when he tells us that this hypothetical, aggregate man "grows in knowledge, in self-control, *in visible size*, *just as we do*." We had supposed that the facts tended rather to support the popular belief, which the poets also share, that the generations of men degenerate in strength and stature. The Head-Master of Rugby School, of course, remembers the husbandman who, as Virgil predicts, —

> "Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
> *Grandiaque* effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."

Modern Frenchmen appear remarkably puny when we read about the tall and athletic Gauls and Franks from whom they are descended; and soldiers of our own day, encased in the bulky and weighty armor worn by mediæval knights, would be about as efficient on the battle-field or the parade-ground as Goose Gibbie was when half smothered and blinded in the big helmet.

Following out the same train of fanciful speculation, we learn that each of the great races that have inhabited the earth had a distinct part to play in the education of the "monster-man" who acknowledges Dr. Temple as his Frankenstein. "Thus the Hebrews may be said to have disciplined the human conscience, Rome the human will, Greece the reason and

taste, Asia the spiritual imagination." Has Dr. Temple forgotten Egypt? or does he consider the invention of the art of writing a step of no importance in the education of his composite man? Greece certainly imported an alphabet, and the rudiments both of her art and her philosophy, from the East. No account is here taken of the Goths, and other barbaric races that issued from the hive of the populous North, though perhaps the character of the modern European owes more to them than to Greek art or Roman polity. A ripe scholar may be excused for forgetting or contemptuously passing over about three fourths of the human race, who are now, in almost every respect, precisely what they would have been if Greece and Italy had subsided, as the geologists say, into the Mediterranean three thousand years ago. China is a considerable nation, at least in point of numbers; while the Buddhists form no inconsiderable fraction of the colossal modern man. Even Africa must be taken into account, unless our author is one of those speculatists who maintain that a negro is not a man. As for the Hebrews disciplining the conscience of the nations farther East, one of the writers in this very volume maintains that the Jews were indebted to the Babylonians even for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

But it would be a waste of time and labor to pick utterly to pieces a slight essay, which seems to have been prepared as an exercise of the fancy rather than of the intellect, if the author had not made it a vehicle for insinuating his grave opinions upon a theological subject of the highest importance. The only serious purpose which we can discover in this treatise is to teach the important fact — important, if true — that *the world has already outgrown Christianity*. As already stated, "the creeds and doctrines" of successive ages are represented as "the thoughts" of the monster-man, who "grows in knowledge and self-control," as he undergoes an education "precisely similar to ours." There are three stages in this training, corresponding to Childhood, Youth, and Maturity. In the first of these, we are subject to Law, — "to positive rules, which we cannot understand, but are bound implicitly to obey." This answers to the system of Moses, and was the education of the Hebrew race. Commands of grave and

trifling import are all mingled together, clear but peremptory in tone, regulating even the minutest particulars of food and dress. "But the reason for the minute commands is never given"; the people hear only the solemn announcement, "Thus saith the Lord." Other nations also had a training parallel to the Jewish, through their respective systems of natural religion. These "were all in reality *systems of Law*, given also by God, though not given by revelation," and afterwards so distorted as to lose nearly all trace of their divine origin. Such, in fact, is the necessary discipline of Childhood, whether of the individual or of the race.

Then Youth comes fiery and impetuous, breaking loose from all rules, and refusing to be guided except by Example. "He needs to see virtue in the concrete." "He repeats opinions without really understanding them"; and when seemingly most independent and defiant of external guidance, he is really only so much the more guided and formed by the example and sympathy of others. And such an Example for the guidance of humanity, *in its youth*, was set forth in the Gospel. "The second stage for the education of man was the presence of our Lord upon earth."

Fortunate was it for the world, according to Dr. Temple, that His coming was not delayed till now; "for the faculty of Faith has turned inwards, and cannot now accept any outer manifestations of the truth of God." The third period of history, the Manhood of the race, with its largely developed powers and responsibilities, has come. The age of maturity and reflection has begun. We cannot now accept, either Law from from the Old Testament, or an Example from the New. The spirit or conscience has assumed its dominion, and "as an accredited judge, invested with full powers, decides upon the past and legislates upon the future without appeal except to himself." "If we have lost that freshness of faith which would be the first to say to a poor carpenter, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' — *yet we possess, in the greater cultivation of our religious understanding, that which, perhaps, we ought not to be willing to give in exchange.*" The concluding sentence of the Essay contains the emphatic statement, that "we are now men, governed by principles, if

governed at all, and cannot rely any longer on the impulses of youth or the discipline of childhood."

Evidently this doctrine is only a modification of the Positive Philosophy of Comte, and was probably suggested by it. Comte teaches us, that there are three natural and necessary stages in the development both of the individual and of the race. In the earliest period, we attribute all movements and other phenomena to unseen personal agencies, that is, to deities; we are then theologians, and believe in the supernatural. Next comes the vigorous but lawless condition, when we substitute abstractions, or what are called "the forces of nature," in the place of imaginary deities existing beyond or above nature. This is the metaphysical stage, which confounds imaginary conceptions with realities, or substitutes names for things. At last, the mature age of positive science arrives, when, to say the truth, we believe in nothing, neither in deities nor in abstract forces, but accept the phenomena only, and content ourselves with describing and classifying them, all attempts to discover their causes being renounced as a hopeless undertaking. Dr. Temple's theory is a modified form of Positivism, and, we think, an improvement upon it. He carries forward theological belief from the first into the second stage, and even makes the religious discipline of youth more impressive and affecting than that of childhood. But the third period is equally destructive of faith in the supernatural on either theory. At this epoch, says Dr. Temple, borrowing almost exactly the language of Comte, man "learns not to attempt the solution of insoluble problems, and to have no opinion at all on many points of the deepest interest." External revelation, even if it could be believed in, would no longer have any binding power; the only law which we can accept is "a law which is not imposed upon us by another power, but by our own enlightened will."

An answer is hardly needed to sophistry so transparent. The law is first given in its simple or peremptory form, because, even if reasons were annexed, a child's intellect could not understand them. The subsequent development of the understanding, which leads to a recognition of the intrinsic beauty and righteousness of the precept, does not thereby

abrogate it, but only increases its obligation. The Gospel did not annul the law. Christ himself says, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." The Jews were first peremptorily commanded to abstain from idolatry, — reasons for this prohibition being unsuited to their understandings, and insufficient to break the force of their own early habits, and the example of surrounding nations. But certainly the obligation of this law did not cease when the Jews became enlightened enough to recognize the folly and wickedness of worshipping sticks and stones, and were thereby thoroughly weaned from the practice. Only to the Gentile converts (Acts xv. 19, 20) did the Apostles need to write "that they abstain from pollutions of idols"; and for them, as well as for the Hebrews, the spirit of the injunction was carried further, by commanding them to abstain even from meats offered to idols, and from "covetousness, which is idolatry." Here, as in other cases, the spirit of the law is not abrogated, but is made still more comprehensive, even when there is some relaxation of the outward form. Our Saviour did not repeal the Decalogue, but repeated it and forcibly summed up its spirit in two broad injunctions, rightly adding, "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." It was only carrying out the same method to substitute prayer for sacrifice, giving alms to the poor for offering gifts in the temple, and observing the Lord's day in place of the Jewish Sabbath; for the same spirit of heartfelt adoration of the Giver of all good, and of self-denial and beneficence, lies at the bottom of all these commands.

Least of all does maturity of age and intellect supersede the necessity of an external revelation in the sense of rendering man independent of it, of doing away with its injunctions, or of substituting the promptings of his own heart and conscience for a message from on high. The sinless Example is still placed before us, not indeed in the flesh, but in the record of his life, death, and resurrection. If, as Dr. Temple thinks, we could not now recognize the Saviour's claims, even if he should appear again on the earth, and again, before our own eyes, waken a Lazarus out of his sleep, then we cannot acknowledge that he ever *did* come in the flesh, or that the grave, at his

bidding, ever gave up its dead. If that "greater cultivation of our religious understanding," which this Essayist would have us believe is of more worth than faith in the Son of God, has been the natural result of man's own efforts continued for centuries, then an external revelation was never needed, and we cannot believe that one has ever taken place. But if this cultivation, this refinement of our religious perceptions, has been brought about only by the study of the Gospel, and by the deeper insight into its meaning which the experience of many generations and the enlarged culture of modern times are competent to give, then this very improvement is a new proof of the Divinity of the Christian revelation, and the authenticity of its record.

But after all, even in Dr. Temple's own opinion, when he seriously reflects upon the matter, how large a portion of mankind, at the present day, have actually outgrown Christianity? Are missions to the heathen no longer needed, because even the heathen of our own time, standing upon the shoulders of all the generations that have preceded them, are so enlightened and refined in their notions of natural theology that the Gospel would be no boon to them? Even among the nations of Christendom, how many, both in understanding and in conduct, have already got beyond the Sermon on the Mount? Do even the English agricultural and manufacturing classes no longer need religious instruction, because they have at last become a perfect law unto themselves? We would not ask these questions by way of taunt, being well aware that Dr. Temple's answer to them would assuredly be the same as our own. But they may serve to open his eyes to the illusion, natural enough, perhaps, for a recluse student, but still gross, which makes one man fancy himself empowered to speak for all mankind, and to pronounce that the Gospel is obsolete for the whole race, because half a dozen scholars at Oxford and Cambridge think that *they* have outgrown Christianity.

The next Essayist, Dr. Williams, takes "Bunsen's Biblical Researches" for his theme, and thus shelters himself, in part, behind the authority of a great German scholar and diplomatist. He cautiously informs us in the outset, that "the sympathy which justifies respectful exposition need not imply entire

agreement." Perfect candor and frankness, however, would seem to require that the precise limits of agreement and dissent should be marked out by an expositor who eulogizes both the doctrine and the author that he expounds so warmly, that his enthusiasm cannot find strength of expression enough in sober prose, but breaks out finally into lofty verse. There is not much poetry in these two stanzas which are appended to Dr. Williams's article; but they indicate clearly enough what qualities of Bunsen's writings and opinions have excited the writer's special admiration.

> "Bunsen, with voice, like sound of trumpet born,
> Conscious of strength, and confidently bold,
> Well feign the sons of Loyola the scorn
> Which from thy books would scare their startled fold —
> To thee our Earth disclosed her purple morn,
> And time his long-lost centuries unrolled;
> Far realms unveiled the mystery of their Tongue;
> Thou all their garlands on the CROSS hast hung.
>
> "My lips but ill could frame thy Lutheran speech,
> Nor suits thy Teuton vaunt our British pride —
> But ah! not dead my soul to giant reach,
> That envious Eld's vast interval defied;
> *And when those fables strange our hirelings teach,*
> *I saw by genuine learning cast aside,*
> Even like Linnæus kneeling on the sod,
> *For faith from falsehood severed*, thank I GOD." — p. 93.

Every scholar will speak with entire respect of Bunsen's vast erudition, his indefatigable activity, and the earnest religious feeling, at times assuming the garb of pietistic mysticism, with which many of his writings are tinged. But a more rash and unsafe guide in any province of speculative inquiry which requires the exercise of sober judgment and vigorous common-sense, could hardly be found, even in Germany. He is a wild and fanciful theorist in archæology, philosophy, and theology, whose conclusions have ceased to startle and perplex only because sober inquirers are prepared for them beforehand, and pass them over with charitable indifference. His books are an infliction on human patience, both in their voluminousness, and the entire want of method, symmetry, and continuity in their contents. But they generally con-

tain a mine of valuable materials, which sober investigators can work to profit, and digest into system. Wherever great learning is not needed as the handmaid of reason, because the subject of inquiry lies not far off in the dim past, but comes home directly to the common understanding, Bunsen's opinions have no peculiar weight or claim to deference. As an expositor of the doctrines of Christianity, certainly, he is not likely to find many English or American disciples besides Dr. Williams.

It is admitted, in this Essay, that the "recognition of Christ as the *moral* Saviour of mankind," whereby is meant the development by him of "that religious idea which is the thought of the Eternal," may seem, to some, "Baron Bunsen's most obvious claim to the name of Christian." We are not accountable for the perspicuity of this remark; and the sagacious reader may already have cause to suspect, that the German diplomatist's cloudiness of thought will not be dissipated to any great extent by his English expositor's clearness of expression. But the general meaning of the admission seems to be, that many Christian doctrines, as expounded by Bunsen, will seem to common observers not to bear any distinct traces of their Christian origin. This we can well believe, when further informed that, "by Resurrection," Bunsen would mean "a spiritual quickening"; and that "the eternal is what belongs to God, as spirit, therefore the negation of things finite and unspiritual, whether world, or letter, or rite of blood." The hateful fires of Gehenna "may serve as images of distracted remorse"; and heaven is "not a place, so much as fulfilment of the love of God." Already the doctrine of another life and a final retribution beyond the grave seems to be pretty effectually refined and spiritualized away. But that no doubt may remain on the point, we are further informed that "both spiritual affection and metaphysical reasoning forbid us to confine revelations, like those of Christ, to the first half-century of our era"; and that the external evidences of the books of the New Testament are "sufficient to prove illustration in outward act of principles perpetually true, but not adequate to guarantee narratives inherently incredible, or precepts evidently wrong." Here is a lack of candor. Why does

not Dr. Williams distinctly inform us *what* narratives in the New Testament are "inherently incredible," and *what* precepts are "evidently wrong"? Does he include among the former the narrative of miraculous events, even of our Lord's resurrection from the dead? He has no word of censure when he quotes Bunsen's passionate exclamation, "How long shall we bear this fiction of an external revelation!" though he admits "there will be some who think his language too vehement for good taste." But then he will not quarrel "*on points of taste* with a man who, in our darkest perplexity, has reared again the banner of truth, and uttered thoughts which give courage to the weak and sight to the blind."

Most instructive respecting the real purport of Bunsen's philosophical and theological opinions is his version of the doctrine of the Trinity, which his English disciple sets forth and accepts seemingly without any suspicion of its true paternity. Here we must copy literally.

"His [Bunsen's] doctrine of the Trinity ingeniously avoids building on texts which our Unitarian critics from Sir Isaac Newton to Gilbert Wakefield have impugned, but is a philosophical rendering of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. The profoundest analysis of our world leaves the law of thought as its ultimate basis and bond of coherence. This thought is consubstantial with the Being of the Eternal I AM. Being, becoming, and animating, — or substance, thinking, and conscious life, are expressions of a Triad; which may be also represented as will, wisdom, and love, — as light, radiance, and warmth, — as fountain, stream, and united flow, — as mind, thought, and consciousness, — as person, word, and life, — as Father, Son, and Spirit. In virtue of such identity of Thought with Being, the primitive Trinity represented neither three originant principles nor three transient phases, but three eternal subsistences in one Divine Mind. 'The unity of God, as the eternal Father, is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity.' But the divine Consciousness or Wisdom, consubstantial with the Eternal Will, becoming personal in the Son of Man, is the express image of the Father; and Jesus actually, but also mankind ideally, is the Son of God." — pp. 88, 89.

"All this," Dr. Williams confesses, "has a Sabellian, or almost a Brahmanical sound." Brahmanical, indeed! Why it is pure and explicit Hegelianism, which our English Essayist

has been expounding and recommending, just as Molière's Bourgeois had all his life talked prose, without knowing it. He challenges his more orthodox brethren in the English Church to confute it "even on patristic grounds," adopting blindly Bunsen's rash assertion, that this doctrine, or something very like it, may be found in Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen ; and he throws out the significant menace, "If our defenders of the faith would have men believe the doctrine of the Trinity, they had better not forbid metaphysics, nor even sneer at Realism." Dr. Williams is evidently not aware of the peculiar adroitness of interpretation, which enables a practised Hegelian to recognize the express form and likeness — the *vera effigies* — of his much loved doctrine *everywhere*,—not only in the Bible, the Fathers, and the decrees of Councils, but in every form of religion that has ever existed on earth, in every system of philosophy, and in every page of history. Only allow him his boasted postulates, that Thought and Being are identical ; that whatever is Real is Rational and whatever is Rational is Real ; and that the first principle of Logic and the fundamental law of human thought, which declares that two Contradictories exclude each other, is false, inasmuch as any two Contradictories actually coalesce and melt into one doctrine or being which includes them both ; — only allow these modest demands, and he will point out Hegelianism everywhere that he chooses to look for it. In the passage which we have just cited, every one who has any tincture of the latest German philosophy of the Absolute will recognize at once the characteristics of the Hegelian logic and of the doctrine evolved from it. It will enable any Unitarian who pleases to become a Trinitarian without difficulty, so that he can repeat the most orthodox formulas, the Athanasian Creed itself, without stammering. A triad exists wherever two contradictories or opposites can be found ; for the law of trichotomy, which is the law absolute, the law of laws, in the Hegelian logic, enables us to take up the two contradictory ideas, the thesis and antithesis, and melt them into one synthethic notion, which includes them both. Thus, pure Being, as wholly indeterminate or devoid of attributes, is identical with its opposite, Non-being or Nothing. But as

creation consists in nothing *becoming* something, the third member of the triad, which reduces the two other members to unity, is *becoming*, or determinate existence. Now, as Thought and Reality are identical, each being the law and essence of the other, any one who can *think* creation does thereby create, or becomes himself the Creator. Hegel's philosophy consists in finding everywhere unity under contradiction, and identity under difference.

The application of this system to the leading dogmas of theology, to the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, may be easily made; but it leads to conclusions at once so monstrous and so shocking, that we prefer not to stain our pages with them. Their general character is darkly but sufficiently indicated in the citation just made from Dr. Williams's Essay; and a full development of the doctrine, as applied to all the forms of religion that have ever existed among mankind, may be found in Bunsen's latest work, "God in History which has supplied the Essayist with all his materials. It characteristic of this philosophy, that, whether used as a mea of interpreting Buddhism, Greek polytheism, Hindoo or Sca dinavian mythology, or Christianity, it leads to equally satisfactory results. A consistent and expert Hegelian may repeat any theological creed, and join in any religious rite. Differences of faith are of little moment when they are tried by a system of logic which was invented for the express purpose of reconciling contradictories. It is curious that Bunsen should have adopted the system just at the time when, even in Germany, it has become discredited and seems to be rapidly passing away. After enjoying an unprecedented success, after coloring every form of German speculation in philosophy and theology for more than a quarter of a century, a reaction has sprung up against it on its native soil, and appears to be now hurrying it into oblivion. On English ground it cannot hope to find many proselytes, though a few scholars like Dr. Williams may find in it the means of pacifying their scruples at repeating the formularies of the Church and continuing their implied assent to the Thirty-nine Articles.

Of the next Essay, on "the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," we must speak with the reserve which is ren-

dered becoming by the recent death of its author, the Rev. Baden Powell. It is in some measure a repetition and a defence of the doctrines avowed in a late independent publication, by the same writer, on "the Order of Nature." The discussion in this Essay turns, not upon the old question, *whether a revelation can be proved by miracles*, but upon the far deeper and more important one, *whether Christianity, regarded as a system of abstract religious doctrine, cannot be received on faith, even by those who deny both the fact and the possibility of any external revelation whatever.*

This is at once a clear and a candid statement of the real point at issue. *An external revelation is itself a miracle*, the greatest of all miracles. It is a break in the order of nature, an interruption of the ordinary sequence of physical events, made by the Creator and Governor of the universe for the express purpose of declaring His will to man in a more distinct utterance, and a more awful and impressive form, than would be possible if the ordinary succession of external phenomena remained unbroken. The miraculous attestation of Christ's mission upon earth, through the mighty works which he did, is one thing; the miraculous character of that mission itself, the immediately divine origin both of the message and of Him who bore it, is another. Those who, on the ground of the essential incredibility of any interruption of the laws of nature, deny the miracles that He wrought, are bound also to deny the miracle that He was. Even if Jesus of Nazareth had not been "approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know," yet his mere appearance upon earth, if he really possessed the character and authority which he claimed, — that is, if he was not an impostor, — was as great a miracle as if he had come in the clouds of heaven openly manifesting all the glory of the Father.

This is the real bearing and extent of the question as Professor Powell has distinctly stated it, and he has shown much courage and frankness in so doing, and in openly taking up his own position respecting it with all its consequences. One object of his present Essay seems to be, to defend himself against the charge of going further than other Rationalists, and thereby

giving up all that is peculiar to Christianity. His answer is, that he has not gone further, for the ground which he has taken is contained by irresistible implication in the arguments and doctrines which they have avowed without any special censure. He says, and we cite the passage as he has himself italicized it, that "a considerable school have been disposed to look to the intrinsic evidence *only*, and to accept the declarations of the Gospel *solely*, on the ground of their intrinsic evidence and *accordance* with our best and highest moral and religious convictions;" and he rightly affirms that the considerations thus adduced are "of a kind which affect the *entire primary conception* of 'a revelation' and its authority, and not merely any alleged *external* attestations of its truth." He also admits that "the idea of *a positive external Divine revelation* of some kind has formed the very basis of all HITHERTO received systems of Christian belief." He charges "the professed advocates of an external revelation and historical evidence" with inconsistency, for occasionally "making their appeal to conscience and feeling, and decrying the use of reason"; and he brings the same accusation of inconsistency against "the professed upholders of faith and internal conviction as the only sound basis of religion," because they nevertheless regard "the external facts as not less essential truth which it would be profane to question." His own doctrine is, that the essence of a religion is "the disclosure of *spiritual* truth, as such," which must be received, if at all, on faith, and not on evidence.

"All reason and science conspire to the confession, that beyond the domain of physical causation and the possible conceptions of *intellect* or *knowledge*, there lies open the boundless region of spiritual things, which is the sole dominion of *faith*. And while intellect and philosophy are compelled to disown the recognition of anything in the world of matter at variance with the first principle of the laws of matter, — the universal order and indissoluble unity of physical causes, — they are the more ready to admit the higher claims of divine mysteries in the invisible and spiritual world. Advancing knowledge, while it asserts the dominion of science in physical things, confirms that of faith in spiritual; we thus neither impugn the generalizations of philosophy, nor allow them to invade the dominion of faith, and admit that what is not a subject for a problem may hold its place in a creed." — p. 127.

On this theory, evidently, the whole narrative of our Saviour's life must be rewritten, and even the scheme of Christian doctrine, so far as it relates to his peculiar nature and office, must be abandoned. The story of his miraculous birth is a fable; the mighty works that he did are incredible myths, and the sepulchre in which he was laid never gave up its dead, unless, indeed, his disciples came by night and stole him away. The purely abstract and spiritual portion of the doctrine that he preached, apart from his assurances of a resurrection and a judgment to come, which are facts that no observation of the present laws of nature can warrant, must be received as true on the same grounds, and to the same extent, that we accept the teachings of Socrates; namely, their accordance with our moral and religious instincts. We are not even at liberty so far to extend the domain of faith as to include the facts *on account of* the doctrine, though *not as evidence* for the doctrine; that is, the creed must not embrace the resurrection, or any other miraculous occurrence, even though not relying upon it as an attestation of purely spiritual truth. For it is expressly taught, that "matters of clear and positive fact, investigated on critical grounds and supported by exact evidence, are properly matters of knowledge, not of faith."

There is nothing new in the argument of the Essayist against the possibility of an external revelation or any other miraculous occurrence, though great stress is laid by him upon the additional illustrations, which the recent progress of science has afforded, of the immutability and universality of physical laws; as if the advancement of science tended to place the old argument in a new and stronger light. Testimony, it is urged, is competent at the utmost to establish only the reality of the external phenomenon as it appears to the senses; but however unusual or startling it may so appear, the physicist declares with perfect confidence, that it is due to the operation of some natural law as yet undiscovered, or of some previously well-known principle, the action of which in this particular case is so far modified by an unusual combination of circumstances, or by the co-operation of other principles, that the normal working of the law cannot easily be recognized and explained. Still he pronounces without hesitation that it

is not supernatural, but strictly natural, even though all attempts to fathom its physical cause have hitherto failed; and he would adhere to this position, though these attempts should never be crowned with success. The strength of this conviction rests on the recent great success of modern science in reducing phenomena hitherto held to be anomalous to the regular action of law.

All this is very true, but it is nothing to the purpose, except so far, indeed, as it contains an important admission which strengthens the position of the supernaturalist. It is herein admitted by implication, that we are not to deny the truth of the narrative, if supported by competent testimony, however startling the facts; but we must only seek an explanation of the facts by reducing them to the ordinary operation of law, and be sure that such an explanation is possible, even if we do not succeed in finding it out. Thus enunciated, the doctrine is only a revival of the theory of Paulus, one of the earlier German Rationalists, that the facts are truly recorded by the Evangelists, but that they were only seeming miracles, or natural occurrences in disguise. This theory is generally abandoned, even in Germany, on account of the absurdities into which its advocates were betrayed in attempting to reduce the miracles of the Gospel to ordinary events.

But the great error of the Essayist results from the hopeless confusion of his ideas in respect to the true nature of physical causation. Sometimes, he seems to adopt the doctrine of the Positivists, that such causation is nothing but the uniformity of sequence which enables us to predict occurrences, but not to explain them, the very idea of efficient cause being, in their philosophy, a figment of bad metaphysics. Of course, he who denies efficient agency of any sort, must also deny supernatural agency; but he does so at the expense of rejecting an original and irresistible law of the human mind, which declares that every change or beginning of existence *must* have an efficient cause, whether we can discover it or not. Then, again, the Essayist, unable to prove from mere induction the necessary and axiomatic truth, that no physical change whatever can take place "unless through the invariable operation of a series of eternally impressed consequences,

following in some necessary chain of orderly connection," appears to attribute necessary and efficient causation to matter, and to deny voluntary causation to mind. He admits that "we continually behold lower laws held in restraint by higher, — mechanic by dynamic, chemical by vital"; but he demurs to the third instance, because he "must remark in passing, that the meaning of 'moral laws controlling physical' is not very clear." Why not? Is not the conscious voluntary exertion, whereby I raise my arm, and thus support a weight that would otherwise fall, an indubitable case of moral and conscious force controlling or overriding, in a particular instance, the action of gravitation? And is not the whole history of physical science one long record of the triumphs of moral and intelligent force over physical law, which is everywhere so bent, guided, and overruled by intelligence, that it seems not so much man's master as his slave? Certainly, in this respect, as in so many others, man is made in the likeness of his Creator; as Lord Bacon truly says, "etiam inventa quasi *novæ creationes sunt*, et divinorum operum imitamenta." If the Essayist believes in a personal God, — and otherwise we have no argument with him, for we admit the atheist's perfect right to say that, to him, a miracle is a thing absolutely incredible, — then he must acknowledge that the action of divine agency in suspending a law of nature is just as comprehensible and credible as that of human agency accomplishing a precisely similar result on a smaller scale. Slowly, after much study and effort, and often indirectly, man performs that which infinite power and wisdom does at once. Does the length or difficulty of the operation alter its essential nature? The surgeon puts again into their proper shape and position the pieces of a bone which the relentless law of gravitation has crushed; and if it be argued that *he* cannot cause the fragments to reunite, what is this but saying, that man performs a very small part of the cure, and a compassionate God does the rest? Suppose that never since the world began, save in one solitary instance, did the broken pieces of a bone thus reunite. Then this single instance would be a miracle, — a violation of a fixed law of nature, — and the Essayist would refuse to believe it on any testimony, just as he now refuses to believe

that Lazarus was raised from the dead. But he believes without difficulty, and on very slight testimony, that this phenomenon of a fractured bone being reunited has occurred more times than he can reckon. Yet what sort of logic is that, which pronounces it absolutely incredible that the thing should happen for the first time only, but perfectly credible that it should take place again and again till it has ceased to be a wonder? The fact is, our author's whole argument against miracles, founded on the absolute immutability of physical law, amounts only to this poor truism, that such a law is never suspended without an adequate cause. Nobody asserts the contrary. He who believes in a miracle believes that God suspended it.

The fourth Essay, on the National Church, by the Rev. Henry B. Wilson, is chiefly curious as indicating the views of these writers as to the possibility and rightfulness of sceptics continuing to act as Christian clergymen, and, as such, to hold their benefices and other allotted portions of Church income, to officiate at the Sacraments, to repeat weekly, if not daily, the Service for the day, with either the Apostles', the Nicene, or the Athanasian Creed, together with the Lessons from the Old and New Testaments, and to perform all other clerical functions. The general tone of the Essay and the nature of the topics considered in it strikingly illustrate the truth of our introductory remarks upon the frame of mind and temper in which a clergyman finds himself, who has actually quarrelled with his profession and ceased to believe the doctrines that he is bound to teach, but who cannot summon up decision and fortitude enough to resign his office and look elsewhere for occupation and support. The writer adopts a querulous tone, and appears discontented with himself. The Essay is a sort of involuntary confession, a record of the anxious and bitter self-communings that grow out of a false position and a wide discrepancy between opinion and profession. Mr. Wilson evidently does not intend to attack Christianity, but only to justify himself. Unhappily, a necessary part of his own justification is to show that he has some good reason for quarrelling with his religion, and that it is a veritable grievance to be obliged to repeat the formularies of faith. Accordingly, he

does not actually argue against Christianity, but complains of it, frets about it, strives to pick flaws in it, and treats it as pettishly as a child does a lesson which only fear of the rod induces him to study.

Thus, many evils in all ages, he tells us, — and the information is not very new, — have been linked with the Christian profession, such as religious wars, delusions, and spiritual tyrannies; and "many goods of civilization in our own day have apparently not the remotest connection with the Gospel." He complains that forty-two per cent of the English people, as was found by actual count, "neglected to attend means of public worship within their reach on the census Sunday in 1851." Scepticism is not radicalism now, Mr. Wilson says, whatever it may have been half a century ago, but is "the result of observation and thought, not of passion." Our knowledge of the nations of the earth has been increased, and we have become acquainted with great empires, "Pagan or even atheistic."

> "We are told that to know and believe in Jesus Christ is in some sense necessary to salvation. It has not been given to these. Are they, will they be hereafter, the worse off for their ignorance? As to abstruse points of doctrine concerning the Divine Nature itself, those subjects may be thought to lie beyond the range of our faculties; if one says aye no other is entitled to say no to his aye." — p. 153.

"If we would set many unquiet souls at rest," we are bound to explain "the unequal distribution of the Divine benefits." Christianity did not overspread the world very rapidly, after all; it has never been professed by "more than a fourth part of the people of the earth." Among Christian converts, even in the Apostolic age, there were those who had no belief in the resurrection from the dead, and St. Paul argues with such elaborately, "without expelling them from the church"; though, we will remind Mr. Wilson, in passing, that there is no evidence, and it is not very probable, that he allowed them to be ministers, bishops, or presbyters. "There were current in the primitive Church very distinct Christologies"; and we can neither attribute to any defect in our capacities, nor to any imperfect spiritual endowments of the

writers, "the difficulty, if not impossibility, of reconciling the genealogies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, or the chronology of the Holy Week, or the accounts of the Resurrection."

Argument would be thrown away upon a fretful man, who is merely bent upon justifying his pettishness to himself. Otherwise, we might remind Mr. Wilson, that Christianity cannot fairly be held responsible for the faults of Christians which it has failed to cure, since it did not undertake to deprive man of the freedom of his will; that it may have been of inestimable benefit to the world, even if it has not been accepted by all barbarous and uncivilized tribes; that even the worst men at times feel its influence, and acknowledge its power to comfort and to save; that surely the best elements of modern civilization are inseparably intertwined with it, and would perish without its support; and that some difficulties in the interpretation of the record are the necessary result of its transmission through eighteen centuries to nations of widely different habits and modes of thought, without a continued miracle being wrought in order to adapt its expressions to ever-changing circumstances. The truth and purity of the revelation is one thing, and the perfectness of the record of it, after a lapse of one or two thousand years, or even in the Apostolic age, is another. If the benefits conferred upon the world by Christianity had stopped at any point short of turning this earth into heaven, and men into gods, whining complaints would still be possible because it had not accomplished *more*. The question is not, whether the religion has done all the good that is conceivable, but whether the good which it has actually done is so great that we have full cause to thank God for revealing it to man.

The main purpose of Mr. Wilson's Essay is to present the arguments for converting the present Established Church into a truly "National Church," whereby he means one so broad that it would literally contain *all* the people, of whatever shades of belief or unbelief, those who deny the resurrection, the revelation, or even the being of a God, included. "A National Church," he says, with startling frankness, "*need not*, historically speaking, *be Christian*, nor, if it be Christian, need it be tied down to particular forms which have been prevalent

at certain times in Christendom." All that is essential is, "that it should undertake to assist the spiritual progress of the nation." And the latitude which he would concede to the laity, he boldly demands for the clergy. "The freedom of opinion," he says, "which belongs to the English citizen, should be conceded to the English Churchman; and the freedom which is already practically enjoyed by the members of the congregation, cannot without injustice be denied to its ministers."

The Essayist adopts entirely Coleridge's theory respecting the endowment of the Established Church, which endowment he calls the Nationalty, because it is the property of the nation at large, and, as such, does not descend by inheritance or testament. "The enjoyment of it is subject to the performance of special services, and is attainable only by the possession of certain qualifications." The privilege of participating in it should be free from all unnecessary restraint, so that the Clerisy may be kept up and recruited from the whole body of the citizens. Though the Nationalty at first was undoubtedly a foundation only for pious uses, as it originated in gifts and bequests for the support of a *Christian* Church and keeping up *Christian* ordinances, the object of this argument seems to be, that it should now be applied to the development of the ethical and spiritual nature of the people, without the slightest reference to speculative opinions. The right to a share in the endowment ought not to depend, it is urged, "on the possession of an abstractedly true and supernaturally communicated speculation concerning God," but only on a right heart and a pure life, as these give the fullest manifestation of a divine life in man. "Speculative doctrines," says Mr. Wilson, "should be left to philosophical schools. A *national* Church must be concerned with the ethical development of its members."

We are not answerable for the clearness of this exposition of Mr. Wilson's views; for, to avoid any injustice to him, we adopt his own language as far as our limits will permit, and his expressions are studiously wary and guarded. But the general drift of his argument is evident enough towards this conclusion; that a belief in Christianity ought no longer to be a condition prerequisite for obtaining and holding office as a clergyman, and thereby sharing in the honors and endowments

of the Established Church. Now, whatever the Essayist may think, there is no doubt that this condition will continue to be insisted upon, at least for the present. Neither Parliament, nor Convocation, nor the great body of the English people, will favor any proposition to open the Church either for the entrance or the continuance of a class of clergymen who have got beyond Christianity, and no longer believe in an external revelation, or in any supernatural event whatever.

We are thus driven to examine the only remaining question, whether the Creeds, Articles, and canons which now limit and obstruct admission into the Church, cannot be so liberally interpreted that clergymen can squeeze in, or at any rate can stay in, if they are already within the precincts. The Essayist displays remarkable skill in casuistry while endeavoring to answer this question. More ingenious attempts to explain away the clearest language or to avoid the plainest dictates of conscience we have never heard of, save those exposed by Pascal in his immortal Provincial Letters. Thus, the sixth Article of the Church declares that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith," &c. Mr. Wilson's comment is, that this language requires nothing to be believed unless it be Scriptural; but it does not affirm that everything which is Scriptural is therefore true and must be believed. Under such terms, it is said, "one may accept literally, or allegorically, or as parable, or poetry, or legend," whatever portion of Holy Writ he chooses so to interpret. But does not the Article plainly teach that Scripture affords the ultimate and only test of doctrinal truth, and does it not thereby teach, by necessary implication, that every portion of Scripture must be believed? Though the "Canonical books of the Old and New Testament" are enumerated and defined as constituting "Holy Scripture," Mr. Wilson goes on to argue that, "even if the Fathers have usually considered 'Canonical' as synonymous with 'miraculously inspired,' there is nothing to show that their sense of the word must necessarily be applied to our own sixth Article."

The act of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, which is

required of all the clergy, is declared by the Essayist "to be inoperative upon the conscience by reason of its vagueness"; for the effect and meaning of "subscription" are nowhere plainly laid down. It amounts only to the acknowledgment of a law "to which the subscriber is in some sense subject." But the Church canons established in 1603 appear to affix a very definite meaning to the act of subscription. The fifth of these canons declares, that "whoever shall hereafter affirm that any of the Thirty-nine Articles is in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such that he may not with a good conscience *subscribe to the truth of them* (vel omnino ejusmodi ut in eorum veritatem salva conscientia subscribi nequeat), let him be excommunicated," and not be restored to his clerical office till he has publicly recanted his impious error.

"Yet an article may be very inexpedient, or become so; may be unintelligible, or not easily intelligible to ordinary people; it may be controversial, and such as to provoke controversy and keep it alive when otherwise it would subside; it may revive unnecessarily the remembrance of dead controversies, — all or any of these, without being 'erroneous'; and though not 'superstitious,' some expressions may appear so, such as those which seem to impute an occult operation to the Sacraments. The fifth canon does not touch the affirming any of these things, and more especially, that the Articles present truth disproportionately, and relatively to ideas not now current." — p. 182.

Another canon, the thirty-sixth, declares that no one shall be admitted to Holy Orders, or be collated to any benefice, or hold office as a catechist in either University, "unless he has first subscribed, in the manner and form by us received, the three following Articles"; and, "for avoiding all ambiguity," it is required that he shall use this formula of words in subscribing them: "I, N. N., willingly and sincerely subscribe the three preceding Articles, and all things contained in them." One of the three Articles thus subscribed declares that the signer "altogether approves" (or assents to, allows, *omnino comprobat*) the Thirty-nine Articles, and "acknowledges each and every one of them to be agreeable to the word of God." We subjoin at length Mr. Wilson's commentary upon this form of subscription.

"We 'allow' many things which we do not think wise or practically useful; as the less of two evils, or an evil which cannot be remedied, or of which the remedy is not attainable, or is uncertain in its operation, or is not in our power, or concerning which there is much difference of opinion, or where the initiation of any change does not belong to ourselves, nor the responsibility belong to ourselves, either of the things as they are, or searching for something better. Many acquiesce in, submit to, 'allow,' a law as it operates upon themselves, *which they would be horror-struck to have enacted;* yet they would gladly and in conscience 'allow' and submit to it as part of a constitution under which they live, against which they would never think of rebelling, which they would on no account undermine, for the many blessings of which they are fully grateful, — they would be silent and patient, rather than join, even in appearance, the disturbers and breakers of its laws. Secondly, he 'acknowledgeth' the same to be agreeable to the word of God. Some distinctions may be founded upon the word 'acknowledge.' He does not maintain, nor regard it as self-evident, nor originate it as his own feeling, spontaneous opinion, or conviction; but when it is suggested to him, put in a certain shape, when the intention of the framers is borne in mind, their probable purpose and design explained, together with the difficulties which surrounded them, *he is not prepared to contradict, and he acknowledges.* There is a great deal to be said, which had not at first occurred to him; many other better and wiser men than himself have acknowledged the same thing, — why should he be obstinate? Besides, he is young, and has plenty of time to reconsider it; or he is old and continues to submit out of habit, and it would be too absurd, at his time of life, to be setting up as a Church reformer.

"But after all, the important phrase is, that the Articles are 'agreeable to the Word of God.' This cannot mean that the Articles are precisely co-extensive with the Bible, much less of equal authority with it as a whole. Neither separately, nor altogether, do they embody all which is said in it, and inferences which they draw from it are only good relatively and *secundum quid* and *quatenus concordant.* If their terms are Biblical terms, they must be presumed to have the same sense in the Articles which they have in the Scripture; and if they are not all Scriptural ones, they undertake in the pivot Article not to contradict the Scripture. The Articles do not make any assumption of being interpretations of Scripture or developments of it. The greater must include the less, and the Scripture is the greater." — pp. 183, 184.

Moreover, there is a statute, the 13th of Elizabeth, declared by Sir William Scott to be still in full force as a law of the

land, which ordains that no person shall hold a benefice, unless he has previously subscribed the Articles, and unless, within two months after his induction, he shall have publicly read the said Articles in the parish church of that benefice "with declaration of his *unfeigned assent* to the same"; failing which declaration, he shall be *ipso facto* "immediately deprived." Respecting this statute, Mr. Wilson argues that "the meshes are too open for modern refinement." And he might have added, that no form of words whatever can be binding upon the conscience of any man who will allow himself so far to profit by the arts of what he here calls "modern refinement," but what we call base chicane and wicked casuistry, as to seek for "meshes" in the mere verbal expression of the promise, which may be open enough to allow him to *creep through*. We have been taught from early childhood, and should be ashamed to repeat the lesson to any others than young children, that the moral guilt of a falsehood is not palliated, but aggravated, by the equivocation which palters with the sense, and attempts to keep the word of promise to the ear while breaking it to the hope; and that the opposite doctrine should be taught publicly, and in print, by one claiming to be a Christian clergyman, is to us a strange and mournful event. Yet Mr. Wilson, passing without notice over the epithet "unfeigned," which here qualifies the required assent, and after remarking that it is unnecessary "to repeat concerning the word 'assent' what has been said concerning 'allow' and 'acknowledge,'" goes on to argue as follows.

"*Forms of expression*, partly derived from modern modes of thought on metaphysical subjects, partly suggested by a better acquaintance than heretofore with the unsettled state of Christian opinion in the immediately post-apostolic age, *may be adopted* with respect to the doctrines enunciated in the five first Articles, *without directly* contradicting, impugning, or *refusing assent* to them, *but passing by the side of them*, — as with respect to the humanifying of the Divine Word and to the Divine Personalities." — pp. 185, 186.

Three of the five Articles here alluded to refer especially to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation and Atonement, and the Resurrection of Christ; and by "*forms of expression derived partly from modern modes of thought on metaphysical*

subjects," Mr. Wilson probably means the technical phraseology of Schleiermacher, Hegel, Strauss, and other German philosophers, which allows one to speak of a sort of Christ embodied in the consciousness of every Christian individual, or to identify the Saviour with the whole human race, saying that it is Humanity which unites the two natures, and which dies, rises, and ascends to heaven, belief in an historical Christ being excluded altogether. At any rate, such are the doctrines which, according to this Essayist, under the garb of modern metaphysical phraseology, are capable of "passing by the side of" the first five Articles of the English Church, "without directly contradicting, impugning, or refusing assent to them."

Now it is not for us, here or elsewhere, to maintain the verity of the Thirty-nine Articles as statements of sound theological doctrine, or to uphold the justice and expediency of fencing round the Church of England with so many creeds, canons, and Articles, as means of excluding heterodoxy. These are points to be considered only by that Church itself, to which it is notorious that the conductors of this journal have never belonged, and which would certainly consider our own theological doctrines as heterodox. The only question to be answered here is, whether beneficed clergymen of that Church, who are certainly free to leave it whenever they see fit, are nevertheless justified in remaining in it, performing its duties, and sharing its revenues, when their own theological opinions are such as have been here stated, and when they can 'allow,' 'acknowledge,' and declare their 'unfeigned assent' to its Articles and canons only by means of such equivocations and perversions of language as we have just quoted in their own words. And this is a matter for them to consider, not so much as clergymen, nor even as Christians, but simply AS HONEST MEN. Adopt even Mr. Wilson's own low idea of the proper function of a national Church, — that its object is not to teach "an abstractedly true and supernaturally communicated speculation concerning God," but only to aid "the ethical development of its members." What sort of ethical development is that which elaborately teaches the art of explaining away, or creeping through the meshes of, the most deliberate

promises and the most solemn declarations of belief? How can man retain — we will not say, any faith in God, but — any confidence in his brother-man, if the binding force of every contract and the truthfulness of every asseveration were to be tried in the same scales in which Mr. Wilson weighs the obligation of a subscribed declaration of belief? These Essayists are teaching us, not merely a new system of speculative unbelief in theology, but a new code of practical ethics, which, if it were true, would render men as incapable of living together in peaceful society as if they were what Hobbes describes them to be, — grasping savages, whose insatiable cupidity can be restrained only by brute force.

One honorable exception must be made. Mr. C. W. Goodwin, the author of the next Essay in this volume, on "The Mosaic Cosmogony," after completing his preparation for the ministry, has, if we are rightly informed, stripped off his gown and voluntarily abandoned the clerical profession, because he could not conscientiously subscribe the required declarations of belief. Such conduct affords the best practical rebuke of the course pursued by his associates in this volume, most of whom still continue to stand up every week in the face of a whole congregation, and solemnly repeat aloud the Apostles' Creed, from its simple but lofty introduction, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," even to its consoling and impressive close, "the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting"; though to three fourths of the clauses in that Creed, the only response which, in heart and conscience, they could make, would be, "I do NOT believe."

Mr. Goodwin's Essay need not be considered here at any length, as it is unexceptionable in tone, contains nothing new, and the topic of which it treats has been so much discussed elsewhere that it is fairly exhausted. We can only wonder at the exaggerated importance which has been attributed to the subject, and which has called forth so much discussion. The whole question turns upon the proper interpretation to be given to a few verses, or rather to a few words, in the first two chapters of Genesis. Perhaps a dozen different modes of interpreting them have been proposed, any one of which has a certain plausibility, while we agree with Mr. Goodwin in

thinking that not one of them is entirely free from objections. But give these objections their full weight, and what do they amount to? Any bearing which they can have upon a belief in Christianity is so remote and indistinct, a matter of such doubtful inference, that a person's sanity would almost be questionable who should allow them to perplex or darken his faith. Genesis, in many respects, stands alone among the books of the Bible. It is probably the oldest of them all, and perhaps the oldest written book of any length that is now extant. It is the record of a tradition of a primitive revelation to mankind. The record, as we now possess it, is imperfect, and the tradition was probably still more imperfect; but the authenticity of the primitive revelation itself is attested by the general coincidence of its contents with the latest and best-established discoveries of modern science; — a coincidence admitted by Mr. Goodwin himself, with all his disposition to pick out and exaggerate discrepancies in detail; — and a coincidence that must appear even miraculous, when it is remembered that the book was written long before the birth of anything that deserved the name of human science, and that all other cosmogonies which even approximate it in antiquity are absurd and worthless. After giving a very good abstract of the latest and most certain conclusions of the geologists, Mr. Goodwin says, "Now these facts do certainly tally to some extent with the Mosaic account, which represents fish and fowl as having been produced from the waters on the fifth day, reptiles and mammals from the earth on the sixth, and man as made last of all." But he adds that "the agreement, however, is far from exact." We admit it; and as Genesis was certainly not written for the purpose of anticipating the discoveries of modern science, and as the forms of expression and modes of thought which belonged to the age when it was written are very unlike those that are current in our own day, we are neither surprised nor disturbed at the want of exactness.

The Rev. Mark Pattison next contributes an historical essay on the "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750." It is ingenious, entertaining, and sophistical. The facts are selected in order to sustain a preconceived theoretical opinion, — a foregone conclusion, which, by a common

rhetorical artifice, is nowhere expressly stated, though the way towards it is so skilfully marked out by selecting and marshalling the facts, that the unwary reader is entrapped into accepting it as his own deduction from known and acknowledged premises. Of course, for the very reason that the facts are *selected* for this purpose only, the statement of them is but half the truth, and therefore the conclusion towards which they seem to tend is just as likely to be one-sided or false, as if it did not even pretend to have any facts at all for its basis.

The thesis to be maintained is, that what are technically called "the Evidences" of Christianity are worthless; that elaborating and writing them out is both an indication and a cause of a very low state of theology; and that the study of them is unprofitable, and even degrading. And the historical proof of this doctrine is as follows. The eighteenth century, especially the thirty years which succeeded the peace of Utrecht (1714), though a period of great commercial and material prosperity for England, was "one of decay of religion, licentiousness of morals, public corruption, profaneness of language, — a day of rebuke and blasphemy." Mr. Pattison prettily and forcibly adds, "that it was an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character." This moral degradation, we are further informed, is not attributable to the material welfare of the country as its cause, but was due to the low state of theology, — especially to the fact that the theology of those times was mainly devoted to expositions of "the Evidences," — to repeated and futile attempts to prove what John Locke calls "the Reasonableness of Christianity." The conclusion which the reader is invited to draw for himself is, that *because* John Locke, Addison, Bentley, Berkeley, Butler, Leland, and many others, wrote frequently and vigorously in defence of Christianity, general infidelity ensued, and there was a wide-spread corruption of morals.

Now we believe, not that the display of umbrellas brought down the rain, but that the rain brought out the umbrellas. It is far more probable that the prevalence of infidelity induced Bentley, Berkeley, and Butler to write in defence of

religion, than that the writings of these men produced or enhanced the unbelief which they sought to cure. The chronology of the period favors this view. The most noted publications of the English Deists, as they are called, appeared before 1714, some of them, such as those of Blount and Shaftesbury, falling within the preceding century; while most of the answers to them were published after the Peace of Utrecht. And low as the state of religion and morals was during the thirty or fifty years after the accession of the House of Brunswick, during the half-century which preceded that event it was far worse. The reigns of the first two Georges were bad enough, but they did not equal, in profligacy, dissoluteness, and irreligion, those of the last two Stuarts. Charles II. was as worthless a monarch as ever sat on an English throne, — without heart, patriotism, morals, or religion; his court, ministry, and Parliament were as corrupt as he was, and his people were little better. James II. was a stupid and cruel bigot; and the Church under him — equally unprincipled, at first in its fawning submissiveness, and then in its rebellious intolerance — was worthy to have such a king for its temporal and spiritual head. Walpole and the Pelhams were not very scrupulous ministers; but they appear almost as saints when compared with Shaftesbury and the Cabal, with Danby and Rochester. The stage at this period was a brothel, the dramatists and poets are unfit for a modest woman to read, and the clergy, with a few shining exceptions, had neither respectability, talents, nor influence. From the corruption of those times English Deism was a natural outgrowth. Blount, Toland, and Shaftesbury were not very formidable opponents of religious belief, but their power consisted in the aptitude of the people to receive the lessons which they taught. They addressed a prepared and willing audience, who had already lent an itching ear to Hobbes, and were ready, soon afterwards, to listen to Collins, Woolston, Tindal, and Morgan.

The reaction against this woful dissoluteness and unbelief began as early even as the reign of Anne, — the writings of Locke, Newton, Bentley, and Addison certainly contributing towards the happy result. And the movement which they

began was nobly continued, during the two ensuing reigns, by some of the finest minds of which English literature and philosophy can boast, and with results which, though gradual and incomplete, were still broad and permanent. Immorality and unbelief at least became ashamed to show themselves as openly as before; they slunk into corners and hiding-places, and the general tone of literature became decorous and respectable. The public generally were weaned from the scoffs and ribaldry on which they had previously battened, and learned to respect religion and virtue, even if they did not always practise what they honored. The infidelity which had been so rampant at the beginning of the century now fell so rapidly out of fashion, that when Hume, at once the ablest and the most decorous of the Deists, published his Treatise on Human Nature, in 1738, he was obliged to confess that it fell still-born from the press, and did not obtain even the honor of a reply. That the theologians and philosophers who contributed to this happy result should have devoted their writings chiefly to an exposition of "the Evidences" and a defence of the doctrines of Christianity, is no more to be wondered at than that, at a much earlier age, Justin Martyr and Tertullian should have published Apologies for Christianity. In both cases, Christians were addressing a generation of Pagans.

It may suit Mr. Pattison's purpose, and fill out his triad of antitheses, to sneer at the philosophy of this period as "without insight." But it shows bad taste and defective knowledge to include in this sneer such men as Butler, the father of modern ethical science, not only in England, but for all Europe; Berkeley, the pure and refined spiritualist, and one of the most elegant writers and original philosophical thinkers that England has produced; Samuel Clarke, a co-worker with Newton, the well-matched opponent of Leibnitz, and one of the greatest masters of abstract metaphysical reasoning that the world has ever seen; and even Warburton, who, with all his defects of temper, has been well called "the last of our really *great* divines." To represent such men, with their coadjutors, Locke, Bentley, and Addison, as over-matched, or even well-matched, by such small fry as Blount, Toland, Collins, and Woolston, is but a piece of the same arrogance which declares

that the works of Barrow now "*excite perhaps only a smile of pity*"! Why, Bentley alone, the greatest classical scholar of modern times, appears, both in his Boyle Lectures and his controversy with Collins, like the giant Thor crushing his opponent with a single blow of his ponderous hammer. Yet this Essayist informs us, in his usual sneering tone, that "the more they demonstrated, the less people believed," and that, if circumstances had not turned theological study another way, "the Deistical controversy might have gone on indefinitely, and the 'amabœan strain of objection and reply, *cantare pares et respondere parati*,' have been prolonged to this day." But what victory could have been more decisive than the one achieved at least as early as 1750, before which time, as Mr. Pattison himself remarks, the Deists had first ceased to find an audience, and then ceased to write? When the posthumous works of Bolingbroke, "the last of the professed Deists," were first published, in 1754, "the interest in them was already gone; they found the public cold or indisposed." And we have already seen what was the reception of Hume sixteen years earlier.

The offence which Berkeley, Butler, and Clarke committed, and for which they are tried by the Rev. Mr. Pattison and found wanting, "expiating the attention they once engrossed by as universal an oblivion," is that they wrote in defence of their religious faith when it was assailed by scoffers, and thus created one important department of English theology, the Evidences of Christianity. Our Essayist cherishes an intense dislike of these "Evidences," and heaps upon them all the sarcasms which he can invent or muster. He calls them "that Old Bailey theology, in which, to use Johnson's illustration, the Apostles are being tried once a week for the capital crime of forgery." He tells us, in one place, that "neither the external nor the internal Evidences are properly theology at all"; and in another, that "they were the proper theology of an age whose literature consisted in writing Latin hexameters." Then he calls them "home-baked theology," and borrows one sarcasm from Maurice, "that the result of the whole is, that 'it is safer to believe in a God, lest, if there should happen to be one, he might send us to hell for denying his exist-

ence'"; and another from a Tractarian, that the general result is "three chances to one for revelation, and only two against it." He tells us that, when writing upon the Evidences was in fashion, "the divine went out into the streets, with his demonstration of the being and attributes of God printed on a broadside."

Perhaps a new standard of manners as well as of theology has been erected at Oxford; but here in New England, it would not be considered very decent and proper, it would not be "quite the thing," for a Christian clergyman to heap up such sarcasms upon such a subject. But Mr. Pattison knows best what the audience which he is addressing will most relish. It is only charitable to him to believe, that he objects to "the Evidences" not merely *as evidence*, for that would be to reject the only test by which truth can be distinguished from error, either in a court of justice, in science, in philosophy, or in our daily conduct; since, on all these occasions, we must make up our minds *on evidence* of one sort or another, or else give up man's noble prerogative of reason, and decide at haphazard. He does not, then, reject *evidence as such*, but only "*the* Evidences of Christianity"; or, in other words, his objection lies, not against the mode of proof, but *against the thing to be proved.* He will admit evidence in relation to every other topic under heaven, and will scoff at it only when it is in favor of Christianity. He will even admit it when it is *against* the Christian religion, but not when tending to establish it; for, as we have seen, one leading purpose of his associates in this very volume is, to heap together against this religion all the objections which they can gather, whether from English Deism, from modern physical science, or from German metaphysics. Fair play requires us to hear both sides. But these gentlemen cry out, 'Not so. Hear only the accuser; muzzle the defendant. Heap up all the testimony for the prosecution, and rule that for the defence out of court.'

These Essayists have good reason to sneer at "argumentative proof" of the truths of Christianity, and of "the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Scripture." If this proof can be got rid of, — not answered, but dogmatically pushed aside and ruled out of the case, — then Scripture has

no authority to decide anything. The Word of God ceases to be the arbiter in our theological disputes, and all questions are to be answered, as if Jesus Christ and his Apostles had never spoken, only by intuitive reason and by what each man fancies to be the inner light in his own soul. The Bible is no longer the religion of Protestants, but every man's own intellectual intuitions make up his theology. We shall thus have as many systems of theology as there are systems of metaphysics, and a change in the whole fabric of our religious faith will be inevitable every time a new philosophy comes into vogue. The *facts* of Christianity being entirely set aside, and its *doctrines* being no longer tried by the only test claiming to be authoritative for all, its *name* will no longer have any distinctive meaning, but will be just as applicable to one creed or form of belief as another. It will no longer mean the religion taught by Jesus of Nazareth, but will come to signify, in the mouths of different persons, either Buddhism, or Hegelianism, or Mormonism, or the Spiritualism that is dictated by ricketty mahogany tables. "Theology," says Mr. Pattison, "is, first and primarily, the contemplative speculative habit, by means of which the mind places itself already in another world than this; — a habit begun here, to be raised to perfect reason hereafter." Here is no reference to any inspired guide or help, no deference to any authority. Theology, as thus described, finds its only source and regulation in the intuitions of pure reason, as these appear in each individual mind, and its doctrines are not to be proved or taught, but to be felt.

Want of space compels us to pass hurriedly over the only remaining Essay in this volume, on the Interpretation of Scripture, by Professor Jowett. It is chiefly an argumentative restatement of the theory which this writer propounded and applied at length in his Commentary on some of the Epistles of St. Paul, that diversities of opinion on theological subjects have arisen mainly out of "the error of introducing into the interpretation of Scripture the notions of a later age." His opinion seems to be, (for it is nowhere declared with much distinctness,) that the teachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, being addressed primarily to a few small communities of believers in some of the Roman provinces about eighteen cen-

turies ago, have comparatively little meaning or pertinency for civilized Christendom in these later times. "The temper of accommodation," which has led to diverse and contradictory interpretations of Scripture, shows itself, he says, "especially in two ways; first, in the attempt to adapt the truths of Scripture to the doctrines of the creed; secondly, in the adaptation of the precepts and maxims of Scripture to the language or practice of our own age." According to this view, to attribute our modern theological opinions to Christ and his Apostles is as great an anachronism, as to attribute to them our system of philosophy.

This theory is evidently based upon a very low and rationalistic view of the origin of the Christian religion. It assumes in the outset, that the mission of our Saviour did not include any general revelation to all mankind, but only a special communication of certain truths which it particularly behooved one nation and one age to know, and from which subsequent generations can only glean a few isolated hints on matters pertinent to their own condition. Furthermore, this is as much a theory which will bias all interpretations of Scripture made by those who hold it, as if they came to an examination of the text with a predisposition to find in it every clause of the Nicene Creed and every one of the Thirty-nine Articles. Professor Jowett thinks he has found a specific wherewith to avoid the errors of all former commentators; but his own method turns out to be a mere repetition of the old blunder, which extracts from Scripture only fresh confirmations of preconceived errors.

> "Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque;
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua."

We here close our examination of this remarkable volume, — an examination protracted to a greater length, as many of our readers will doubtless think, than is justified either by the merits or the demerits of the work under review. But, as already remarked, the character and position of the writers may lend great significance to a book which would otherwise pass quietly and quickly to oblivion. We shall look with interest for the further history of its reception in the Church and the University to which most of its writers belong.

ART. X. — 1. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps.* Par M. GUIZOT. Vol. III. Paris: Lévy.
2. *Les Moines de l'Occident.* Par M. DE MONTALEMBERT. Paris: Lecoffre. 2 vols.
3. *Merlin l'Enchanteur.* Par EDGAR QUINET. Paris: Lévy. 2 vols.
4. *Jean de la Roche.* Par GEORGE SAND. Paris: Hachette.
5. *La Bêtise Humaine.* Par JULES NORIAC. Paris: Bourdilliat.

IF politics separated the illustrious men of France when they took an active part in public affairs, politics have brought them together again, indirectly, and by means of Literature. One can scarcely turn over ten pages of M. de Montalembert's history of the "Monks of the West," which has just appeared, without finding a flattering reference to the works of Guizot or Villemain, while one can hardly peruse a chapter of the recent record of M. Guizot's Ministry of Public Instruction in 1832, without discovering signs of the hostilities, sometimes not very courteous, which then marked the relation of Villemain and Guizot to M. de Montalembert. The very sentiment which once divided now unites them. At the period when each hoped to achieve something for his country by his acts, what separated them was the love of liberty. Since speculative activity alone has been vouchsafed to them, all are drawn together in one common feeling of grief for the liberty that is now altogether lost to the French subject.

Of M. Guizot's three volumes, — written, as their title most justly expresses, "to be of use to the history of his time," — the second is undoubtedly the most interesting, inasmuch as it contains a really impartial recital of the important events that took place during the too short ministry of Casimir Périer, and the struggle between order and anarchy that ensued on the establishment of the so-called July Monarchy. There is no country in the civilized world, in which every page of that volume may not be read with as much profit as interest; because there is no country in which events similar to those it

recounts may not occur. But this third volume, if less universally applicable, is of even more special value with reference to France. It touches upon the questions which underlie all others, and goes boldly to the sources of much of the evil which so painfully arrests the attention of the foreigner who visits France, and who does not wilfully shut his eyes and ears to the evidences of her moral and social inferiority.

It is very well for communities that stoutly and uncompromisingly carry out the principle of self-government, to treat the question of public instruction (that is, of instruction licensed, or regulated, or guaranteed, or imposed, by the state) with suspicion. They are right to rely upon themselves for the working out of all problems, political and social. They are justified in saying: "We should repudiate as a great evil any organization whatever of public education that should change the present free condition of our school establishments. We should applaud all reforms and developments of their existing principles, but we will neither recast them all in one mould, nor concentrate the overseership of them in one hand." This is the proper language for such a state as England, — and, as the expression of English thought, M. Guizot gives it his unreserved admiration; but for a nation which, like the French, has been for half a century and more over-governed, and which cannot shake off the habit of being led, brought up, and fashioned by the state, it would be worse than useless to attempt to leave them to themselves, and deprive them of a support on which, in all things, they are accustomed to lean. It is not in France a question whether the state shall rule or not, but merely whether it shall rule well or ill. "The great problem of society in modern times," says M. Guizot, "is how to govern men's minds." Our readers may perceive by this simple phrase, escaping from the pen of so illustrious a thinker as the man we have named, that it is still and ever a question of government. M. Guizot does not apparently advert to the practicability or the expediency of their governing their own minds. This being the case, it evidently becomes a question only of the better or worse "government of men's minds"; that is, of the better or worse mode in which men who are eventually to be citizens are to be educated as

boys and young men. M. Guizot's third volume is chiefly devoted to this discussion.

Education is, in all countries and in all times, either civil or religious, clerical or lay, as to its prevailing character. In England, with all the political freedom achieved, education may be said to be predominantly clerical. In France, it is in fact either clerical or lay, but in spirit narrowly and bitterly anti-religious. No one feels the evil flowing from this cause more keenly than M. Guizot, and for the so-called free-thinkers, for the would-be atheists of the Paris University, there are few harsher judges than the Calvinistic ex-Minister.

Before entering into any of the details of the way in which public instruction was organized and carried on in France under Louis Philippe, we will quote the passage in which M. Guizot alludes to the bare fact of the double ministry of "Public Instruction and Worship" when the King's choice fell upon him as Minister: —

"When assuming this office, I was the first to beg that public worship might be separated from the Ministry of Public Instruction. I was a Protestant, and it neither suited me, nor was it suitable, that I should stand at the head of the Ministry of Public Worship in a Catholic state. I dare to affirm that the Church would have had no reason to complain of me; perhaps I might even have better understood her wants, and better undertaken her defence, than some of her own faithful; but there are appearances that no one should accept. At my request, the administration of Public Worship was divided from that of Public Instruction, and was annexed to that of Justice. Now, in my mind, this again was a mistake. It was a mistake not to have raised Public Worship at once to the eminence of a separate department. This was an honor due to the importance and to the dignity of religious interests. Especially in our days, and after so many victories gained, the civil power can never deal too delicately with the pride and susceptibilities of the clergy. It is, moreover, an ill-advised combination to place the relationship of Church and State in the hands of the Church's rivals or official overseers. Distrust is created where distrust is shown, and the best mode of living well with the Church is, not to haggle with her, but to accept her real greatness frankly, and award to her the place and the portion of activity to which she has a claim and a right."

We very much doubt whether, in the present time of official

hypocrisy and affected piety in France, — when almost every village school is ruled by a Jesuit, and when a whole court is taught to make the sign of the Cross at sight of a church-porch or a saint's image in a niche, — any Minister would be found who would utter words so full of genuine respect for the Catholic Church as are those we have just quoted of the Protestant Guizot. We will now listen to him further, as to what regards the University, of which in 1832 he became the head and chief.

"The situation of the University," he writes, with very great impartiality, "was not a less difficult and delicate one, with regard to liberty, than it was with regard to religion." Nothing could be more true. All that the University practised was necessarily in opposition to all that it preached; for its original foundation was (like that of most scholastic establishments) a clerical one, and its semi-clerical traditions were wholly at variance with the anti-religious tendencies expected of it, which it ventured neither wholly to repudiate nor openly to avow.

"The administration of the University," says our author, "was officially protective of religion and of the religious spirit; in all general instructions, in the choice of teachers, in all that was meant to be taught before the public eye, religious considerations were set forth as absorbing a large share of attention; but the reason for all this was not a religious one, — the University did what it did in this respect in the interest of society only, not in that of faith. The University aimed at reaction against revolutionary impiety, rather than at any real co-operation with Christian belief. Services were perhaps in this way rendered to the cause of religion; but religious indifference in the individual was by no attempt whatever prevented or struggled against. The notion is established in our days, that, when freedom of worship is allowed to the Church, — when her material wants have been cared for, and a certain degree of outward respect paid to her, — enough has been done; that she can have no right to ask for more, and that the State, when giving all this, has a right to ask from the Church for all that it is usual to grant between firm allies. This error is a manifest one. Religion is not satisfied when regarded as merely a means of promoting order, as merely an agent of social utility. The Church has, and must have, a far higher idea of her mission than this. She cannot count upon mere political allies, if she does not consider these allies as belonging

to the faithful, or as at least admitting the Divine character of ecclesiastical institutions, — understanding, respecting them thoroughly; and there where the Church feels persuaded that nothing of all this is admitted, or understood, or respected, she draws back, grows reserved, and, while fulfilling her strict duty toward the State, she refuses her cordial co-operation, her devotion to its interests."

M. Guizot has, in the above-quoted passage, admirably portrayed the real juxtaposition of Church and State in France immediately after the foundation of the July Monarchy, and no one could have done it so well and so usefully, because no one could be so impartial. A sincere Protestant of the Calvinist persuasion, a Minister whose political career had been imbittered by the unceasing opposition of the religious party, he must in all fairness be believed when he declares the Catholic Church to have met with injustice at the hands of the state, and, above all, of the University.

There is no question in the annals of the last half-century in France that has involved so grave results as this question of Church and State. The pretended encroachments of the former, the jealousies and discourtesies of the latter, the social divisions which influenced every administrative operation throughout the land, — all these sprang from the strange, uneasy relations of the clergy to the government; and at the present hour we see in the Franco-Papal complications in Italy nothing more than the ripening of the fruit of which the events of the preceding eight and twenty years were the seed. We think, therefore, that we are justified in attaching the highest importance to the third volume of M. Guizot's *Mémoires*, which is the record of his Ministry of Public Instruction; — of what he tried to do in order to reconcile the spirit of progress with the spirit of tradition; of what he failed to accomplish; of what he achieved partially; of his efforts and his mistakes; of the failures that proceeded from circumstances; and of the circumstances themselves that were the inevitable consequences of a false position.

The strange — to foreigners inexplicable — condition of France at the present day, with regard to religion, traces its beginning to the inauguration of the July Monarchy. The exaggerated piety which is a protestation, the affected impiety

which is meant for an insult, the superstition endeavoring to be reasonable, the cowardice endeavoring to be philosophic, the ignorance and the indifference, — the whole of this, leading, as it does, to the most singular phenomena ever witnessed in a modern Christian state, dates from 1830.

"Catholicism," M. Guizot writes, "was no longer, in 1830, in the position in which it had been at the commencement of the century, and during the times of the Consulate and Empire. Catholicism did not need, as it then did, the daily support of the government in order to exist, and to exist in peace and quietness. At the period mentioned, Catholicism in French society had reassumed an incontestable place and wielded a great authority over men's minds. The Church felt she had a right to far more than the mere security of worship; faith in herself, — expansive, nay, even exacting faith, — intellectual activity, and reliance on her own strength, had all returned to her. Under the restoration the Church had often enjoyed royal, and often too parliamentary favor; she counted among her adherents and servants powerful and brilliant individualities, philosophers, orators, writers of the very first class; — in depriving her of all political preponderance, the Revolution of July had (let it not be forgotten) opened to the Church a new sphere of distinction, — political independence, liberty! The Church took advantage of it, dashed into the new road at once, advanced thereupon every day, touching upon question after question that religious indifference believed to be lulled to sleep, and resolutely called to her aid — and that with the utmost ardor — the old, forever-dreamt-of alliance of belief and freedom of thought."

Here we come upon M. de Montalembert, then, as now, — and no less now, — ready to do battle in behalf of the union of liberty with Catholicism.

"It was above all," M. Guizot says, "in the ranks of those who stood outside the official Church, — it was amongst laymen and unattached ecclesiastics (*prêtres sans charge d'âmes*), — that the movement I speak of first began; and the first step it took was on the ground of liberty of instruction. This was the word written upon its flag. Freedom, perfect freedom of education, was clamored for in the name of the paternal right, of the rights of the Church, of the rights granted by the Charter."

In 1831 M. de Montalembert and Father Lacordaire, the former hardly more than a boy, the latter not yet wholly a priest, resolved to carry out their convictions by acts. They

accordingly opened a school for young children, without asking for any license, whether from Ministers or University authorities. They proceeded publicly to teach, because they maintained the right to instruct, and the right of a father to have his children instructed in the way he chose, to be natural, imprescriptible rights, which no government had power to deny. These two young men were arrested, their school shut up, and they themselves brought to trial. Montalembert meanwhile attained his majority, and, in virtue of his hereditary peerage, had to be tried by the special tribunal of the *Cour des Pairs*. It is deeply interesting to read at this distance of time the bitter, violent, splendidly eloquent speech by which the boy-culprit sought less to defend himself than to annihilate his enemies. Thus it was that these men, whose name is all that is left to France of a more independent epoch, first came in contact; and thus it was that the principles which, when betrayed, all equally deplored, were made the occasion of a dispute never brought to a conclusion while the Orleans monarchy endured. M. Guizot, with extraordinary fairness, writes of this matter: —

"These young men were condemned, as it was inevitable they should be, according to the then existing laws; but their defence had been very brilliant and impressive, and they had spread through the reflecting, respectable portion of the public the ideas and the plans, the passionate conviction wherewith they themselves were animated. The struggle in the name of the Church was commenced; the first onset had taken place on the highest ground occupied by the State, and in the very bosom of the State's loftiest constitutional powers."

In these words of M. Guizot the whole career of M. de Montalembert may be set before the world, — the struggle for freedom in the name of the Church. For this he fought at first; for this he would fight still, if a free citizen's voice dared to be lifted in France now in any such contest; for this he did battle under the July Monarchy, under the Republic, under the Presidency, and under the Empire, during the short time he was a Deputy to the *Corps Legislatif;* and for this he opposed his friends, joined with his foes, and often put his own fame in jeopardy. Numerous are they who denounce his war-cry as absurd, who say that the words "Freedom" and the "Church"

cannot stand side by side, and that freedom by the Church, with her help or through her agency, is of all imaginable Utopias the least possible. We are not going to enter into this part of the discussion, nor do we mean to examine whether Montalembert's opinions are right or wrong, defensible or the reverse; we are taking the man as he is, and we merely assert that he believes his cause to be a great and true one, and that at no moment of his life, from 1831 until now, has he ever been found less ardent in the prosecution of its success, — less prepared to make every sacrifice for it. He has never swerved from his double worship of freedom and the Church. He may be wrong, — he may be wedded to an absolutely insane theory; but he does not think so, and he never gives up one iota of his claims, never compounds for more "Church" and less "liberty," or agrees to less "Church" in order to secure more "freedom." From this point of view he must be judged, or not be judged at all; for from no other point of view whatever can he be comprehensible or explicable.

In his latest work, now lying before us, — "The Monks of the West," — we have the same Montalembert who as a boy bearded the whole French state, — University, Chamber of Peers, Ministry, and all, — and who has been the bugbear of every retrograde priest in the Catholic world for his obstinate idolatry of liberty in every shape. If truth could ever be coupled with any save a grand and lovely idea, we should be disposed to say that Montalembert has a perverse love of truth. Whenever he resolves to defend a cause or a man, he invariably furnishes weapons to his worst opponent. He cannot help himself. No disguise and no half-measures are possible to him. He is not satisfied with "nothing but the truth," but he must have "the whole truth," whether its bearing be for or against the theory he has in hand. Nor is this perhaps a merit that must be entirely attributed to the writer's own conscientiousness or sense of justice: it is rather in the intimate character of his talent, in his own nature. He is compelled to see both sides at once, and to state both so energetically that the end of the whole sometimes is to bewilder those who listen or read. This was so strongly felt by his friends when he was prosecuted, two years ago, by the Imperial government, that

it was unanimously declared impossible to co-operate in the task of defending him if he persisted in the notion of defending himself. His is so unequivocally an aggressive genius, that he would, if charged with his own defence, turn against him the friends most cordially ready to defend him.

With this new work, *Les Moines de l'Occident*, the same phenomenon recurs. Meaning to be favorable rather than the reverse to the monastic orders, M. de Montalembert has furnished their detractors with the most victorious arguments they ever laid hold of, and he enabled a critic who stands in the very front ranks of the atheistical Revolutionists * to print the following sentence: "It is impossible to read 'The Monks of the West' without judging the monastic orders more severely, and the Revolution less harshly, than before." The Protestant reader will therefore perceive that there is nothing in these *Moines* that should deter him from consulting their chronicles, but quite the contrary.

The genesis of the work was on this wise. The author meant to compose a Life of St. Bernard, and in the progress of his composition he was naturally led to recognize the importance, in the then state of civilization, of the monastic orders.

"If," he says, "the twelfth century is more or less animated by the spirit of the monk Bernard, and bows to his influence, it is because the eleventh century had been subservient to the genius and power of the monk Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.). . . . . But Gregory and Bernard were not the founders of the monastic orders; they were simply the products of them, — their results, like so many thousands of their contemporaries. The institution had been in existence for five hundred years when these two great men made it yield such fruits. In order to see clearly what was the institution itself, what its origin and its services, it is necessary to proceed higher up into the past, to follow the traces of ecclesiastical tradition up to St. Gregory the Great, the first Pope taken from the cloister, and, farther still, up to St. Benedict, the lawgiver and patriarch of the whole Western monkhood. It is absolutely necessary to render to one's self an account of the labors during five centuries of these legions of men, — labors that were untiring, and legions that seemed undying, for they lived on by a system of perpetual, never-failing recruitment, — labors, too, the object whereof

* M. Peyrat, the literary critic of *La Presse*.

undoubtedly was to pacify, purify, and educate countless hordes of barbarians, out of whom, by successive transformations, Christian nations were to be derived. It would have been an act of injustice to remain silent respecting the twenty generations of indomitable workers who cultivated the souls of our forefathers as they tilled the soil of what was one day to be Christian Europe; for these men only left to such individualities as Bernard and his contemporaries the work of reaping and gathering in the harvest."

Were not M. de Montalembert a Catholic, it would be still conceivable that he should have written his book; for history is history, whatever a man's creed may be. It is undoubtedly true, that during five hundred years the cloisters of the West did send forth the majority of all laborers, of no matter what species; that the relative civilization of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries was but the efflorescence of all that had been planted so perseveringly and so courageously by the monastic orders since the fourth century, but more especially since the sixth and seventh. M. de Montalembert is right in saying that Bernard and Hildebrand are but products of a foregone state of things, and that, consequently, the institution whence such men could naturally proceed is worth all our study and attention. Where the non-Catholic reader will evidently differ with M. de Montalembert is at the point where, instead of resolutely regarding the monastic orders as belonging to the irrevocable past, he seeks to persuade himself that their continued existence is possible in the modern world. Up to this point every intelligent reader can go with him; beyond this it will only be the Catholic reader who will stand by this Catholic writer. For the merely historical and political student, there is, however, a very serious attraction in "The Monks of the West," on account of the epoch and the institution that are the subjects of the work.

In proceeding from M. Guizot to M. de Montalembert, there is, as we have remarked, less difficulty than might be generally supposed, and we have tried to show readers on this side of the Atlantic what were the principles in virtue of which men once so apparently opposed to each other can act and even think together. In turning from M. de Montalembert to M. Quinet the case is totally dissimilar; and here we have to deal

with a reputation which, for many reasons, stands apart,—with an individuality that finds sympathy in only the very smallest of the different groups of distinguished thinkers in France. Edgar Quinet is as much of a Frenchman as Montalembert. As the latter is by birth and (maternally) by blood an Englishman, so the former is a German by birth. Both are by name and citizenship, and by the later events of their lives, Frenchmen; but in both the strongest trace left is that of the earliest impression. Quinet is so perfectly a denizen of the land where his youth was passed, where he first loved and wed and thought,* that when he came to live officially in France, he as it were merely translated himself into French. His life and soul were Teutonic. His acts were unpractical and dreamy, and his thoughts were developed according to a German process. As to politics and political activity he never understood the first word of what they were supposed to mean; and therefore, when the Revolution of 1848 broke out, he declared himself and believed himself to be an ardent republican, and sided with Victor Hugo and all the impossible poet-statesmen. Edgar Quinet, be it observed, began life, like Hugo and many others of that particular stamp of mind, by a frenzied enthusiasm for the first Napoleon, in whom they chose to recognize a kind of demigod and champion of democracy, accredited from Heaven for the purpose of spreading revolution all over the world. As long as parliamentary government endured in France, Bonaparte alone was the resource of all these men, who, in his name and in the name of the military glory of France under the Empire, kept up a senseless clamor against peace and commerce and prosperity. Their poetic temperament got aflame, and by their ravings (for they were really little else) they largely contributed to bring about the catastrophe of the 24th of February. When the second Empire introduced itself, however, into France, and these dreamers were among its very first victims, they began to see clearly; the brilliant robings of glory falling away, they had the despotism standing before them in all its ugliness, and they understood that the imperial eagle might be very like a vul-

* See Longfellow's "Hyperion." In one of the early chapters on Heidelberg occurs the following: "There is Quinet and his fair German wife."

ture. When the poetical illusion had been destroyed, these mere poets were in despair; they did not know which way to turn, or what to do; the sincerity of their grief and disappointment made them violent, and they railed and wailed in a somewhat womanly fashion. For this reason, between these and the political men of France there was little sympathy. The politicians, to whatever they turned their activity, resolved that it should work against the imperial government, and there can be no doubt that they have managed, by their unceasing labors, to keep up the hostility of public opinion against Louis Napoleon. The poets, on the contrary, could not, or would not, condescend to injure the government; their object was to abuse it. Anti-Imperialism was their source of inspiration, and when they had sung of the iniquities of the Empire, they cared comparatively little for redressing them. From the battle waged against the Emperor, Victor Hugo has undoubtedly derived his greatest poetic triumph; and had he never written another line, *Les Châtiments* would insure his immortality.

Quinet, notwithstanding his unmistakable poetic vein of thought, had the disadvantage (or advantage) of being deprived of the rhythmic form. The consequence was, that, being condemned to prose, he could not be persistently lyrical. He is wholly without a faculty so material as "observation," and cannot therefore employ his imaginative faculties as a romance-writer. He was not, and can never be, a politician. What remained? History tempted him, and, strange to say, the wild, dreamy, German-minded rhapsodist of *Ahasuerus* * produced, as his first effort, one of the most authentic and finest studies of the past that modern France can boast. Marnix de St. Aldegonde, the great agent of Dutch freedom in the seventeenth century, was the relatively unknown hero that tempted Quinet, who for two or three years fixed his exile's home in Belgium.

But the poet lay unconquerably at the bottom of the man's whole nature, as his latest work proves beyond refutation. King Arthur has fascinated this Teuto-Gaul, even as he has fascinated

* One of Quinet's first works: the legend, in lyrical prose, of the Wandering Jew.

Bulwer, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and so many of the English thinkers of our day. But the German love of embodied ideas, of theories and systems incarnate in human forms, has seized hold of Quinet once again, and *Merlin l'Enchanteur* is little more than a history of idealism under the shape of the mighty master who "possessed all knowledge before his birth," and in whom the wintry snows of extreme age could never extinguish the eternal fire of the heart. Quinet conceives Merlin as omniscient before assuming a definite form, and as loving even in death. His book is intended to be the biography of Genius, the record of the uninformed, all-divining spirit, the chronicle of the Divine Instinct, so to speak, — of the Idea. This is embodied by Quinet in Merlin. When a few days old, the wonder-babe speaks, and, as he progresses through childhood and youth, he is found to know all things. When books are spread before him, and it is sought to teach him to read, he reads all tongues and all signs, and only says, "I knew it all before I was." Questioned as to what he will be, he replies to his parents, "I will be an enchanter." In truth, here lies the solution of the enigma: Merlin is the Ideal, and is to enchant mankind.

Of course our limits will not permit us to enter into the details of so large a work as this; but we earnestly recommend it, for it is one that every poet or artist of our time will be a gainer for having read, and will delight in reading, while to others it will breathe of poetry and art, and perhaps lead them to feel that the Ideal underlies everything in this universe, and that the refusal to perceive this truth is simply an act of moral and intellectual blindness. *Merlin l'Enchanteur* is pre-eminently the product of the strong reactive force of poetry in an age of positivism; it is the very book that must spring from a country in the present condition of France, and the very book which it is fittest to read when the debasing influences of such a condition are manifestly pressing the most heavily.

Volumes of treatises might, indeed, be written on this subject, showing how French people do or do not accept the state of moral degradation in which they are condemned to live. If a literature is to be taken as a sample of a nation's

general thought, the general literature of contemporary France would give sad evidence against the morality of the whole race; for nothing can be conceived lower, more vile, more cynical, more hideous, than the larger part of the works of fiction that aim at furnishing the French public with a photograph of French society, and which must be supposed not to present a very bad likeness of it, if we may judge by their immense sale.

The baseness of these creations, and the infamy of the society which they claim to portray, have struck so many of the writers and thinkers of France, that more signs of reaction have become visible than we think foreigners have chosen to perceive. But then the fault has been with the reactionists themselves. In their attempt to stem the tide of corruption, the flood has so penetrated them through and through, that it was really impossible to see whether they were going with or against the stream. Young Dumas was (after the *Dame aux Camélias*) a *réactionnaire;* the *Demi-monde*, the *Fils Naturel*, the *Père Prodigue*, — all were meant to protest against the temper of the times; but all were so imbued with its principles that, involuntarily, they served the cause they intended to attack. M. Augier, and M. Ponsard, and M. Barrière, and all, were trying to be moral; but no one ever went home from the *Mariage d'Olympe*, or *Les Filles de Marbre*, or *La Jeunesse*, or *La Bourse*, or any of those preaching dramas with one shade of better appreciation of the moral, the honest, the virtuous, or the right, than he was possessed of before. Their phraseology was pedantic, and puritanical here and there; but devoid of truth in all their would-be protestations. If there were somewhat less vice, there was as much wrong as elsewhere. These gentlemen were evidently none of them familiar with Virtue. They had heard of her, and they did their best to describe her accurately; but they painted her as so unlovely, that it really was no wonder that sin got the better of her. They sat down to their desks, one and all, with the *parti pris* of reviving poor Virtue, as they would the manners and customs of Nineveh if they wanted to write an Assyrian romance. For this reason, all the efforts of these well-minded young authors have been useless; and the

best comment we have heard upon them lies in the words of a very famous personage of less than the *demi-monde*. Being asked why she and so many of her kind went to the performance of the *Filles de Marbre*, intended as a satire on the whole class, she replied with an insolent smile: "There is nothing in all that to hurt us; so long as we occupy the public mind, we run no danger of being dethroned."

This is quite true. The only hopeful attempt to produce a higher, moral result would be one from which all violent attack upon vice should be banished, for the simple reason that the existence of a certain degree of vice should be ignored. The end would be to render innocence and virtue interesting, to make the honest attractive, and to associate the romantic element with what is pure. Here you strike at once at the root of the entire difference that separates Continental from Anglo-Saxon literature, and the literature of France, particularly, from that of all other countries, even on the Continent.

What distinguishes the literature of the English tongue (whether Cisatlantic or Transatlantic) from all Continental literature is the fact of romance being pure. The English literature of the present day (poetry especially) is far more passionate than that of any other country; but its passion is never excited by an unworthy object. There is no sin, and, above all, no vice. What distinguishes the French literature from every other (we mean the literature of fiction) is the necessarily sinful basis on which it is built, and its evidently underlying principle that the greater the sin, the stronger is the interest. It is not admitted, even as an artistic theory, by any French novel-writer, that interest can be made to attach to the heart-history of two persons whose love is not a forbidden one. "Where would be the dramatic element?" they one and all naively ask. This undoubtedly comes from the constitution of French society itself, in which no unmarried girl takes a part, and no woman is supposed to exist until she is married, and bears the name of some man whose honor, confided to her care, she is destined to betray. For here is one of the characteristics of the whole system; it is never admitted as practicable that the married woman should not betray her

trust. Here romance assumes its laws of creation, and with all this vile sensualism it is sought to bind up poetry.

It is strange, yet true, that the first efficacious resistance against this deplorable system has been made by a person whose whole life has been one of the most scandalous, and whose earlier doctrines, as set forth in her writings, are among the most utterly subversive of all morality, — we mean Mme. Sand. Her own career, we will not (we could not) touch upon, though its world-wide notoriety obliges us to allude to it; but her teachings have certainly helped in no small degree to make the French so very remarkable as they are for moral ignorance. Mme. Sand was never licentious in language; — her fine artistic taste preserved her from this. She was not vicious in tone, but perverted. Wrong with her was right, and she deliberately endeavored to teach and preach the fairness of sin!

Latterly she has abandoned these false theories, and we are inclined to think that her taste has attracted her toward the beauty of virtue, or rather of innocence. Her last two works, *Jean de la Roche* and the *Marquis de Villemer*, not yet finished, are of a style entirely different from that of any of her former productions, and might have been written in America or in England.

But in *Jean de la Roche* to what does her new creed oblige the writer? To place her heroine out of the conditions of French society! Love Butler, the heroine, is an English girl, who, from various circumstances, has been brought, with her father and younger brother, to inhabit a country-house in a province of France. Jean de la Roche is a young Frenchman, the only son of a widowed mother, who, after having tasted all the pleasures of the capital, turns from them in disgust, and retires to his little antique castle, built in the hollow of a high rock in Auvergne. His mother, being a Frenchwoman, is of course busy with the notion of her son's marriage, and (also because she is a Frenchwoman) she is determined that the bride shall be rich. When Jean returns from Paris, having found nothing to suit him in the shape of a wife, the Comtesse de la Roche, in despair, suggests that he should make acquaintance with their new English neighbors, and ask

the hand of Miss Butler, a girl of sixteen. This very French mode of proceeding suits Jean; — he goes to the house of the Englishman, sees Miss Love, makes his first acquaintance with her on pony-back, does not quite know whether he likes her or not, but sees no reason why he should not "ask for her hand." A certain village notary, M. Louandre, who has been the notary of the De la Roche family for years, and who is very intimate with the Butlers, now becomes mixed up with the romance; and opening fire at once upon the practical bearings of the whole business, he says to Jean, as they are riding home one night, after the third or fourth visit of the young man to Bellevue (the name of Mr. Butler's place): "You have a capital affair in your hands in all this; you will not easily find such another, and I advise you not to let it slip through your hands."

Now, though Jean de la Roche is a Frenchman, he is young and generous, and has already, in the intimacy of the Butlers, had a glimpse of another kind of domestic civilization than his own. He is struck painfully by the "bleak aridity" of M. Louandre's point of view, and falls to shivering mentally over the prospect held out to him. "Alas!" he exclaims, "the business part of the matter, where pure avowable love is concerned, is a mere contract, where, do what you will, you must turn accountant, and reckon and calculate. Here I am, before knowing whether my heart warms toward this girl, engaged in a pecuniary calculation."

But Jean does not remain long in obscurity as to what is passing in his "heart." The quiet, dignified, rather cool manner in which the lady of his love informs him that she "may, perhaps, end by liking him," and authorizes him to prosecute his suit, fairly inflames him, and, not being quite sure of ever marrying her, he falls in love with her at once. Now this is contrary to all the rules and precepts of French match-making and novel-writing; and in order to render the whole possible, Mme. Sand, as we said before, has been forced to make her heroine English.

When once Jean de la Roche is undeniably in love, and cannot get out of it, — when he is as much in love with this girl, who may be his own wife, as, according to the rules of French morals and dramatic interest, he ought to be only with the wife

of some other man, — then begin the complications of the plot. Obstacles are raised up in the persons of old Butler, the father, and of his son, Hope, a boy of twelve, whose selfish, passionate love for his sister will not hear of her ever going to another home, or calling in a stranger to share in her affections. The reasoning of this young tyrant is very close and very true in a boy: "I cannot believe Love will at all mind this French Count's being got rid of. She cannot really care for him. I can understand pining to death for a mother, or a sister, or any one you are used to, or have known all your life, but you cannot care so very much for a person you have not known six months!"

From this argument the lad will not stir, and whenever the proposal is made to recall Jean as Love's affianced bridegroom, Hope sickens, and the doctors all pronounce his life in danger. This separates Jean de la Roche from Love Butler; he falls into fits of violent despair, and after the death of his mother exiles himself from France, and travels all over the world. After an absence of four years he returns to France, not cured, though calmed; and the slightest of incidents suffices to excite all his former ardor for Miss Butler. She is, as he learns, on a tour with her father in the Mont Dore hills. Thither he hastens, and resolves to follow her in the character of a guide. He applies to a certain François, *guide de profession*, whom he happens to know, disguises himself to perfection, and is accepted by the little party. Of course romantic incidents of all kinds occur during this mountain journey, and the tale ends with the recognition of the lovers, and their union, after young Butler, now a healthy lad of sixteen, has been brought to consent to that fact. There is no young girl who might not fitly read this book, and there is no practised novel-reader in France who will not pronounce it full of interest. Here is the problem solved for once, — and it is a vast problem, — the romantic has been made compatible with the pure. But to do this it required all the ingenuity, all the consummate art, of Mme. Sand.

In reading *Jean de la Roche*, one is forcibly struck by the antagonism it brings out between the French and the English characters. The hero's great misery (besides the actual sever-

ance from his bride) is caused by the conviction he harbors that she in fact cares very little for him, — this being merely the result of the superior dignity and of the stoical qualities of the Anglo-Saxon nature. Love Butler loves Jean literally to death; but she has confided the secret to none, and has betrayed it to its object by no extravagrnt demonstrations. She has shut it up in her own soul, and is slowly dying of her disappointment; but she has sacrificed her affection to what she regards as a duty, and, having made the sacrifice, she has done so uncomplainingly. The girl is silent about her love and about her pain, and that is what her French lover cannot understand. She achieves great things quietly; that is what is so absolutely un-French. As a very beautiful and very interesting tale, *Jean de la Roche* will make its own way without any help of ours; but as a very curious sign of a certain literary reaction in France, it invites the special notice of all who are students of the manners and morals of contemporary France.

The little volume entitled *La Bêtise Humaine* has not, like *Jean de la Roche*, the lustre of a far-famed name to make it attractive. Its author is, as far as we are aware, very obscure, and we do not remember any review or journal in which we have yet seen M. Noriac's signature. The success of the book is only the more surprising, and it is an extraordinary success. In the course of six months four editions have been sold. This book may also take rank among the reactionary writings, but in another sense. It is not morally reactionary; on the contrary, many readers may take exceptions to its tone in that respect. It is a protest against the entire social system in France; against the habits of thought of the nation; against their mode of mental life, if it may be so termed. This book is inspired, we take it, by a sentence of Théophile Gautier, than which nothing was ever truer, but which has been too little appreciated there, where it was published to the world: "Les Français sont les Chinois de l'Europe." Gautier said this some years ago, and only a few of the more observant among his countrymen were struck with the profound truth of the words. Rousseau felt the force of this fact a hundred years ago; but he uttered it in an indirect, roundabout way.

In one of his famous letters from Paris, in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, he reverts often to the slavishness with which French society follows certain customs, and he remarks that the invariable law of all men is this: "Cela se fait, cela ne se fait pas." Now, strange to say, there is not a page of one of those letters in the *Héloïse* that might not apply to the Parisians of the present day as closely as it applied to the Parisians of 1765. This we take to be a fact standing entirely alone. Let it be attempted to discourse of men and women in London, or Vienna, or Madrid, or Berlin, in the same words which served accurately to paint them eighty or a hundred years ago, and it will soon be seen how impossible it is to make the descriptions fit the objects described; but when applied to the French, the experiment succeeds, for in all their mental and moral habits, in all their modes of judgment and thought, they are what they were two centuries ago. They have been modified neither by the revolutions nor the despotisms they have gone through; neither glory nor anarchy has changed their character or their prejudices; and they transport into this fast age of ours the notions they held when Mme. la Marquise de Sévigné took ten days to go, in her *litière*, from Paris to Brittany. They do this because, as Gautier has said, "they are the Chinese of Europe."

M. Noriac's aim in writing the volume before us is to show the slowness of the Gallic mind. He supposes a young man just of age, who is sent by his father to Paris to "learn something of life and civilization." The business of the whole work is to illustrate the startling impression that such a state of withered, crystallized civilization must produce upon a really untaught, unprejudiced, straightforward mind. The opening chapter is worth quoting.

"Eusèbe was just one and twenty; his father, M. Martin, who was a very sensible man, said to him: 'Eusèbe, you are no longer a child, it is time you should learn something. You were only eight years old when you lost your mother. It was a loss, for your mother's heart was full of fondness for you. Nevertheless, if it was possible to believe in such a thing as compensation in human destiny, I should incline to think that that loss, painful as it was, has been made up for. Had your mother lived, she would have spoiled you so terribly, that at this pres-

ent hour you would have scarcely been a man. I have been an excellent father to you. I always left you free as air; in winter gave you warm clothes, in summer light ones; you got plenty to eat, and grew up strong. In sober earnest, I owed you nothing more; yet, notwithstanding, I had you taught to read and write, and thank you much for learning easily. I have let you read what you chose, (my belief being that there are no good books, and no bad ones,) so that the use you have made of your learning you know more of than I can. . . . . Now go forth, my son, and learn life; do not take the goods of others, you have enough of your own; do not disguise truth, it is not worth while; do not oppress the weak man, but do not defend him (you would have two enemies instead of one); but I say again, learn life."

Added to these counsels, M. Martin gives his son the sum of 50,000 francs and an outfit. Eusèbe, in the way of "learning," has just read two books, *Télémaque* and "Robinson Crusoe." Parisian civilization does n't afford him much opportunity of proving of what use the latter work can be, and the former is manifestly of none, for the first act of his new life is to fall in love with Calypso.

His whole career is a protest against the conventions and ignorant prejudices of his countrymen. On arriving in Paris, he falls into a crowd gathered round a man who has just hung himself. Every one jabbers, and keeps his distance. Eusèbe steps forward and cuts the man down, for which act he is very near being taken to prison.* When the man recovers, and it is found that he had attempted suicide on account of poverty, Eusèbe offers to give him one hundred pounds; on which the Police Commissary immediately conceives him to be out of his mind, and commences an examination of him which is eminently characteristic.

"'What is your age?' says the magistrate.

"'Twenty-one,' is the reply.

"'I am glad, for, if under age, I could not allow you to give away a sum of money. Have you any profession?'

"'None. I come to Paris to study civilization and learn life.'

"The Commissary was lost in amazement. 'What does your father do?' said he.

* A fact. In presence of a dying man in such cases, no one in France helps. They fetch a municipal authority!

"'My father lives on his land, and lives to find out where truth lies and where falsehood.'

"'Be so good as to follow me,' says the Commissary harshly, and he makes his way through the crowd with Eusèbe at his side.

"'Poor fellow, — stark mad!' whispers the Greffier.

"'That is easy to see,' responds the municipal officer."

A doctor is sent for, and makes out a case of insanity at once; when, on searching the portmanteau of the young traveller, a *permis de chasse*, duly drawn up and delivered by his village mayor, is found, and the commissary tenders his excuses to his victim, and restores him to his liberty.

"A queer country," soliloquizes Eusèbe, "where, for saving a man's life and offering him wherewithal to exist for some time, I am supposed to be insane; and where the proof that a village mayor has authorized me to fire off a gun establishes the fact of my enjoying my reason!"

Eusèbe's career is not a moral one, as we have said, but it is the natural career of the primitive man thrown into so false a state of civilization as that of Paris. He falls desperately in love with a young actress, whose whole life has been corrupt, but who is radically reclaimed by the sincere affection she conceives for him. After a couple of years he marries a shopkeeper's daughter, whom he dislikes, because he is told from morning till night that he ought to do so. His mistress dies in consequence of this, and Eusèbe flies to her to receive her last sigh, but is too late.

When he returns home, his wife has eloped with his clerk, and they have taken the till with them. Eusèbe still possesses the £2,000 which Adéonne, the actress, gave him back untouched the day before his marriage, and which he had given to her when he first declared his love to her. With this, he returns to his father, whom he finds on his death-bed.

"'So, there you are, my son,' gasps out M. Martin; 'have you attained your end? have you learnt life? can you tell me where lies the false, where the true?'

"'Father, falsehood is on earth, truth in heaven.'

"'Perhaps you are right, and if the Abbé Jancourt were not dead, I would send for him.'

"'Father,' says Eusèbe, 'one priest is as good as another.'

"'Perhaps so,' moans M. Martin; 'but I will not see the Abbé Faye. I cannot bear him, — he has red hair.' And he breathed his last.

"'Father! father!' cries Eusèbe, not knowing that he can hear no more, 'the greatness of God is the one great truth!'

"'And the other is the greatness of human stupidity,' says the Abbé Faye, opening the door."

And on this acknowledgment of *La Bêtise Humaine*, the book closes.

We would advise the reading of it. When a little unpretending volume, bearing an unknown name, makes such an impression on a whole public, there must be something in it worth attending to. This success of *La Bêtise Humaine* in Paris shows it to be a "representative" book.

ART. XI. — *Hunting in the Himalaya, with Notices of Customs and Countries, from the Elephant Haunts of the Dehra Doon to the Bunchour Tracks in Eternal Snow.* By R. H. W. DUNLOP, C. B. B. C. S., F. R. G. S., Author of "Adventure with the Khakee Ressalah." Illustrated by J. WOLF. London: Richard Bentley. 1860. pp. 318.

IF it be true that every one travels now-a-days, it is almost as true that every traveller writes. There was a time when locomotion was regarded with reverence, and the "grand tour" conferred dignity for life. Voyagers in those days never sinned in duodecimos. Ponderous quartos alone sufficed, and the author pompously confessed belief in his own immortality. When his book appeared, it was, if possible, dedicated to some member of the royal family, and happy was the writer when he set down in his list of subscribers Lord Leatherhead for fifteen copies, and Bishop Feedwell for five. Compare, for instance, the travels of Edward Daniel Clarke, admirable as they are in every respect, with the bright little "Eothen," or Lord Dufferin's "Yacht Voyage," and we

seem to be measuring Minie rifles by the big gun of Bejapoor. The traveller of the last century was generally a brave and painstaking man, whose labors were appreciated, and who was always looked up to as a hero. "Sir," said Dr. Johnson to Boswell, who chattered about visiting the great Chinese wall, "by doing so you would do what would be of importance in raising your family to eminence. They would be at all times regarded as the children of a man who had gone to view the wall of China. I am serious, sir." Now, however, no such reward is promised to the thousands who daily start for every city and country under the sun, and turn up at all points from Peking to Patagonia.

"Who knows, if to the West we roam,
But we may find some *blue* at home,
Among the *blacks* of Carolina; —
Or, flying to the Eastward, see
Some Mrs. Hopkins taking tea
And toast upon the wall of China?"

Mr. Dunlop regards sport in England as rather more "cut up" than sport in America seemed to a New York merchant, when an English cockney brought a letter of introduction to him. The Londoner arrived in the Great Western, and asked to be directed to the nearest bear or buffalo hunt, as he wished to return by the steamer on its homeward voyage. His consignee said that wild animals had become scarce of late, and advised the sportsman to go on farther, to Philadelphia. The cockney accordingly went, but whether he ever came back is yet uncertain. On the other hand, our author talks of Asiatic shooting-grounds as he would of an English game preserve; includes the Himalaya, the Punjaub, and Ceylon in a breath; says that one may "run out" to the upper regions of India without trouble; and makes no more of knocking over elephants and tigers, than his Royal Highness Prince Albert did of killing tame stags, when he and other German princes shot down, according to Jeames Yellowplush,

"Some forty 'ead of sleek and hantlered deer
In Cobug where sich hanimals abound."

Mr. Dunlop introduces his readers to the various kinds of Himalayan game, by detailing his experience in a cross-

section of the hills, embracing about one hundred miles of territory in a direct line, but occupying a much larger space when the enormous ascents, descents, and circuits are estimated, from the slopes in the valley of the Dehra Doon to the table-lands of Thibet, beyond the line of eternal snows. The Dehra Doon valley is bounded north by the Himalaya, south by the Sewalik hills, and to the east and west by the Ganges and the Jumna, and is about forty miles long and sixteen broad. The Himalaya proper must not be considered a mere range of mighty snow-clad peaks, but as including the whole country between Cashmere and Cachar, and from the plains of India to those of Thibet. The lower hills are covered with dense jungle, in which occur many valuable trees. In the upper regions, the "ghauts," or passes over the snow-line, are closed for about eight months of the year, so that sportsmen who wish to enter Thibet must time their journey in the lower hills in order to arrive at the upper ones when the ghauts open in June; by doing which they will secure fine weather. The best months for shooting in the Doon are February, March, and April, the higher altitudes being thus gradually reached before the intense heats set in. In the hill regions everything must be carried by men, twenty cooleys sufficing for each sportsman and his two servants, each cooley bearing a load of fifty pounds, and being paid twelve shillings a month. Stores for six months' wanderings cost about one hundred dollars, and, all things included, hill-shooting may be indulged in for one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month. In the section which Mr. Dunlop traversed, he enumerates upward of seventy different species of game, — beasts and birds, — from elephants to snow partridges. He may have bagged specimens of all, though he does not say so; but he manifestly handles the rifle much better than the pen.

Elephant-hunting claims a good share of our author's book. Whatever the hunter may seek in beating game in the Dehra Doon valley, he is sure to notice strange pathways, not only in the level lands, but traced hither and thither along the sides of ravines and by the edges of precipices. These pathways are the tracks of wild elephants. They roam about in Indian file, making a path about four feet wide on plain land. One

can judge by the appearance of the neighboring trees whether the herd has been hurried or not. If they have been alarmed, the trees are untouched ; but if the troop were merely sauntering along on a pleasure excursion, broken and stripped branches denote their leisure. When the hour of their mid-day rest arrives, the main track breaks off into numerous others, as each one of the herd chooses his own spot, while all are ready to reunite at any signal of danger. A single note of alarm is sufficient to bring the troop together, when every proboscis is raised high in the air to " snuff the tainted gale."

Mr. Dunlop, tracking elephants by himself or attended only by his cooleys, gives a very different account of their gentleness, both tame and wild, from that which Sir Emerson Tennent presents of the same huge game in Ceylon. Tennent thinks that both wild and trained beasts display extraordinary patience and submission, while Mr. Dunlop says that, in his experience, wild elephants are at all times formidable foes, even when caught, and that even tame ones are more capricious than they have been hitherto supposed. The speed of elephants, according to his account, is also a new fact to us. We had supposed that this " huge earth-shaking beast," judging of him in menageries or in street-shows, must be a person " of eminent gravity," not easily put into a jog-trot. But he says, " No runner, however fast, could hope to escape an elephant by speed of foot, as they will, for two or three hundred yards, keep a horse at a sharp trot."

Our author, also, in his rough, off-hand, and unscientific way, distinguishes the elephants of the Doon valley from the African, and says that those of Ceylon are also another variety, the Doon beasts having all the most valued hunting or riding " points," a high-arched back and bowed legs, while the slope of the forehead and trunk is nearly perpendicular, instead of the swinish, receding frontal development of the Assamese type. Their color is also very dark ; but this peculiarity of skin must be taken with certain allowances ; for all wild elephants appear of much lighter color than tame ones, the savages keeping themselves covered with mud, which when dry is of a blue or yellow hue, as a protection against flies, to whose stings they are extremely sensitive.

The first elephant killed by Dunlop was a large female, which he managed to get within four paces of before he fired. He found, even at this short distance, that his four-ounce rifle-ball, tipped with steel, and driven with six drachms of powder, — about four ordinary charges, — only just reached the brain. The thinnest parts of the skull must always be chosen, or the ball has no effect. Other elephants which he hit appeared stunned for a moment or two, and then walked on with bland composure. Anxious to preserve the skin of the first victim, he could get no native tamer to cure it, or any portion of it, for the sufficient Oriental reason that their "bap dada" fathers and grandfathers had never done so. He vowed, therefore, to kill no more females, or tuskless males, unless they were known by the natives to be "khunnees," or murderers, as those are called that have killed human beings. The leading male elephant, who owns the whole herd, is a Mormon in his views of marriage, while he permits no interference with those to whom he is "sealed" for the time being. Consequently, a number of disappointed bachelor elephants frequently linger near the troop in an unhappy frame of mind, and are very apt, especially when "*must*" or drunk with love, to kill all they can find. One animal, known as "Gunesh," which had been tamed and was in the government service, killed its keeper and fled to the jungle. For fifteen years afterward he averaged one victim a year, being known by the brass rings around his sawed tusks, and by part of his chain, which he still dragged with him. After one of his murders a troop of three hundred Simooree Ghorkas was sent out to hunt him down, but failed to find him, as he had hundreds of miles of forest and jungle to roam over. Such rogue elephants have been known, in mere wanton cruelty, to chase and kill the government letter-carriers without the least provocation. While Mr. Dunlop was at Mussouree, a male elephant, belonging to the commissariat, which had been fractious for some days, was taken out by its mahout to water at a watercourse at which natives filled their pitchers. In mere sport, apparently, he suddenly seized an old woman and crushed her to death beneath his feet, while he went on drinking and shaking his ears as if nothing had happened.

The news of this mishap was communicated to Mr. Dunlop by one of his native servants, who prided himself upon his English, as follows: "Honored Sir, this morning the elephant of Major R——, by sudden motion of snout and foot, kill one old woman. Instant fear fall on the inhabitants."

The Doon trappers practise two modes of catching wild elephants, — one of them by digging pitfalls, the other by the aid of their tamed kinsfolk. When the pit mode is chosen, several trenches, about twenty feet square and from fifteen to twenty deep, are dug on a line of pathway from the jungle to some watercourse. These are covered with branches and grass so carefully that a human being would be deceived; but the elephants are so wary, that, if in the least suspicious, they test the surrounding earth step by step, and lift off the grass and branches. After the animal once tumbles in, the next thing is to get him out; and this can hardly be accomplished without the aid of trained elephants. Even then the entrapped have often to be starved into submission; and the full-grown males are so ferocious, that they are sometimes destroyed. It is very singular, as Mr. Dunlop remarks, — we have not seen it stated elsewhere, — how utterly ignorant a newly-caught wild elephant appears to be of any human being, provided only that he is mounted on a tame beast. The captive will rush furiously at a man as far as his ropes will allow him, if the man is on foot; but the same person, mounted on a tame elephant's neck, will be allowed, without trouble, to fasten ropes around the prisoner's head or foot. This is, therefore, found to be the best way by far of securing the huge game. The sagacity of the decoy elephant is almost incredible; the female, especially, practising all those endearing and persuasive methods so fatal to the male sex, whether brute or human. She sidles up to the male monster, ogles him and plays pretty pranks until he is attracted by her, when she twines her trunk within his, and perhaps puts the end of it into his mouth, which is the style of kissing with these creatures. So completely wheedled is the fellow, that she begins tying his legs without his notice; and it is only when fairly bound that he finds how imbecile he has become. These females will not only tie the figure 8 around a victim's feet, but are taught to knot the

end of the rope so that it will not give way. When he has been thus secured, no food is given to the captive for several days. He then becomes subdued in spirit, and will permit the approaches of a native, who offers food while he eases the ropes. Gradually subduing him, this native becomes his mahout or driver, and the beast is obedient to his will. He sits always perched on the elephant's neck, directing him by command, — some dozen or fifteen words sufficing for elephant-drill; but he too often uses his "ankus" or heavy iron spike in beating the noble animal about the ears. These mahouts in the Himalaya region are the lowest class of Mussulmen, chewing bhang and smoking opium until they become more brutal than the beasts they master.

In nearly all the stream-beds of the jungle are found quicksands, from which, when the elephants have once sunk in, it is very difficult to release them. As soon as they are thus bogged, all hands render assistance in removing the howdah, and in cutting off branches of trees. These are handed to the beast, who tramples them under his feet as fast as possible, making thus a firm causeway for his huge weight, and soon regaining the bank. But if only grass is around, he gradually sinks, after desperate efforts to escape, until the last seen of him is the end of his trunk catching for breath, and in a moment more he is suffocated.

As elephants in herds, or even singly, do immense damage to the rice plantations, the natives are rejoiced to have any hunters pursue them. They commit their depredations at night, when it is of course much more difficult to shoot them, for, as they themselves see as well in darkness as in daylight, they often perceive the sportsman, and make off before he can have a fair shot at them. The Asiatic species, according to Mr. Dunlop, has small tusks when compared with the African, and it is rare to find more than two or three tuskers in a day's march. Twice the circumference of the elephant's fore foot gives, singularly enough, the exact height of the animal, so that the hunter can judge of his quarry's size by an examination of his trail.

But formidable foe as the wild elephant is, he is almost harmless in comparison with the tiger. Seated at night by

his cheerful camp fire, or abroad in the forest, the hunter is frequently startled by a moan reverberating along the ground. It is more like a deep audible sigh than a roar, but loud enough to disturb the native attendants, who forthwith give over their mirthful chatter to narrate in whispers a thousand frightful experiences of the deadliest foe of the jungle. One morning Mr. Dunlop started out for a hunt with a friend, and, that our readers may remember the exact ground, we quote that it was adjacent to "our camp near Inbrawalla, on the banks of the Sooswa, intending to shoot along the Dooeewalla, Lucheewalla, and Hurrawalla plains to Dehra." They had seven elephants as coursers. They soon came across the dead body of a bullock, partly devoured, and evidently just left. The elephants, forming a line, began beating along the course of a dry trench running through the jungle. Suddenly, about sixty yards from the party, an animal rose up and stood still for an instant. Dunlop says, it is wonderful, except with the most practised sportsman, how seldom wild animals are instantly recognized, and in this instance one of the natives pronounced the beast a calf, although it was a full-grown tigress. The seven elephants instantly made chase, going as fast as a rapidly-trotting horse could, the tigress leading through an open piece of land, charging through a herd of cattle, scattering it and the herdsmen like sheep, and entering another patch of jungle, prepared for a spring. Two balls, in rapid succession, put an end to her. The Ghoorkas, disembowelling the brute, collected the fat as a specific against rheumatism, and at night, while they were skinning the body, some Chinese attached to a government tea plantation came in and begged for the bones and carcass, ascribing wonderful virtues to every part of the tiger. In the Chinese materia medica the tiger plays a very important part. Some years ago, a high Chinese officer applied for relief at the missionary hospital, after vainly trying the art of native physicians. His illness had commenced with a slight cold, for which he had been dosed with "tigers' bones and hartshorn." The Singapore tigers may perhaps be disposed to treat the Chinese with poetic justice, as they are said to prefer the flavor of Chinamen to any other human meat.

The strength of the animal is enormous. One blow from its

paw will strike down a bullock and crush its ribs in. Then, seizing the body in its jaws, as a cat seizes a mouse, it straightens itself to its full height, and walks off with its prey with the utmost ease. With all its strength and fury, the tiger is still a cowardly, sneaking beast, stealing cat-like in secret on its foe, but in some rare instances attacking him with open ferocity. The great fair at Hurdwar, situated in the south-east corner of the Doon valley, at the point where the mighty Ganges rushes to the plains, taking leave of the hills "through the sandstone portals of the Sewalik range," yearly attracts vast multitudes. This immense gathering may be compared with the Mecca pilgrimage, and as a notice of it is new to us, and doubtless will be so to most of our readers, we quote Mr. Dunlop's description.

"Every year, in the beginning of April, thousands of Hindoo pilgrims, Punjaubee Sikhs, Buddhists from Thibet, etc. come to worship; while merchants from Bengal and Orissa, Affghanistan and Persia, embrace the opportunity of the religious gathering to effect commercial exchanges. Every eleventh year, called the Koom year, the number who visit the place are much in excess of the annual crowd, — the merit of bathing being increased by some system of fanatical progression; and on the occasion I allude to, the crowds at the fair were supposed, by officials accustomed to attend the assembly, to have numbered from two to three millions. A tumult in the midst of so mighty a multitude, or any confusion in the approaches to the principal bathing ghâts, would cause enormous loss of life: and the magisterial officials of Saharunpore were nearly all present throughout the fair, to maintain order, punish theft, and effect not only the restoration of considerable stray property, but also numerous stray members of family-parties, who get lost in such a sea of human beings. And as the pilgrims were encamped in thousands on the Doon side of Hurdwar, I attended the fair as Superintendent of the Hill District, with my assistant and the usual troop of native officials. Our tents were pitched under some mango-trees, with the Sewalik hills and jungle to the rear, but endless numbers of reed thatches and ragged canvas in front; the air being so poisoned by the dense crowd, and the impossibility of enforcing conservancy arrangements, as to be quite sickening."

Just after breakfast, on the second day of the party's arrival, a native rushed into their camp, reporting that in a wheat-field not far off a tiger had stricken down a grass-cutter, although

surrounded by immense numbers of people. With a few visitors and his assistants, seven persons in all, Mr. Dunlop set off in pursuit of the tiger, the hunters being mounted on three *pad* or cart-horse elephants, — very different from the *shikaree* or hunting elephants, as these "pads" are certain to run at the least sign of danger. Three hundred yards from the encampment the grass-cutter was found, with his skull broken, and just dying. Sixty feet beyond was a clump of bushes in the middle of a wheat-field, and in this lair the tiger had crouched to spring on his victim, retiring to it when scared by the shrieks of the lookers-on. Thousands of pilgrims, seeing the elephants coming, hedged the tiger in a circle, and the beast, finding no loophole of escape, rushed forthwith from the bushes. The "pads," screaming with fear, turned face about, and their riders were more in danger of shooting one another than their quarry. A ball in the tiger's fore foot sent him back to cover, and then the elephants, refusing point-blank to beat the bushes in line, were driven together like sheep by the mahouts. Again the brute charged furiously, when several balls struck him, bringing him on his haunches; but he continued to make fight until some of the hunters dismounted, one of the elephants having run off in a panic, in spite of incessant blows from his driver's iron spike. The tiger proved to be a male, of the largest size, who would have rewarded the curiosity of the runaway had he stopped to look at him; but when an elephant canters in the wrong way, he looks out only for number one. If he crashes through a wood, guns and everything else may be knocked out of the howdah; and the best course for his rider is to cling hold of the first branch convenient, let his "steed of matchless speed" slide beneath him, and then swing himself to the ground.

Mr. Dunlop thinks that no amount of coolness on the part of a solitary hunter, if on foot and armed only with an ordinary rifle, can insure his life against the tiger. But modern science is more than a match for the fiercest brute, as Jacob's or Metford's rifle-shells burst in the body, and at once paralyze him. Our author, also, noticing some of the native peculiarities, cautions hunters who wish to preserve tiger-skins intact to take especial care of the claws and whiskers; for the whiskers are

apt to be singed off at once, from some superstitious motive, as the last insult to the deceased, while the claws are prized as charms, and strung into armlets.

At the risk of disappointing some of our sporting readers, who wish details on hog-hunting, deer-stalking, and bird-shooting in the Himalaya, we must turn away from Mr. Dunlop's prolix and tedious descriptions of these to his notices of "hill peculiarities" among the natives. The history of the human race is infinitely more interesting than the genealogy of brutes, and social customs better reward inquiry than animal traits.

Polyandry prevails among the hill districts, though not in all of them. Almost universal in the Jounsar and Bawur purgomnahs, it is as little known in the Gurhwal and Kumaon hills, and in the Simla superintendency. In Jounsar, when the eldest brother marries, his wife is equally the wife of all his younger brothers. If much difference exists in the ages of a family of brothers, say six in number, the three elder take one wife, and when the younger come of age they also take another; but the two wives are common to the whole party. This disgusting and horrible custom makes polygamy almost blameless in comparison. Mr. Dunlop remarks, that where polyandry exists there are many more male than female children, — in one single village four hundred boys to one hundred and twenty girls. On the other hand, in the Gurhwal hills, where polygamy prevails, there is a surplus of female children.

The "Bargees," or dancing people, both male and female, are spoken of. They form a numerous class, without homes or lands, in short, a kind of gypsies, but frequenting the temples in all places. Their dancing is tame and unmeaning, their music of the rudest kind, and the principal purpose of the institution seems to be to furnish female children for the use of the priests, and numberless fat, lazy mendicant friars, who trudge about from post to pillar as they do in Europe.

"The physical character of the country is a bar to ordinary agricultural pursuits on any but the scanty scale already monopolized by natives, and no mere laborer could compete against their prices. No doubt a system of military settlement, the localization of a corps of European riflemen with their wives and children, might be effected by

liberal government assistance; but its success in a pecuniary point of view, whether with reference to the men themselves or their masters, would be problematical. There is however an endless field for English enterprise in the cultivation of tea, and in trade with Thibet and Central Asia."

We hope that some other traveller better fitted to describe the vast field that Mr. Dunlop has traversed will soon succeed him.

ART. XII. — *Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. Susceptæ. Accedit Catalogus Codicum nuper ex Oriente Petropolin Prelatorum, item Origenis Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis, partim nunc primum partim secundum atque emendatius edita, cum duabus Tabulis lapidi incisis.* Edidit AENOTH FRID. CONST. TISCHENDORF, Theol. et Phil. Dr., Paleog. Bibl. in Acad. Lips. Prof. Publ. Ord., etc. Lipsiae: F. A. Brockhaus. 1860. 4to. pp. 124.

PROF. TISCHENDORF has here published some of the most important results of his Oriental explorations. He gives a most interesting account of his reception of the Mount Sinai manuscript from the monks of St. Catherine's, who, though they had been prompted by him to its discovery in 1844, concealed from him its real nature, and even its location, until 1859.

"Librum, vel potius libri fragmenta, in cubiculum meum transtuli. Ibi demum quantum thesaurum manibus tenerem prorsus intellexi, deoque auctori tanti beneficii in ecclesiam inque me ipsum collati laudes et grates egi. Ipsam primam noctem transcribendæ Barnabæ Epistolæ impendi; quippe dormire nefas videbatur."

This Epistle of Barnabas, and the first part of the Shepherd of Hermas, exist in Greek in this manuscript alone, which contains the whole New Testament, disfigured by none of those gaps and breaks found in all other important manuscripts, and the Septuagint version, not only of all the books of our Old Testament after Esther (except part of Jeremiah, the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Amos, and Micah), but

also of most of the Apocrypha. We give the order of the books of the New Testament with a strictly literal translation of their titles: —

According to Maththew, According to Mark, According to Luke, According to John, To Romans, To Corinthians a, To Corinthians b, To Galatians, To Ephesians, To Philippians, To Colossians, To Thessalonians a, To Thessalonians b, To Hebrews, To Timothy a, To Timothy b, To Titus, To Philemon, Acts, Epistle of James, Epistle of Peter a, Of Peter b, Epistle of John a, Of John b, Of John c, Jude, Revelation of John (spelt ιωανου, not, as in the Gospels and the previous headings, and indeed the subscription, ιωαννου). The subscriptions are the same as the headings, except that we have Acts of Apostles, Of Peter a, Of John a. All else is omitted, even most commonly the Amen.

Tischendorf proves that this manuscript is at least as old as the fourth century. He thinks it the oldest Greek parchment extant. He calls it after the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, — the Latin and Greek having already been exhausted in the system of nomenclature, — the Codex Aleph, ℵ. We hope it will indeed begin a new and precious series.

As a specimen, the editor gives us a lithographed facsimile of the last page of Luke, written very evenly in large, full capital or uncial letters, without pauses or accents, the lines not divided into words, nor ending with any reference to the ending of syllables. We observe the corrections of the manuscript, eight thousand of which have been made at different periods, some as late as the twelfth century. We have, also, copies in common Greek type of twenty pages from various parts of the book. The Psalms and the other poetical books, except the Prophets, are written stichometrically, so as to show the parallelism, as in the versions of Dr. Noyes and other modern translators. There are, finally, six pages of selections from the new readings. It is difficult to judge of the nature and value of these. They will probably sustain most of the departures from the received text common to Griesbach and Tischendorf. They do not appear to agree with Tischendorf's peculiar readings as closely as has been supposed.

The Codex Aleph coincides most nearly with the next oldest

manuscript, the Vatican (marked B), yet differs widely both from that and from all others. Like most recent editions, it reads in 1 Timothy iii. 16, ὅς, *he who*, not ὁ, *which*, or (common text and version) θεός, *God*; and omits the last twelve verses of Mark, the accounts of the trial of the adulteress, and of the troubling by the angel of what it calls the pool of Bethzatha, the last clause of the Lord's Prayer, and all allusion to the three heavenly witnesses in 1 John v. 7, 8. Peculiar to the Codex Aleph is the omission of all idea of tri-unity from this last passage, which — instead of "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one: and there are three that bear record on earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one" — reads simply, "For there are three that bear record, the spirit, and the water, and the blood." This Codex also differs from the recent editions in retaining, in Acts xx. 28, "the Church of *God*"; in changing, in John i. 18, "only-begotten son" into "only-begotten God"; and in inserting the definite article in "*the* feast of the Jews," John v. 1; — both the change and the insertion being contrary to the received text. Like Lachmann and Stanley, it has in 1 Cor. vii. 34, "And he is divided; and the widow and the unmarried virgin care," &c. Peculiar to Codex Aleph are the omissions, Matt. xxvii. 45 (not, as printed, 25), of "over all the land"; and of "not" in 2 Cor. xii. 15; and the substitution of *Judæa* for *Galilee* in Mark i. 28. We suspect that the last two readings are — like that of ἡμισε for ἡμεῖς, 2 Cor. xiii. 6; "we" for "you," v. 7; τρυτου for τρίτου, 2 Cor. xii. 2; αυτων for αὐτόν, Gal. i. 2; and το πλυτος, Eph. i. 7 — unintentional. The Codex is full of abbreviations and Hebraisms, and recklessly violates the Greek laws of euphonic changes, especially by retaining ν before consonants.

The publication of this manuscript will be awaited with great interest. The Septuagint readings will be incorporated with Tischendorf's third edition of that version, now in press. In 1862, the thousandth year of the Russian empire, the entire manuscript, from the fragment of Chronicles to the fragment of Hermas, will be published at St. Petersburg, in the closest fac-simile which movable types can give, in four magnificent

quartos, adorned by lithographic plates from phototypes of twenty of its most important pages. This edition, the most splendid critical one ever published, will embrace three hundred copies, and the whole expense will be paid by Tischendorf's munificent patron, the Emperor Alexander II. "Nihil igitur exemplarium venale erit, sed omnia per totam Christi ecclesiam, ubicumque literis locus atque honos est, a clementissimo imperatore donabuntur." A less costly, but scarcely less valuable, reprint will also be published by Brockhaus, at Leipsic, in 1862 – 3, at a price made cheap by imperial bounty. This might seem a long delay, if we did not remember that after the Vatican Codex had been well known for three centuries, thirty years (1828 – 58) were required to publish it in a form which Tischendorf calls "vulgaris atque dissimillima nostræ editioni," which last we should despair of ever seeing, had we not full confidence in the executive powers of an editor whose multifarious and erudite volumes have been published with the amazing rapidity of James's novels.

Tischendorf has also enriched the library of St. Petersburg with the best collection of palimpsests in Europe, among them several of philological value, especially one of Euripides. To these may be added twenty uncial manuscripts, including several fragments of the sixth and seventh centuries, a very complete manuscript of the four Gospels, a lectionary, or liturgic arrangement, of the New Testament, and another of the Septuagint, all of the ninth century; fragments of Chrysostom's homilies, especially of that on the Decapitation of John the Baptist; also fragments of an imaginary dispute between Arius and Athanasius, professedly written by the latter, in which he attempts to prove the Divine personality of the Holy Spirit from Acts v. 3, 4; and, finally, some extracts from manuscripts of the fifth century. With these are mentioned eighteen minuscular or cursive manuscripts, two of them of the ninth century, — one either a new revision of the Septuagint, possibly Origen's, or a new translation from the Hebrew, possibly Theodotion's; the other a manuscript of Matthew and Mark, which is thought to have originally belonged to the same codex as the uncial manuscript of Luke and John, marked /\ in the Catalogue of Uncial Gospel Manu-

scripts in Tischendorf's seventh edition, and the last of the list. The two copyists were thus partners. One wrote Luke and John in the uncial, the other Matthew and Mark in the cursive character. The cursive manuscript is annotated with scholia, translating, for instance, "Raca" by "empty" and "Mammon" by "gold." Four of these scholia apparently refer to a Gospel of the Hebrews, as if to an authority for the text of Matthew. Thus, in Matthew iv. 5, the Gospel of the Hebrews (*τὸ Ἰουδαικόν*) has not "into the Holy City," but "into Jerusalem," and in xvi. 17, "son of John," instead of "Barjona." After xviii. 22 is inserted, "For even among the prophets who were anointed with the Holy Spirit was found the word of sin," and in xxvi. 74, "He began and cursed" is read for "He began to," &c. This must throw light on the question whether our Greek text of Matthew is a translation from a Hebrew original. Two manuscripts of the thirteenth century are on silk, and one of the fifteenth on paper. Add to these two very old manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, nine very ancient and rare Rabbinical works, a Greek and a Hieratic papyrus, some Egyptian antiquities, among them several pictures, and an astrolabe of which Tischendorf gives a lithographic plate, and some fifty Abyssinian, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Slavonic, Syrian, and Turkish manuscripts. About half of the volume before us is occupied with Origen's Scholia on Proverbs. Most purchasers of the book will, we fear, find that this addition increases its price more than its value. The work closes with the dedication by the monk Critobolos to Mohammed II. of his history of the Sultan's exploits, both history and historian being among Tischendorf's discoveries.

The typographical execution is unusually elegant and expensive, though not destitute of errata. We understand that some part, at least, of the Euripides palimpsest will soon follow.

Art. XIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — Jacobi a Voragine *Legenda Aurea, vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta.* Ad Optimorum Librorum Fidem recensuit Dr. Th. Graesse, Potentissimi Regis Saxoniæ Bibliothecarius. Editio secunda. Cum approbatione, etc. Lipsiæ. pp. 957.

We are by no means sure that those who have loved to pore over the rare old black-letter editions of this renowned work will give it a very hearty welcome when appearing in this every-day dress. We confess to a far better liking for it in its antique form. No romance of chivalry carries us farther away from the sights and sounds of our daily life, nor do we lend a more ready ear to any chronicler of the past, than when we yield ourselves to the guidance of this reverend story-teller, pass with him into that more than enchanted region of sacred fable and more sacred realities, and find ourselves awhile the companion of saints and confessors, martyrs and apostles. We would have the savor of antiquity also about our guide. The type and binding of centuries ago are only the fit garb of narratives so venerable. The modern reader, however, who is not familiar with the ancient volume, and who cares, as most of us do, more for the substance than for the form of what he learns, will be duly grateful to Dr. Graesse for having given to the world this curious work in so convenient and readable shape. Our only regret, in this regard, is that we have not yet seen the second volume, containing the promised notes and illustrations. The work admits of being illustrated by rare and curious learning; yet it hardly needs notes, so far as the meaning of the text is concerned, the style being usually simple, and the subjects seldom hard to be understood. The language, while it is, in divers respects, new to the mere classical scholar, and presents some strange things to one familiar with the earlier Latin Fathers, offers no very great difficulties to either, and will doubtless prove interesting to readers of both classes, as being no unfair specimen of mediæval Latinity. It is, as some of our readers may need to be informed, a production of the thirteenth century. Its author was a churchman of high repute in his own day, and one who fairly earned, as his memory received, the benedictions of many succeeding generations. He was a native, as the title of the book shows, of Voragine, sometimes called Vorrazze, a town of the Riviera, between Savona and Genoa, — a picturesque region, fit nurse of a credulous fancy. He was made Archbishop of Genoa by Pope Nicholas IV., in 1292, and held high rank also in the then recently established

order of Dominican monks. Besides this volume of legends he wrote a History of Genoa, which may be found in Muratori, and some volumes of sermons. The speedy and world-wide celebrity this work obtained may be inferred from the fact that it is one of the first that was issued from the press after the discovery of the art of printing, — the earliest edition of it bearing date at Cologne, 1470.

The contents of the volume fully justify its rapid and extended reputation. Translated into all the principal languages of Europe, it was eagerly read by men of all classes, and gave equal delight to all. It combined the attractiveness of the simplest faith and the wildest play of imagination; the Scriptures of Truth and the Arabian Nights; the highest forms of religious thought, and the most grotesque aspects of the rudest life. When we apply to its pages the tests of historical criticism, a large part of its narrative seems no better than an idle tale. Yet if we can transfer ourselves to its author's time, we shall cease to wonder at the mighty sway it exercised for ages over belief and fancy.

To us, apart from its interest as a book of legends, this work is of much value in a psychological point of view, as showing what fed the faith and hope of so many multitudes of devout men for so many generations. It is, too, the novel of the Middle Age, the form in which its imaginative literature spontaneously shaped itself; for the whole is a native outgrowth of the popular mind, and no separate invention of De Voragine. It is also of value, as showing how legends were formed; how from some slight element of fact gradually was developed a huge congeries of fiction; how simple-minded and earnest-hearted men clung to these stories as to Gospel truth, and had their whole internal life moulded and fashioned by them.

---

2. — *Beati* Lanfranci *Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Opera, quæ supersunt omnia, nunc primum in Anglia e Codicibus Manuscriptis auctius et emendatius edidit* J. A. Giles, LL. D., Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter, et Coll. Corp. Chr. Oxoniensis olim Socius. Oxonii: Apud Parker necnon apud Bibliopolas omnes. 1844. 8vo. pp. 410, 314.

The volumes of which the title is given above are of very considerable interest for the student of history, as well as for the theologian; and we notice them at this distance from the time of their publication, because we feel well assured that they are not so well known as the peculiar character and importance of their contents should have made them. Such collections, of course, can never be popular; yet there

are few, we think, capable of appreciating their worth, who will not wish to give some time to the study of them, and anticipate a full reward for the labor so bestowed. Our classical students, even, can hardly fail to welcome the writings of one who stood at the head of the Latinists of his day, and to find an abundant source of pleasure and information in the comparison of his Latinity with that of Cicero and Seneca, or with that of St. Jerome and the early Fathers. To the theologian they furnish an original account of some at least of the ecclesiastical doctrines and practices held most firmly in the author's time, and detailed discussions of them by one of the ablest controversialist writers of the eleventh century, who contributed by his writings more than any other man of his generation, perhaps of the whole mediæval period, to secure the sanction of the Church to the dogma of Transubstantiation. The simple lover of historical research must regard with more than ordinary interest the thoughts and deeds of one who occupied a place of so vast influence as to the future destinies of England, in an hour when those destinies received a new direction; and in whose mind were conceived, and by whose vigorous hand were put in combination and movement, the elements of those institutions, partly in State, mainly in the Church, under which — their power and activity having not yet ceased — that great people has developed a life so mighty and unprecedented. He was the trusted counsellor of the first Norman king of England. An Italian by birth, trained to new thoughts by long residence in France, he brought the subtile mind of his birth-land, refined by the use of French policy, to his new home, and into contact with the clear, hard sense of the English; and ruled in that realm with more than the skill of a native, and with more success than a foreigner might have hoped for. In an age of change, when new principles were to come in and old habits must go out, when power and policy, interest and inclination, were all on the side of him who was to work so great a transformation, he was called on to shape the customs, settle the methods, and establish the powers of the English Church, and — a still harder task — so to frame and regulate the institutions of the Church that they might conform to and sustain the altered constitution of the State. Surely, whatever vigor of intellect and energy of purpose were displayed by William in reducing the stubborn temper of the Saxon to acquiescence under Norman supremacy, no less was demanded in one who must displace an old hierarchy, long and deeply established in the affection of the people, and mainly form anew the entire internal economy of their religious sentiments and worship, as did Lanfranc.

This remarkable man was a native of Lombardy, of a senatorial family, and fully taught in all the learning of the universities of that

country. Though bred to the bar, he seems to have preferred the study of literature and philosophy, and first rose to distinction as a lecturer on such branches at Avranches, in Normandy. Led, somewhat strangely as the tradition is, to the Church, he transferred his school to the little monastery of Bec, in the same province, to which his reputation attracted pupils in crowds from every quarter. Here his singular merits were found out by Duke William, certainly no mean judge of character, who soon removed him to the newly founded monastery of St. Stephen at Caen; and in 1070, when his mastery of England was made sure, William, now king, promoted him to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He had already done good service, and gained an excellent reputation at Rome, had won no ordinary respect throughout Europe by his controversy with Berengarius, had declined so high a preferment as the archiepiscopal chair of Rouen, and entered on the duties of his station in England with advantages of name and learning and manifold experience of the world such as few men have ever brought to the functions of such an office. How wisely and how well he discharged those duties; how at his bidding the secular clergy yielded up their place and influence to monks; how he purged the calendar of those saints of English birth whom the Saxons had revered with a peculiar worship and cherished as the pledges of their separate nationality; how he thoroughly reformed their service-books, and sternly shut out everything that bore traces of insular origin, and that did not conform to the usages of Rome; how he made the force of his will and superior wisdom felt everywhere, in the orders of the State no less than in the councils of the Church, and in the nineteen years of his episcopate laid the foundations of an ecclesiastical system which bore the traces of his hand for ages, — a system fit for St. Anselm to build up higher, and which even Puritan iconoclasm could not utterly destroy; — all this, though such a story might well detain us long, we have now no room to tell.

The only written memorials of Lanfranc, direct and authentic evidences of his greatness, that have come down to our time, are contained in these volumes, which we owe to the learned industry of Dr. Giles; and of them our readers, we are sure, will thank us for a brief account. At the opening of the first volume we have sixty-six letters, most of them written to or by Lanfranc. They are the relics of what must have been an extensive correspondence of the Archbishop, chiefly with Popes and personages of high ecclesiastical dignity. They serve to illustrate the characters of their several writers, and the peculiarities of those times; though some of them are of little interest, except as remains of a period now so long past. Among them is the famous reply

of William the Conqueror to Gregory, (singularly enough, the address of the former Pope's letter to him is "Alexander Willelmo *Conquæstori*,") declining to pay homage to him for his kingdom.

One of the most valuable relics of those times is Lanfranc's treatise "Pro Ordine S. Benedicti." It is a collection of rules, full and minute, for the government of the Benedictine monks in England. The duties of every day and of every office are distinctly set forth in great detail. To those who are curious in regard to mediæval monasticism we know of no work of so much interest and value as this. They may gain from it clear conceptions of the every-day life and doings of that remarkable body of men, and form some notion of their formidable influence on the social condition of that and the following ages.

Appended to this volume are an historical sketch, quite extended, of the monastery at Bec (Chronicon Beccense), where Lanfranc spent many years; the lives of the early abbots of that institution, including, of course, that of Lanfranc, by Gilbert and Milo Crispin; a history of the noble family of the Crispins; and a number of ecclesiastical charters and similar documents, which throw light upon the contents of the body of the volume, and upon the life and character of Lanfranc.

The second volume contains his theological and moral works. It opens with commentaries on all the Epistles of St. Paul. They have hardly any resemblance to what bears that name in these days, and are rather a collection of *postils*, or brief explanations of detached words and phrases, than a continuous interpretation. Many of these explanations show great acuteness and a devout temper; yet, except as indicating the opinions of that day, they are of little use to us. The commentaries are followed by Lanfranc's celebrated treatise on Transubstantiation, entitled "Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini nostri adversus Berengarium." It was probably written in 1080. Since the time of Paschasius Radbert, and Ratramnus of Corbey, about the middle of the ninth century, the true notion of the Eucharist had been a subject of no little controversy. Berengarius, an old friend of Lanfranc, had maintained, by lectures and writings, its purely symbolical character, and this epistle of Lanfranc is an attempt to refute the reasonings of Berengarius, and to establish the doctrine of a true conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The doctrine is stated by him with a precision and clearness that may well satisfy the most strenuous adherents of the Council of Trent. The argument on both sides rests very much on authority, — on the interpretation of passages of the Latin Fathers, — and in its whole scope it is conducted by Lanfranc with strict regard to the forms of logic, and with much subtilty in the use of language, yet sometimes with a bitterness of expres-

sion, which, however common then, and on such themes, befits neither the sacredness of the subject nor his own high character and rank. This work materially aided Hildebrand in establishing Transubstantiation as the doctrine of the Church, and has furnished many valuable arguments to those who have since upheld it.

Besides two or three unimportant tracts, there remains only a singular work, called "Elucidarium, sive Dialogus de Summa Totius Christianæ Theologiæ." It consists of a series of dialogues, apparently between a teacher and a pupil, in which obscure points and puzzling questions in metaphysical theology are stated, and explained. The discussions are arranged with some regard to method, and many of them are very ingenious, if not always satisfactory. Among the topics are predestination, the origin of evil, the efficacy of the sacraments, the orders of angels, and the like.

The account we have given of his writings may show that the great influence of Lanfranc on his own and later ages was not due chiefly to his high position in the Church. He was, in fact, hardly more eminent as a churchman than as a statesman. In the absence of the Conqueror, he administered the laws and government of England; and in every capacity, as scholar, author, politician, and divine, he exhibited the sound sense, rare tact, and singular ability, that gained for him a memory which, after eight hundred years, men have thought fit to revive and perpetuate.

3.—*The Bench and Bar of Georgia: Memoirs and Sketches. With an Appendix, containing a Court Roll from* 1790 *to* 1857, *&c.* By Stephen F. Miller. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 483, 454.

Of the thirty-three persons whose lives are sketched in these volumes, the fame of the greater number cannot have extended, during their lifetime, far beyond the limits of their State, and few without that precinct, who had no personal knowledge of them, can be expected to take much interest in this record of their history. In the account which Mr. Miller has given of their careers and characters, we do not find those elements of rare manliness and romantic interest which would induce us to commend it, as of any peculiar value, to the notice of our readers. Nor yet, in the manner in which these biographies are prepared, do we find any compensation for the very moderate share of interest which belongs to the subjects of them; and we fear that the style of their presentation will not contribute very much to enlarge or perpetuate their fame. We close the book with the feeling that we

have been made acquainted with men worthy and excellent, the most of them, as members of society, and raised by their professional attainments or energy of spirit above the level of the community in which they dwelt, yet hardly possessed of such superior genius, or salient traits, or special attractiveness of character, as to give them a permanent place in our memory. To those who knew them when living, or now fill the places they have left, these memorials may have a far different interest. Yet even they have a right to complain that the biographer has shown but little skill in setting forth the virtues of their friends. Indeed, we have never read a series of biographical sketches so deficient in clearness and discrimination, so full of irrelevant matter, so ill-compacted and carelessly compiled. A single instance may illustrate a part of what we mean. In a memoir of Duncan G. Campbell, — the father of Mr. Justice Campbell of the Supreme Court of the United States, — less than three pages are occupied by the account of his life, while, as he happened to have been appointed by President Monroe one of two commissioners "to form a treaty with the Creek Indians for the sale of their lands in Georgia and Alabama," not less than eighteen pages are filled with an abstract of the public documents of the State of Georgia relative to the famous controversy between that State, the Creek Indians, and the United States, in which Governor Troup figured so largely, though Mr. Campbell had no earthly connection with a single document of them all.

Among the subjects are some names which have a national reputation. The lives of such men as William H. Crawford, Berrien, Forsyth, and Richard H. Wilde, have an interest for all their countrymen; and though Mr. Miller rises somewhat in his efforts to do them justice, we cannot but regret that they have not found a more competent biographer.

---

4. — *The Life of Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy, F. R. S., D. C. L.* By his Son, MARTIN ARCHER SHEE, of the Middle Temple, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xiv. and 443, 389.

THE late Sir Martin Archer Shee was a man of a strong and self-relying character; and by his own unremitting exertions he raised himself to eminence in his profession, and to a position of much personal and official influence. As a portrait-painter he was inferior to none of his contemporaries except Sir Thomas Lawrence; as President of the Royal Academy he discharged the various and important duties devolv-

ing on him with signal ability; and he was, beside, an eloquent and effective speaker, and a writer, both in prose and verse, of some reputation. For many years before his death his social and official rank brought him in contact with some of the most distinguished men of the day; and, through the circumstances in which he was then placed, his life became in a great degree identified with the history of British art. His youth was clouded by frequent and heavy sorrows. He was born in Dublin, in December, 1769, of an ancient but decayed family, which claims, like most Irish families, to be derived from one of the early kings of Ireland. Before he was two years old his mother died; and he was only fourteen when his father, who had been blind for many years, also died. Consequently, he received very little parental instruction, and was early thrown on his own resources. While a mere child he left his aunt's house, because he thought that he was regarded as a burden, and resolved to gain a livelihood for himself as a painter. For several years he practised the art in the Irish capital, with a success remarkable for one so young as he then was, and with a growing reputation. At length, encouraged by the advice of his friends, he determined to seek a more ample field for the exercise of his talents, and when he was in his nineteenth year he repaired to London. Here he made his way more slowly, but still with a perceptible advance; and in November, 1798, he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy. In a little more than a year after receiving this recognition of his rank as a painter, he was made a member of that body; and in January, 1830, on the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence, he was chosen to the Presidency. He had held this office only a short time when he was compelled to take the principal part in defence of the Academy, from the repeated attacks made on it in Parliament and before the Parliamentary Committee on Fine Arts. To the prosperous issue of this memorable and long protracted contest he contributed in no small degree by his zeal and energy; and his administration forms one of the most important chapters in the history of the Academy. Early in 1846, however, his declining health induced him to resign the chair which he had filled with so much ability; but he subsequently withdrew his resignation, at the written request of all the members and associates, who thus testified their sense of his valuable services. Though his physical condition was such as to render him incapable of performing his official duties, he continued in the Presidency until his death, which occurred in August, 1850, in his eighty-first year.

The Life of such a man could scarcely be written in a manner which should render it entirely devoid of interest; for it appeals at once to the sympathies of every reader. The personal history of a poor and

comparatively friendless orphan, who courageously encounters the evils of adverse fortune, and triumphs over the difficulties by which he is surrounded, needs little rhetorical skill on the part of the writer to insure for it a large popularity. But the author of the memoir before us possesses few of the higher qualities of a biographer; and his Life of his father affords only one more proof that filial affection is not the most important requisite for the performance of such a task. The work contains, indeed, much material which might have been wrought into a very attractive narrative; but it is spread over a dreary waste of trivial details and commonplace remarks. In a word, Mr. Shee's memoir may be characterized as tedious and prolix, while his estimate of his father's abilities is much too high, and his tone is often that of a strong partisan. Instead of bringing out in sharp and clear outline the manly traits which render Sir Martin's example full of instruction, it leaves on the mind of the reader only a vague impression of them. An adequate account of his life and character still remains to be written.

5.—*The Jacobite Songs and Ballads of Scotland, from* 1688 *to* 1746. *With an Appendix of Modern Jacobite Songs.* Edited by CHARLES MACKAY, LL. D. London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 348.

NOWHERE is there a more striking instance of wrong-headed loyalty than is afforded by the history of the Scotch Jacobites; and nowhere has this sentiment found a richer or more various poetical expression than in the songs and ballads through which they testified their devotion to the exiled Stuarts. These songs form, indeed, the most attractive part of the minstrelsy of Scotland, and every addition to their number is an acceptable contribution to poetical literature. Mr. Mackay has therefore rendered a real service to a large class of readers by the preparation of the little volume before us, though we wish he had done his work better. His volume comprises nearly a hundred and fifty songs, most of which were composed in the first half of the eighteenth century, beside an Appendix of more than twenty-five songs of the same character, but of a more recent date. In his collection are included all or nearly all of the specimens given by previous writers on the subject, and some which are not contained, we believe, in any similar work. Many of them are curious, and nearly all are interesting. Mr. Mackay is certainly entitled to the praise of diligence in bringing together so large a body of Jacobite poetry; but in other respects his editorial duties have been discharged in a very perfunctory

manner. His Introduction has little historical and no critical value; his notes are meagre and unsatisfactory; in many instances he has neglected to state the source from which he has taken his songs; and he has not furnished a Glossary, without which many of them are unintelligible. He has not given any statement of the comparative dates of different songs; nor has he printed the different readings of the same song. These defects greatly diminish the worth of his volume as a contribution to political and literary history, and leave the field still open for some more faithful editor.

---

6. — *Brief Biographies.* By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of "Self-Help," and "Life of George Stephenson." With Steel Portraits. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 517.

THIS volume comprises a collection of thirty-five biographical sketches, reprinted for the most part from English periodicals, and now brought together at the suggestion of the American publishers. They are in general mere portraits in outline, without any attempt at an elaborate delineation of character, and with few biographical details. But they exhibit a considerable degree of acquaintance with the topics discussed, and are characterized by the same qualities which mark Mr. Smiles's previous and more elaborate works. Among the subjects of the sketches are poets and inventors, scholars and statesmen, writers of fiction and historians, critics and men of science; and this wide range of subjects indicates at once the catholicity of the writer's taste, and the cause of his occasional failures to give a clear view of the lives and characters described. Few persons could treat such diverse topics with equal success as to all of them; and in the case of Mr. Smiles this difficulty is enhanced by the extreme brevity to which he has sometimes restricted himself. Thus many of his sketches do not extend beyond nine or ten pages, and the longest and best of them, the memoir of James Watt, covers but little more than fifty pages. With this qualification the volume is interesting and instructive. Its style, however, is sometimes careless and inelegant, indicating haste in the preparation of many of the papers, and on the whole it gives a much less favorable idea of Mr. Smiles's powers than we derive from his other works.

7.—1. *Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical.* By EDWARD N. KIRK, D. D. 12mo. pp. 225.

2. *The Missionary Sisters: a Memorial of Mrs. Seraphina Haynes Everett, and Mrs. Harriet Martha Hamlin, late Missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople.* By MRS. M. G. BENJAMIN. 12mo. pp. 335.

3. *Memoir of Mary Lundie Duncan: being Recollections of a Daughter.* By her Mother. 16mo. pp. 384.

4. *The Bible Hour; or, Scripture Lessons for the Little Ones at Home.* By the Author of "Our Pastor's Visits," "The Christian Year-Book," &c. 16mo. pp. 268.

5. *The World's Birthday.* A Book for the Young by PROFESSOR L. GAUSSEN, Geneva, Author of "It is Written," etc. 16mo. pp. 270.

6. *Ruined Cities of the East.* By the REV. DR. TWEEDIE. 16mo. pp. 193.

7. *The Morning Star: History of the Children's Missionary Vessel, and of the Marquesan and Micronesian Missions.* By MRS. JANE S. WARREN. 16mo. pp. 309.

8. *Jerusalem and its Environs; or, The Holy City as it Was and Is.* By the REV. W. R. TWEEDIE, D. D., Author of "Rivers and Lakes of the Bible," "Seed-Time and Harvest," "The Early Choice," &c., &c. 16mo. pp. 224.

9. *Annals of the Poor: Narratives of the Dairyman's Daughter, the Negro Servant, and the Young Cottager.* By the REV. LEGH RICHMOND, Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire. With a Life of the Author, by the REV. JOHN AYRE, A. M. 24mo. pp. 285.

10. *History of Christianity to the Time of Constantine.* With an Introduction, by REV. F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D., late Professor in Harvard University. 12mo. pp. 147.

11. *The Persian Flower: a Memoir of Judith Grant Perkins, of Oroomiah, Persia.* 24mo. pp. 204.

12. *Quench not the Spirit.* By REV. NEWMAN HALL, B. A. 16mo. pp. 64.

13. *Tales for My Children. The Way to be Happy; or, The Story of Willie, the Gardener Boy.— The Head or the Heart; or, "Knowledge puffeth up, Charity edifieth."— Trust in God; or, Jenny's Trials.* By CATHERINE D. BELL. 16mo. pp. 171. Boston: American Tract Society. 1860.

THE books named above — some of them new, others in a new issue — have all been put in circulation by the Tract Society which has this city for the centre of its operations, since we prepared our last

quarterly list of new publications. They are all of them handsomely printed; most of them appear in a very attractive form; and several of them are embellished with pictorial illustrations of superior excellence and beauty. They are such books as cannot fail of interesting numerous classes of readers. They are not obtrusively sectarian, though they are not without frequent recognition of the doctrines of that portion of the Christian Church under whose auspices they are published. Their direct aim is to impart elementary religious instruction, to hold forth examples of elevated piety, and to act upon the conscience and the will of their readers; their incidental purpose and tendency are to infuse with what appertains to our common Christianity the peculiar views of Christian doctrine of which the officers of the Society are representatives and advocates. While as to these views we dissent from them, we rejoice, for the cause of religion, in the judicious and skilful use of this instrumentality, and, so far as denominational interests are favorably affected thereby, it is a success fairly won by the outlay of enterprise, zeal, and industry. The same method is open to other denominations, and the manly and Christian course for them is to enter upon it with equal wisdom and vigor, instead of complaining of a vantage-ground legitimately gained. At the present day the popular press has a much wider and deeper influence than the living voice, and those who best understand its management, and are most assiduous in its use, hold the master-key to the general mind and heart.

The scope embraced by these publications is worthy of our emphatic notice and admiration. Here, in a single quarter, we have from the Society's press sermons by one of our most eminent divines, able treatises on Scriptural geography and archæology, biographies that have a surpassing charm for readers of every class, tracts that have been circulated for a long series of years with the most beneficent agency, similar productions that now first see the light, and books adapted to the religious needs of the nursery and the school-room. Thus every variety of taste is catered for, all ages and conditions are consulted, every avenue to the public attention occupied. It is impossible to over-estimate the worth of such a system of operations. The religious tract in its original form was of very narrow and doubtful utility. In its homely livery, of shape and type that distinguished it from every other publication, circulated with but little reference to conventional proprieties, thrust aggressively upon the unprepared and unwilling, and not infrequently rude and pugilistic in tone and temper, it was often received as a challenge rather than as a gift; and while the instances in which such missives accomplished their purpose were carefully sought out and set forth, there was probably a much larger number of cases in

which they produced irritation, awakened repugnancy, and strengthened opposition to the doctrines they taught. Far otherwise is the influence of such publications as we have now before us, taking their place quietly among the best literature of the day, winning acceptance by their beauty of form, and the intrinsic worth of their contents, sought as holiday presents, gracing the centre-table, and constituting the most ornamental portion of the child's or the poor man's library. It is a change in which every friend of religion must discern a most forceful means of usefulness, in the place of a method liable to serious objections and drawbacks.

Our limits will not permit us to criticise these books separately; but we must pause for a moment on the one which stands at the head of our list. Most of these sermons of Dr. Kirk are closely and exclusively "practical," and those that are "doctrinal" are devoted mainly to the illustration and defence of the author's own creed, not to the refutation, much less to the abuse, of those who believe differently. The only exception to this statement which we have encountered is a shrewd and felicitous collation of certain texts from the expositors of the form of naturalism now rife and rampant, with the recorded sayings of Jesus Christ. The discourses in this volume, taken together, deserve to be regarded as model *sermons*. We have heard and read many discourses which contained profounder thought, finer writing, deeper pathos, loftier eloquence, but hardly any that have so well fulfilled the conditions of efficiency which belong to the pulpit. They are simple in style, explicit in statement, affluent in familiar illustrations, and direct and earnest, as if the author wrote, not only with his hearers present to his thought, but with the solemn weight on his own mind of the truths and duties he is urging upon them. There is, therefore, no abstract discussion; but statement, argument, and appeal are blended as they would be in an animated conversation on similar themes. Dr. Kirk's style is indeed colloquial in its ease and animation, in the entire absence of the declamatory vein, and in perfect freedom from the artificial restraints of the pulpit. At the same time, he never lets himself down into what are termed in a bad sense *colloquialisms;* but his taste is always severely pure, and his diction in gravity and dignity corresponds to the vastness and loftiness of his themes.

---

8. — *Home Ballads and Poems.* By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 16mo. pp. 206.

As we have on former occasions expressed our critical judgment as to Whittier's rank among the poets of the day, and as many — perhaps

all — of these poems had appeared in some other form before they were brought together in this volume, we shall content ourselves with little more than the announcement of this new issue, — an announcement which we make with unfeigned pleasure. There is in fact nothing that we could say now, unless it were the intense reaffirmation of what we have already said. Of diction and rhythm Whittier certainly gains an increasing mastery year by year; while the humanity, equally bold and tender, the keen and discriminating sense of right, the love of freedom, the reverence for the true and noble, which alone can render the poet worthy of his mission, are deepened in him by the experience of life, and find stronger and more touching utterance in each successive collection of his poems.

---

9. — 1. *Guesses at Truth.* By Two Brothers. From the Fifth London Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 12mo. pp. 555.
2. *The Recreations of a Country Parson.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 442.

We connect these two volumes in one notice, because, though diverse in form and origin, they are inspired by a similar purpose, and are equally worthy of the popularity which they have enjoyed. Both are original and suggestive productions, not to be dismissed with a hasty glance or a hurried perusal, — books which set a man thinking, and are cherished companions whether at home or on a journey. "Guesses at Truth" was first published more than thirty-three years ago; but since that time it has received large additions, both by the introduction of new topics of remark and by the revision of the old articles. In its present form it is too well known to render any special account of its character and purpose necessary, and any criticism of its separate parts would be a work of supererogation. We need only say, that, although its style is often harsh and rough, it comprises one of the most attractive collections of fragmentary thoughts in our language, and that there is scarcely a page on which the reader will not find something to invite independent study and reflection. Literature and life, experience and aspiration, the actual and the ideal, alike furnish the topics of the book, and in reference to each the two brothers open many interesting lines of thought for the studious reader.

In respect to style these two books present a strong contrast. "The Recreations of a Country Parson" has a freshness and transparent simplicity of expression, and a liquid flow in its harmonious periods, which indicate a perfect mastery of the art, while its picturesque descriptions commend it at once to the lover of nature by their exquisite beauty

and their truthfulness. It opens with a delightful picture of the country parson's life, designed to serve in some measure as a Preface to the twelve essays which follow. These essays, we are there told, "are nothing more than that which they are called, a country clergyman's *Recreations*. My solid work, and my first thoughts," the writer adds, "are given to that which is the business and the happiness of my life. But these Essays have led me into a field which to myself was fresh and pleasant. And I have always returned from them with increased interest to graver themes and trains of thought." Among them are chapters on "The Art of putting Things; being Thoughts on Representation and Misrepresentation," concerning "Work and Play," "The Moral Influence of the Dwelling," "Hurry and Leisure," "The Worries of Life, and how to meet them," and "Concerning Growing Old." To the discussion of all his themes the writer brings a large familiarity with books and men, a genial philosophy, and a kindly spirit. The result is a book which seems likely to secure for itself a permanent place in this department of literature. Certainly nothing better of its kind has appeared within our recollection; and there have been few books of miscellaneous essays so admirable in both matter and manner.

---

10. — *The Life and Letters of Mrs. Emily C. Judson.* By A. C. KENDRICK, Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Rochester. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 426.

IT was a wonderful appointment of Providence, that Dr. Judson, than whom no missionary in modern times has dared or endured more bravely, should have married successively three women who stand in the foremost rank among Christian heroines. The unparalleled sufferings of the first Mrs. Judson, and the arduous apostolate exercised by the second, when the widow of the saintly Boardman, have become a part of the ecclesiastical history of our times. The third, though not called to such labors, perils, or hardships as fell to the lot of the others, manifested, on a less conspicuous stage, courage and fortitude fully equal to theirs. Her life was one protracted struggle. Born in penury, with surroundings unfavorable to mental culture, with a slender constitution, prematurely overburdened with cares for her poverty-stricken parents and family, often obliged to stave off utter destitution by exhausting toil, when she needed the retirement and comforts of the sick-chamber, — all the while conscious of powers that only craved development in order to place her honorably and usefully before the public, and of tastes and impulses that fitted her for intellectual pur-

suits alone, — she fought her way on with a truly masculine energy, yet with all the sensitiveness, delicacy, and reserve of a genuine woman; acquired at intervals and in fragments a highly finished education; grew, one could hardly say by what stages, into eminence as a writer both of verse and prose; and from what she deemed obscurity and neglect suddenly awoke to the knowledge that her pen was one of the recognized forces in the moral and religious world. She had just attained this position, when her writings attracted the notice of Dr. Judson (then in this country), who at once sought her acquaintance, asked her to be his wife, and took her with him on his return voyage to India. Her life there had at first all the usual trials and bereavements incident to her condition, and at a very early period it was hopelessly clouded over by the declining health, then by the perilous illness, then by the death of her husband. She returned to this country with a shattered constitution, and with the care of Dr. Judson's older children added to that of her own sole surviving child. Wasting rapidly with pulmonary consumption, she furnished Dr. Wayland with materials for his Memoir of her husband, busied herself in arrangements for the support and education of the children thrown upon her charge, conducted an extensive correspondence, was forced into a controversy with certain publishers who threatened to make the copyright of Dr. Wayland's Memoir useless to her family (for whose benefit it was designed) by the issue of a cheap and unauthorized memoir, and sank into her last sleep absolutely worn out in body by a career in which she had never known a resting-place or a moment of repose. While we have in Dr. Kendrick's narrative a detailed outline of her outward life, we have, for the most part in her own letters, a vivid portraiture of her spiritual nature, growing by what she suffered and overcame, enriched at every stage by her experience of trial and adversity, joyous and often jubilant except under the shadow of her one great grief, culminating with a more than earthly beauty as her last hour drew near. The volume is, in every respect, admirably compiled. The task was worthy of even Dr. Kendrick's distinguished reputation, and we are glad that he has given himself to it, mind and heart, and has produced a book honorable alike to the author and the subject.

---

11. — *A Forest Hymn.* By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. With Illustrations by JOHN A. HOWS. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1860. pp. 32.

WE suppose that we express an almost universal opinion, when we place this poem at the head of its class. Meditative devotion amidst

the sublimest aspects of nature has never found and can hardly find purer or loftier utterance. But until the appearance of the book now on our table, we had never thought of the special capacities of the Forest Hymn for artistical treatment. Yet no one can read it with this reference without being strongly impressed by the number and variety of external scenes and objects either directly described, cursorily named, or employed as metaphors, so that there are few of the single lines which would not be richly suggestive to an artist of genius. This book is a master-work in its kind. It consists of thirty-two leaves, each leaf containing a small portion of the poem — sometimes a few words, sometimes four or five lines — with an engraving on some theme derived from that portion. The engravings, of course, are principally of trees and forest scenery, each exquisitely true to nature, and each widely dissimilar from every other. In conception and execution these pictures merit superlative praise. The book can hardly be surpassed in beauty. All its details indicate the most delicate taste, and they are all in perfect harmony with the tone and character of the poem they illustrate.

---

12. — *Hours with the Mystics. A Contribution to the History of Religious Opinion.* By Robert Alfred Vaughan, B. A. Second Edition, revised and augmented by the Author. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1860. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 329, 339.

This work is cast in a series of imaginary dialogues between three friends, interspersed with essays supposed to be read at their successive meetings. It covers the entire ground from the early Oriental Mysticism and the Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian school to the pantheistic Mysticism of our own day. The historical notices are full and elaborate; the discussions impartial and appreciative. The germ of mysticism is traced in the introspective tendency of religious feeling in the purest and best minds. This tendency is followed in its divergent routes, as on the one hand the mystic absorbs into his soul the light and love that flow from Divine revelation, or on the other subordinates all teachings from without to his own fancied intuitions, and rejoices in a self-kindled fire. The former type nourishes spirits for heaven, and often for walks of patient, faithful, self-denying, loving duty on earth; while the latter runs into asceticism, lapses into Antinomianism, or becomes bewildered in the self-intoxication of Pantheism. Beneath all forms of mysticism our author recognizes the fundamental truth of the direct revelation of God to the soul of man, the immanence of the Divine spirit in the human spirit, the dependence of the religious life on

direct personal communion with Him from whom it flows and to whom it tends. The work is precious, not alone as a contribution to religious history, but still more as a treasury of calm, liberal, and devout thought on the highest subjects of speculation and reflection.

---

13. — *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical.* By HERBERT SPENCER, Author of "Social Statics," "The Principles of Psychology," and "Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 283.

THE idea which is evolved in this treatise is, that "complete living," being the ultimate object of life, must be the prime aim of education. Science is therefore the great desideratum. The mistakes in life are at first the results of ignorance; repeated, they grow into vicious habits, and deepen into vicious principles. Knowledge should therefore precede the formation of habits. In the prevalent systems of education, merely formal, technical, and instrumental branches of instruction hold the first place, — words ill understood instead of truths and laws. Accurate science is reserved till practical errors of all kinds have taken too deep root in the character to be eradicated thence when they are rejected by the understanding. In a healthful system, teaching by rote should be superseded by the direct presentation of truth. Instead of the provisional discipline of arbitrary rewards and punishments, which, as the child soon learns, has no intrinsic or permanent validity, the inherent tendencies and inevitable consequences of actions should be made obvious, and forced upon the consciousness in the very earliest stages of moral agency. In physical education our author regards excessive restraint and ascetic maxims as the chief sources of evil and danger. The natural appetite, denied its legitimate cravings, and held in check by some strict system of dietetics, seizes with eagerness on its occasional holiday indulgences, and lapses into a coarse animalism; whereas, left to itself, it would be its own moderator, and, never underfed, would not covet special occasions for excess and gluttony. We have no space to discuss this theory. It certainly is plausible, and, doubtless, as opposed to the corresponding error, has a germ of truth. The entire volume claims diligent study, and is replete with suggestions that intimately concern all parents and educators. The author is one of the great thinkers of the age; and, while we are not prepared at all points to accept his philosophy, we rejoice that his several works are to be given to the American public.

14. — *Hymns and Choirs: or, The Matter and the Manner of the Service of Song in the House of the Lord.* By AUSTIN PHELPS and EDWARDS A. PARK, Professors at Andover, and DANIEL L. FURBER, Pastor at Newton. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1860. 12mo. pp. 425.

PROFESSORS PHELPS and PARK, as the editors of the "Sabbath Hymn-Book," have had their thoughts specially directed to the whole subject of Christian Hymnology, and in the first and second chapters of the volume before us — written by those gentlemen respectively — we have the matured results of their thought and experience. For the remaining chapter we are indebted to Mr. Furber. The first two chapters will have a peculiar charm for all who are professionally interested in hymnology, especially for the numerous class of men who have compiled hymn-books; and they show how industriously and lovingly the writers performed the previous labor of compilation, — how much of their best strength they bestowed where thousands of worshippers will be edified, without the slightest appreciation of the skill, study, and labor requisite in the construction of a really good hymn-book. But we doubt whether the larger public will care to follow the learned Professors through so many pages of detailed and elaborate criticism. The third chapter approaches much more nearly to the character of a popular essay, and contains many suggestions of prime importance with regard to "the service of song" in our churches; but even this is rendered less available than it might be for general use by frequent references to and illustrations from the "Sabbath Hymn-Book." In fine, the entire volume is not so much a general treatise on psalmody, as a companion-volume to that one collection of hymns. It contains, however, rich materials for a general treatise which is greatly needed, and we wish that the authors had merged their special purpose in the endeavor to supply that want.

---

15. — *The Works of* FRANCIS BACON, *Baron of Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England.* Collected and edited by JAMES SPEDDING, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and DOUGLAS DENON HEATH, Barrister-at-Law, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume XII., being Vol. II. of the Literary and Professional Works. Boston: Brown and Taggard. 1860. pp. 454.

THIS volume contains several of Bacon's Latin tracts, with translations, and the Additions and Corrections — many of them of great his-

torical importance — inserted by him in a manuscript copy of Camden's Annals. But the larger part of the volume consists of his "Essays." These Essays constitute in themselves, miscellaneous as they are, a by no means incomplete compend of practical ethics. The purest of all Bacon's writings in point of style, — a model of the best prose of the Elizabethan age, — they display the keenest insight into human nature and character, and the application of the highest philosophy to the conduct of life. They are a repertory, from which modern writers have drawn many of their richest thoughts; and, while in similar cases the streams are often more palatable than the fountain, in this no reader should fail to seek the fountain. We would again earnestly solicit attention to this, which promises to be in every sense the best, as it is derived from the only complete edition of Bacon's works. The best, we say; for we learn that many typographical errors, which escaped the vigilance of the English editors, are corrected in the American reprint.

---

16. — *Considerations on some of the Elements and Conditions of Social Welfare and Human Progress. Being Academic and Occasional Discourses, and other Pieces.* By C. S. HENRY, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 415.

THE papers contained in this volume were written independently of one another, at wide intervals of time, and on very different occasions. Yet they have a virtual unity in the patriotic purposes and aspirations which they all alike breathe; for, while we recognize in them the mature scholarship for which Dr. Henry has been long distinguished, they are even more prominently characterized by an anxious love of his country, solicitude for her true honor, and a profound sense of her needs and perils.

One somewhat singular phenomenon strikes us with regard to this book, namely, the growth of the author's style in qualities which are not wont to grow with added years, — in vivacity and fervor. He now writes — not, indeed, without the wisdom befitting his age — more like a young man than he did a quarter of a century ago. The first discourse in the volume is weighty in a double sense. It is sound, judicious, impressive; but it put us to sleep. Our somnolency was dissipated by the last — evidently just written — article, which is sprightly enough to quicken the pulse of the most phlegmatic reader. This article is an essay on the much mooted subject of "Politics and the Pulpit." Dr. Henry here maintains none of the hackneyed commonplaces about the independence of the pulpit and the rights of the clergy; but

simply takes the ground that the preacher of Christianity is bound to inculcate its precepts and urge its sanctions in their application to the whole of life, and that there is nothing in political duties or sins which should make them either more or less emphatically the subjects of pulpit instruction than any other class of duties or sins. The preaching of mere politics is, indeed, extra-Christian, and is worthy of summary condemnation. The preaching about the political sins and duties of remote communities is cowardly and contemptible. But he who, not as a partisan, but as a Christian, takes men's political relations and responsibilities, along with their business and their home life, into the circle on which the guiding light of Christian principle and of our Divine Master's example is to be poured, simply acquits himself of obligations which pertain to the very tenure of his office. Nor is such preaching wont to give offence, or to do seeming injury. What has brought the pulpit into reproach in this matter has been, not the inculcation of Christian ethics in their relation to the state and its citizens; but, sometimes, flippant personality unworthy of a gentleman, still more so of a minister; sometimes, the open advocacy in the pulpit, not of principles, but of men and parties; and, oftenest of all, fierce and bitter denunciation, as if the preacher were employing Satan to cast out Satan.

The paper which has called forth these comments is preceded by three letters on "President Making," addressed to Hon. Josiah Quincy. The author paints justly and vividly the evils connected with and proceeding from a quadrennial popular election, from the necessity of which the founders of the Constitution intended to provide relief in interposing Electors between the people and the President. The remedy which Dr. Henry suggests is the substitution of an actual choice by lot for our present method, which is virtually little else, except that the names of the most experienced and best qualified statesmen are generally excluded from the urns of the respective popular conventions. He proposes that the President should be drawn from those who have served either one or two terms in the Senate of the United States. It is enough to say of this plan, that an amendment to the Constitution which should open the way for it is beyond the range of possible things. Were it not so, we agree with our author that the chance in favor of a worthy choice would be better than it now is.

We have not left ourselves space to examine the Academic Discourses contained in this volume, which will be read with profound interest, full as they are of suggestive thought, and of the ripe fruits of an eminently liberal and generous culture. The publication of these papers will revive in our own vicinity happy recollections of the author in the minds of his old friends, and will make him favorably known to many of a younger generation.

17.— *Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays.* By LORD MACAULAY. With a Memoir and Index. In Six Volumes. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

THIS edition contains all the articles, within the scope of the title, published with the author's revision during his lifetime, all those published by his friends since his death, and several, reputedly and undoubtedly his, which are not included in any other edition of his writings. The Essays are arranged in chronological order, so as to present the growth of the author's mind, opinions, and style. A very copious and minute Index renders these volumes available for reference on a vast variety of subjects. It is enough to say of the Memoir that it is written by Mr. E. P. Whipple. This edition is beautifully printed, and bears the marks of the most careful superintendence. Our readers cannot need to be told that among Lord Macaulay's reviews and essays there are none of ephemeral value, but that his affluent knowledge, subtile thought, acute reasoning, and unsurpassed vividness of style enrich and adorn every subject that came under his hand. No public or private library can afford to remain destitute of this, by far the most complete collection of his miscellaneous writings that has been made.

18.— *Historical Pictures Retouched. A Volume of Miscellanies.* In Two Parts. Part I. *Studies.* Part II. *Fancies.* By MRS. DALL, Author of "Woman's Right to Labor." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 403.

THE first part of this volume presents the best possible vindication of "woman's right to labor," by a valuable portion of the history of what distinguished women, from Aspasia down to the present day, have effected in philosophy, science, art, and literature. All of the papers are learnedly, ably, and carefully written, and two or three of them have a unique interest and value. One of them is a series of sketches of those women of Bologna who acquired eminence in studies and pursuits ordinarily monopolized by men. Another is a synopsis of the contributions of women to medical science. This contains thirty-seven names, and embodies an array of facts, which, if known in detail, can hardly, we think, in their collective magnitude and significance, lie within the cognizance of the profession in general.

The "Fancies" are graceful sketches, most of them with a basis of fact, originally printed in a journal of limited circulation. They display a large measure of power in the delineation both of nature and of

character, and a development of the imaginative faculty which is not generally expected, yet is found with great frequency in the minds that take the strongest hold on the working-day world and the practical interests of humanity.

The volume closes with what is neither "study" nor "fancy," but a glowing tribute to the saintly excellence and the pastoral fidelity of the venerable Dr. Lowell, by one who deems it a chief blessing of her childhood to have been a lamb of his flock. For many years he has been cut off from those active duties, in which he was revered and beloved as few Christian pastors have ever been; yet from his chamber of illness and suffering there goes forth, with the illustrious example of fortitude and resignation, many a kind token of remembrance, letter of advice or sympathy, and affectionate message to the young and old, who still rejoice in the unsevered bond.

---

19. — 1. *Horse-Shoe Robinson. A Tale of the Tory Ascendency.* Revised Edition.
2. *Swallow-Barn; or, A Sojourn in the Old Dominion.* Revised Edition. With Illustrations by Strother.
3. *Rob of the Bowl. A Legend of St. Inigoe's.* Revised Edition.
4. *Quodlibet: containing some Annals thereof, with an Authentic Account of the Origin and Growth of the Borough, and the Sayings and Doings of Sundry of the Townspeople; interspersed with Sketches of the most Remarkable and Distinguished Characters of that Place and Vicinity.* By Solomon Secondthoughts, Schoolmaster, from Original MSS., indited by him, and now made public at the Request and under the Patronage of the great New-Light Democratic Central Committee of Quodlibet. Second Edition.
5. *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States.* A New and Revised Edition. Two volumes in one. By John P. Kennedy. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1860.

We give a hearty welcome to this new and beautiful edition of Kennedy's works. It is not meet that the crowd of aspirants for literary fame should hide from view an author whose name holds a high place even in the shortest list that we might give of our men of genius and deservedly eminent writers. His novels hold the same rank in the multitude of competitors among whom they now reappear, which they occupied when he and Cooper were almost alone in that department of our national literature. We are unwilling to attempt an estimate of

their merits within our present limits, though in a future number we should be glad to recall the attention of a new generation of readers to works that have had in our pages, in former years, their due meed of approving criticism. Quodlibet is a political satire, which first appeared in 1840, and can be best appreciated by those who bear the questions then at issue in distinct remembrance; but in its main features it remains no less applicable after the lapse of twenty years, during which party spirit has lost nothing of its vehemence, recklessness, and rancor. Few men have lived in our country who are more worthy to be commemorated than William Wirt, or whose personal and private character presents more numerous features and aspects of commanding interest; and certainly no one of our historical personages has been more fortunate in his biographer. The edition before us has all the merits of form and execution, of which the name of the publishers is a sufficient guaranty.

20.— *Archæologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society.* Volume IV. Boston. 1860. 8vo. pp. 355.

We need only to specify the contents of this volume to indicate its value as a series of contributions to American History. We have, first, a series of original documents, illustrative of the History of Raleigh's first American Colony and of the Colony at Jamestown, edited by Rev. Edward E. Hale. This is followed by "A Discourse of Virginia," by Edward Maria Wingfield, the first President of the Colony, edited by Mr. Charles Deane. Then we have a reprint of Josselyn's "New England's Rarities Discovered," with notes by Professor Tuckerman of Amherst College, and with an Introduction in which the editor incorporates with a brief memoir of the author a succinct sketch of the early botanists of America. Last, and most curious of all, is a narrative, now first printed, under the editorship of Mr. Samuel F. Haven, of a Voyage to Spitzbergen in 1613, in which the process of taking, cutting up, and trying out the whale is minutely described, with rude pictorial illustrations. An Appendix contains a Life of Sir Ralph Lane, the Governor of Raleigh's first Colony, by Mr. Hale, and a biographical notice of Samuel Jennison, late Treasurer of the Society, by its President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury. Of the amount of labor employed in the preparation of this volume none but a practised antiquary can form an adequate estimate. Its contents are all intensely interesting, inasmuch as they enable us to see with the eyes, and to en-

ter into the thoughts, of those to whom this Western world was unfolding fresh marvels and mysteries day by day, exciting ever-new amazement, and tasking the capacities of language in describing experiences stranger than the dreams of an earlier generation.

---

21. — *History and Analysis of the Constitution of the United States, with a full Account of the Confederations which preceded it; of the Debates and Acts of the Convention which formed it; of the Judicial Decisions which have construed it; with Papers and Tables illustrative of the Action of the Government and People under it.* By NATHANIEL C. TOWLE, Counsellor at Law, Washington, D. C. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 444.

IN his admirably worded title-page Mr. Towle gives us the measure by which to test his work, which contains in the simplest form, in an arrangement well adapted for reference, and with a full index, precisely what the author promises. In the body of the work the Constitution is divided into clauses, and under each clause are given whatever of antecedent history belonged to it, an abridged history of the alternatives or substitutes for it proposed in Convention, and a list of the judicial decisions by which its construction has been determined or modified. This analysis is followed by a compilation of such documents and historical notices as were requisite to complete the author's plan. The book has the precision of a strictly legal work. It is not a popular treatise, but a book designed for permanent reference and use; Heaven grant that it continue to be of current use, and not the memorial of a Union shipwrecked and shattered! The author deserves the thanks of the American public for the thorough execution of his self-imposed task, as felicitous in its design as it is successful in its performance.

---

22. — *General Problems from the Orthographic Projections of Descriptive Geometry; with their Applications to Oblique — including Isometrical — Projections, Graphical Constructions in Spherical Trigonometry, Topographical Projection ("One Plane Descriptive"), and Graphic Transformations.* By S. EDWARD WARREN, C. E., Professor of Descriptive Geometry and Geometrical Drawing in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. New York: John Wiley. 1860. 8vo. pp. 412. Plates 35.

THIS work can hardly be analyzed in detail in a literary journal, and, if it could be, we might distrust our own competency to the task.

It may therefore be sufficient to say, that Mr. Warren's treatise proffers strong claims on the mathematical student for its philosophical arrangement, the lucidness of its definitions, demonstrations, and solutions, and the thoroughness with which it covers the entire ground designated on its title-page.

---

23. — 1. *First Greek Book; comprising an Outline of the Forms and Inflections of the Language, a Complete Analytical Syntax, and an Introductory Greek Reader. With Notes and Vocabularies.* By ALBERT HARKNESS, Ph. D., Professor of Greek in Brown University, Author of "Arnold's First Latin Book," "A Second Latin Book," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 276.

2. *A Handbook of Exercises and Reading Lessons for Beginners in Latin, progressively illustrated by Grammatical References.* By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Rector of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 244.

PROFESSOR HARKNESS'S First Greek Book is the most comprehensive text-book we have ever seen. Its brevity is not the result of imperfection or obscurity, but of perfect precision and method. It demands for its profitable use a skilful and painstaking teacher, and none else should be intrusted with a pupil in Greek. The definitions are remarkable for their brevity and explicitness. The paradigms are arranged with an eye equally to the economy of space and the easy comprehension of the learner. Exercises for the translation of Greek into English, and of English into Greek, occur at brief intervals. A series of "Greek Selections," with explanatory notes, is appended to the Grammar. We are glad to find among these extracts a selection from the Σχολαστικοί of Hierocles, which we studied in our boyhood in the old Græca Minora, and have not seen since. A Greek and English and an English and Greek Vocabulary, sufficient for the exercises in the body of the work, complete the volume. We cannot doubt that this First Book will be received with general favor; and we believe that it will greatly facilitate the process of elementary education in Greek, and will at the same time render it more thorough.

Mr. Whiton's book consists first of progressive exercises for the translation of Latin into English and of English into Latin, arranged with reference to Andrews and Stoddard's Grammar, and then of a series of reading lessons. These are followed by notes on the exercises and lessons, and by a Latin and English and an English and Latin Vocabulary, the former of which is remarkably full in its description of

words and their meanings, and designates English words derived from the Latin. The book seems to us perfectly adapted to its purpose, and can hardly fail to find abundant favor with teachers and pupils.

---

24. — *Principles of Physics or Natural Philosophy, designed for the use of Colleges and Schools.* By BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, Jr., Professor of General and Applied Chemistry in Yale College. Second edition. Revised and rewritten.

WE were very much pleased with the first edition of Professor Silliman's excellent compendium of Physics, and were therefore prepared to welcome it in its present new and improved form. The work before us covers the whole ground usually included in the French and German treatises on general Physics. Beginning with a discussion of the general properties of matter, and of the elementary principles of mechanics, we find next a clear statement of the characteristic qualities of the solid, the liquid, and the gas, including the laws of crystallography, elasticity, hydrostatics, hydrodynamics, and pneumatics. Then follows an excellent chapter on the theory of undulations, which serves as an introduction to the principles of Acoustics, Light and Heat, which are ably presented in the three succeeding chapters. The laws of polar forces are also fully illustrated in the chapter on Electricity, and a brief statement of the principles of Meteorology closes the volume. This work is remarkable for its full and concise statements, and we have seldom seen so much matter condensed into one volume.

It does not aim at an analytical development of the principles of the science, and has not, therefore, been written on an inductive plan, but it presents the results of investigation in the various departments of Physics with admirable clearness, even to their details, and is excellently well adapted to give the student a comprehensive view of the whole ground.

Evident care has been taken to assign to each subject its due proportion of space, and we think that Professor Silliman has judged wisely in dwelling more fully on the subjects of Light, Heat, and Electricity than is usual in American text-books on Natural Philosophy, which often are too exclusively limited to the elements of mechanics, hydrostatics, and pneumatics. Surely the wonderful discoveries which have been made during the last half-century, and the important practical applications they have received, should not be overlooked in a course of elementary instruction, and we are glad to find that the beautiful researches of Brewster, Faraday, Joule, Melloni, Regnault, and the won-

derful results obtained with the inductive coil of Ruhmkorff and Ritchie, all find their proper place in the present treatise. Professor Silliman states in his Preface that the first half of the book has been entirely rewritten, and the whole volume has been certainly very greatly improved in several important particulars. We think that the classification adopted in this edition is a great improvement on that of the first, and we are also glad to see that problems have been added at the ends of the chapters. We believe that the solution of problems is the best mode of impressing the principles of any of the physical sciences on the mind, and we hope that this method, so universally used in the higher institutions of learning, both of England and the Continent, will soon be generally adopted in this country. A student cannot well solve all the problems given in this treatise without understanding the principles involved, and the author has added to the work a large number of useful tables, which will not only aid the learner in solving the problems, but which will also be found valuable in many questions of practical science.

---

25. — *An Inquiry into the Nature, Foundation, and Extent of Moral Obligation, involving the Nature of Duty, of Holiness, and of Sin. Being an Introduction to the Study of Moral Science in all its Branches, including the Legal, Theological, and Governmental.* By DAVID METCALF. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 487.

THE object of this treatise is to prove and illustrate the identity of virtue with what the author terms "benevolent utility," or, still better, "benevolent rectitude." His system is to be distinguished on the one hand from that by which, not the purpose, but the tendency of an action determines its moral character, and on the other from that by which virtue is made identical with benevolent feeling, rather than with benevolent principle. He maintains that the promotion of happiness is God's purpose in the creation, and he regards holiness as but another name for the conditions of high, diffusive, and enduring happiness. Whatever dispositions and acts tend to increase the aggregate and to prolong the duration of happiness are holy, because they are in harmony with the mind and in furtherance of the will of God. The adaptation of any state of mind or mode of conduct to produce, extend, or prolong happiness attaches to it the character of right, endows it with the sanctity of duty, and commends it to the natural conscience as an obligation. Right and wrong are therefore inherent qualities, not created by the statute-law of revelation, but of necessity appertaining to

the relations of beings and objects to one another and to their Creator, and revealed by God in order to arouse men's heed to those moral distinctions, which would have been none the less valid had they been left in obscurity or trusted to the vague conjectures of naturalism. Mr. Metcalf has shown himself in this volume a sound and able reasoner. His style may perhaps lack euphony and grace; but it has what, on such a subject, — nay, on any subject, — is much better, explicitness and directness. There is not a single instance in which he employs verbiage to conceal a difficulty which he cannot surmount. We doubt whether there is a sentence hard to be understood in the whole volume.

---

26. — *German Popular Tales and Household Stories.* Collected by the Brothers Grimm. Newly Translated. With Illustrations by Edward H. Wehnert. First and Second Series. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 456, 430.

Of wild and weird stories, such as take hold with intense strength on the imagination of children, and have an indescribable charm for such as have outgrown other childish things, the collection of the Brothers Grimm is probably the richest extant. The new and excellent translation now before us is published in such a style as to render it an attractive book for the holidays; and we are sure that, within the range of holiday presents, there can be hardly any that would call forth heartier or more enduring gratitude from an intelligent boy or girl.

---

27. — *The King of the Mountains.* From the French of Edmond About. By Mary L. Booth. With an Introduction by Epes Sargent. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1861.

The writings of M. About have been several times noticed in the North American Review. He is an author of that peculiar genius which always secures a certain kind of popularity. Readers who ask only to be amused will find what they want in his pages, in the greatest abundance. His wit is keen and brilliant; his satire unrelenting as it is unscrupulous; his style clear, pungent, at times graphic, always attractive. Having said this, we have exhausted the merits of Edmond About. He pays no regard to truth, and has not the remotest conception of justice or honor. When he advocates the cause of right, it is by accident or whim; and he always spoils the effect of such advocacy by some monstrous invention, some portentous falsehood, that takes

away our confidence in everything he says. Thus, in his brilliant book on the Roman Question, he inserted an atrocious libel upon one of the most estimable noblemen in Italy, — the Duke of Sforza Cesarini, which he was obliged, in the most humiliating manner, to retract.

M. About exhibits an extraordinary spite — we can use no better word — against the Greek people. He has written two or three books, all breathing the same hostile spirit toward the nation, and abounding with libels upon well-known individuals. This last is a novel entitled *Le Roi des Montagnes*, "The King of the Mountains." The scene is laid in and near Athens; and the principal hero is Hadgi-Stavros, a Klepht or mountain robber. The time of the story is 1855 or 1856, — a period when Greece was temporarily infested with brigands, who were so audacious as to approach the capital, and who perpetrated acts of robbery not only on the neighboring mountains, but on the Plain of Athens. An account of the state of Greece in that period which should embody these facts, would be curious and interesting. But M. About's book is a monstrous libel upon the whole Greek nation. It contains lively delineations of character, but they are not Greek characters; pictures of scenery, that are very good; conversations which are amusing and witty, but which are marked by the retorts and jokes of the Paris salons, and are therefore wholly out of place on Mount Parnes. Hadgi-Stavros is a well-drawn character, with the exception that he has not a single trait of the Greek Klepht, and his external relations are false and impossible. As one of the Athenian critics remarks, he is a Parisian wit dressed in the *fustanella*. He is represented as having driven a thriving trade in robbery for many years; having large sums of money deposited with London bankers; being the head of an organized company, to which he makes annual reports of profit and loss. The ministry at Athens are in his pay; the public journals are under his control; the officers of the army are at his service; the monks of the monastery on Mount Parnes are in league with him, or act as his spies; in short, the leaders of every class of men, public and private, are good friends with him, and at his beck and call. A more slanderous representation was never made. We happen to know something of the state of things in Greece at the time intended to be described in this novel. The ministry were as likely to be in league with mountain robbers as Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. A Klepht or brigand was as likely to have money on deposit with an English banker, as sheep-stealers and robbers of hen-roosts here or in England are likely to keep bank accounts with the Barings or Rothschilds. In the best days of brigandage, under the Turks, the robber who could steal a lamb or a kid for a κλεφτικὸν συμπόσιον, and a skin full of

ῥητινάτο or turpentine-wine to wash it down with, considered himself a lucky fellow. It so happened that we crossed Mount Parnes, passing over the spot where, in full sight of Athens, Hadgi-Stavros has his camp, not long before the incidents and transactions detailed in this novel. There were at that time rumors of brigands committing depredations upon the peasantry of the little mountain villages, and upon the monastery, whose inmates, according to M. About, were the allies of the robbers. And sure enough, as we entered the rough mountain path that leads to the old Hellenic fortress, where Thrasybulus and his fellow-exiles assembled preparatory to the overthrow of the tyranny of the Thirty, we met a band of the χωροφύλακες, or *gens d'armes*, as About calls them, conducting three villanous-looking pilferers, with their hands tied behind them, down to Athens, where they were afterwards tried and punished. Pursuing our way, we reached the monastery, and learned that these worthy prototypes of Hadgi-Stavros had been levying contributions of bread and honey on the monks, who, not fancying this sort of treatment, had given notice to the armed police, and in this way the robbers were taken. These *facts* will enable our readers to judge of M. About's fictions.

Soon after the outbreak of the Crimean War, bodies of brigands began to infest Greece, entering the country on the north, mainly from the Turkish Provinces. To assert that the Cabinet at Athens were in collusion with these desperadoes, is to utter an absurd and impossible slander. The robbers committed many outrages, even some murders; but the government troops, whose officers, according to About, were their friends and associates, were despatched for the protection of the country, and the destruction of these marauders. Several bloody conflicts followed; the bands were broken up; most of them were slain by the troops, and the survivors were taken prisoners and perished by the guillotine. This was the dying struggle of the system of brigandage which Greece had inherited from her former tyrants. Travelling is as safe in Greece as it is in France or England. The Greeks have made extraordinary progress in reconstructing the edifice of civilization. They deserve the sympathy and support of all enlightened nations. Such a tissue of calumnies upon a people in the condition of the Greeks as M. About's book contains, is a crime against humanity, which deserves the severest reprobation.

What motive had this young Frenchman for these malicious misrepresentations? The French government maintains a French school in Athens, as in Rome. Young men of talent are sent there at the expense of the government to study the language, literature, and antiquities of the country. The plan is an excellent one, and has pro-

duced good fruits. Beulé, the author of a valuable and learned work on the Acropolis of Athens, and another on the Peloponnesus, was a member of the school; Lacroix, author of the admirable history of the "Isles of Greece," published in the *Univers*, was another. M. About was sent there in 1852. After his return, on the completion of his studies (?), departing from the example of his predecessors and associates, he repaid to the government of France the expense of his support for several years by a series of amusing, but otherwise worthless, lampoons upon the people of Greece.

For such a proceeding, one naturally looks for a personal explanation. We have before us an excellent Greek translation of this work. In the Preface it is related that M. About, having attempted an intrigue more in accordance with the manners of Paris than of Athens, paid in an unusual way the penalty of his misadventure. Meeting a young Spartan, to whom he had given offence by the above-named proceeding, one day in the Street of Æolus, at the fashionable hour when "all the world" were abroad, he found that Sparta was as dangerous to the Parisian as to the Persian. In short, the young Frenchman got a terrible beating; the Greek translator says, Ἔφαγε ξύλον ἀλύπητον, "He ate the merciless stick." The same explanation is given in a note to a poem published by Professor Œconomides, a gentleman equally distinguished in science and literature. That stick was the inspirer of "Contemporary Greece" and "The King of the Mountains."

We do not agree with Mr. Sargent's estimate of the book, as given in his well-written Preface. His praise of the author's genius and style is well deserved; but something should have been added by way of censure of his want of regard for the truth. When the editor speaks of "the vraisemblance of the narrative," he employs language utterly inapplicable to each and every part of the book; for there is scarcely an incident in it which is or could have been true, or which bears the slightest resemblance to the truth.

The translation is tolerably, and only tolerably, well executed. It contains numerous errors, mistranslations of idioms, misspellings, and awkwardnesses of expression. We indicate only a few of them. *Lycabettus* is wrongly written "Lycabetos." "Tino" should be *Tenos;* "Palamidas" should be *Palamedes;* "Photini" should be *Photeine;* "Jean" should be *Ioannes;* "Siècle" should be *Aion*, or *The Age.* Birds do not "leap." "Cephisus" should be *Cephissus;* "Philae" should be *Phyle.* "I am cold, mamma," (*J'ai chaud,*) should be, *I am warm.* "Pretends," in the sentence "A. Scholl pretends," (p. 58,) should be *maintains.* This same mistranslation came near involving our country in a war with France, under a former ad-

ministration. "The Venus of Milo" (p. 62) is an astonishing misnomer for the *Venus of Melos*, there being no such statue in the world as the Venus of Milo. "Boulimie" should be *Boulimia*. "A young miss" is frightful; "to clearly distinguish," for *to distinguish clearly*, is abominable. "To have only fifty years" is not English, but French. It should be, of course, "to be only fifty years old." "Sacred images" (p. 124) should be *Sacred Pictures*, as the Greek Church does not permit the use of statues. "Jardin des Plantes" is very well in About's French; in Greek it is Βοτανικὸς Κῆπος, and in English, *Botanical Garden*. "Anagnost" (p. 137) should be *Anagnostes*, or, better still, the English equivalent, *Reader*. The name of the British Minister is not Wise, but Wyse, — Sir Thomas Wyse. "Vasile" should be either Vasil, or Vasili; it is abbreviated for Basilios, pronounced Vasilios. "Kyrie Eleison" should be *Eleëson*. "*Figure* of his fortune" is not English; it should be, of course, *amount of his fortune*. "Gendarmery" is hardly English; *armed police* is the meaning of χωροφύλακες, the police of the country, stationed at different points throughout the kingdom of Greece. "Magera" should be *Megara*, or rather *Megaris*; and "Megaspeléon" should be *Megaspélæon*. Greek newspapers are often mentioned, the names of which are given in French. They should either be translated into English, or the original name should be retained. The French phrases, *huit jours* and *quinze jours*, *a week* and *a fortnight*, are literally but incorrectly translated *eight days* and *fifteen days*. *Port-chibouk* should be translated *pipe-bearer*, as *cafedgi* is coffee-maker. "An ardent thirst" should be a "burning thirst." These are only specimens of the errors, many of them not very important, to be sure, with which the translation abounds.

On the whole, the book is witty but worthless; it is utterly false, and is better translated than it deserves to be.

---

28. — *Rome Contemporaine*. Par Edmond About. Paris: M. Lévy Frères et Cie. 1861. 8vo. pp. 371.

This new volume upon "Rome" is the sequel to the former volume on the "Roman Question." Unlike the other, it has very little to say about the political affairs of the Papal State, and touches only incidentally upon ecclesiastical matters and relations. It sketches the life, manners, and character of the people, of the lowest, the middle, and the noble class; the inns, the lotteries, the assassinations, the *vetturini*, the beasts. We have a description of the Ghetto, and of the strange race which swarms there; and while the view of Jewish filth in Rome

is not mitigated, and the secret wealth of the Jews is quite denied, their condition is presented more favorably than by most writers upon Rome. The Jews of the Papal City seem now to have privileges not granted to Catholic subjects. They are subsidized rather than taxed; they are not confined by any wall, and if they cannot be mechanics, they are allowed to make money in small trades, and are not disturbed in their indolence. Their religion sometimes becomes a privilege; and About tells a good story of a Jew who had murdered his brother-in-law, yet on the trial, though the fact was clearly proved against him, was condemned merely to a few months' imprisonment, on the ground that he had only hastened the inevitable and just damnation incident to Jewish unbelief. If a Christian had been killed, it would have been a crime to be noticed. "But what have we done?" argued his counsel. "We have only killed a miserable Jew, damned in advance."

The manners of the Transteverini, the most original race of the Roman populace, who murder habitually, but rarely rob, are graphically described; and M. About was nearly able to *assist*, as the French say, at one of these murders. He witnessed a quarrel in a café in a company of gamblers, and shook hands with one of the players, who, in two minutes from leaving the house, was a corpse upon the pavement. His remark upon the convivial habits of the Romans will surprise those who have described these people as essentially sober. "When they do drink," he says, "they are the most formidable drinkers in all Europe; and there are few Roman women who cannot in this keep pace with the men." His opinion of the wine, too, is not that of the lovers of cheap "Orvieto." "It is nowhere good," he says, "and is served up in bottles of white glass, light as a breath, and fragile as virtue!"

The chapter on the *artisti* of Rome, singers, actors, painters, sculptors, and workers in articles of *vertu*, is extremely entertaining. An American, of course, who has got rich by commerce or bankruptcy, comes in as the patron of cheap and showy art, buys pictures by the load and statues by the ton, to be shipped to Cincinnati, caring only that they are "cheap," and have famous names attached to them. M. About does not seem to be aware of the scandal which has connected a famous American name with the manufacture, as well as the sale, of "works by the Old Masters." After laying in a full supply of heavy and life-sized works, *Guidos* and *Raphaels*, the Yankee finishes off with "an ample collection of antique monuments, reduced to mercantile proportion. He bought two Coliseums, an Arch of Titus, a Trajan's Column, four Obelisks, and a Tomb of the Scipios," and any quantity of cameos, mosaics, breastpins, and buttons. But the original picture by Apelles — price *ten millions* of dollars — was rather above his means.

The Roman army is a standing jest for Italian letter-writers, and M. About is not sparing of his satire in showing us how it is organized and officered. Not much, he thinks, can be expected of a people where the boys, instead of "playing soldier," play *curate*, dress themselves as abbés, say little masses and get up little processions. There is no want of natural courage; but the education of the people unfits them to be soldiers. The only use that the Pope has for an army is to keep his own people down; for if he should undertake any foreign conquest he would commit a "mortal sin," and would be logically forced to *damn himself*. The military grade in Rome, even in the highest rank, is below the ecclesiastical. The lowest priest is superior to the Colonel, and the *Generals* are all of the religious orders. The military schools teach very little.

The sports of the Roman boys are peculiar. M. About saw them fishing for swallows, throwing sparrows at a mark, and beating one another with kittens. In some of the villages, the young girls make visits accompanied by their *pig*, which has a *bambino* tied to its tail. The volume, indeed, is full of such amusing details. It is from beginning to end witty, fresh, and sparkling; but, as in all About's books, the reader has an uneasy feeling (and not without ample reason) that truth is often sacrificed to "point." In this book on Rome there is undoubtedly excessive exaggeration. But along with the grotesque it gives the good and pleasant aspects of Roman life. It is satirical, but not mocking and sad, like the pictures of Heine.

The volume will, of course, be translated, and every one will read it. The translator, however, we think, would improve it by omitting wholly the long Introduction, which is a sketch of Marseilles, and has nothing to do with the rest of the book.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Addresses at the Inauguration of Cornelius Conway Felton, LL. D., as President of Harvard College, and at the Festival of the Alumni, Thursday, July 19, 1860. Cambridge: Sever and Francis. 1860. pp. 149.

Religion in Public Instruction. Baccalaureate Address, delivered before the Graduating Class of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, June 20, 1860. By Thomas Hill. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1860.

An Address delivered before the Agricultural Society of New Castle County, Delaware, at the Annual Exhibition, held at the Society's Farm, near Wilmington, October 17, 1860. By Sidney George Fisher, of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. 1860.

The Great Evil in New York and Brooklyn. An Address, delivered in the South Congregational Church, Brooklyn, on Sunday Evening, June 10th, and repeated on the Evening of June 24th, 1860, by the Rev. Rufus W. Clark. New York. 1860.

Education. An Inaugural Address on entering upon the Provostship of the University of Pennsylvania, September 10, 1860, by Daniel R. Goodwin: with an Address of Induction by Bishop Potter. Philadelphia. 1860.

Speech of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, at Chilicothe, Ohio, before a Republican Mass Meeting, September 29th, 1860. Cincinnati: Ricker, Mallory, & Co. 1860.

Remarks made after the Annual Examination of the High School in Medford, Mass., July 27, 1860. By Charles Brooks, one of the School Committee. Boston. 1860.

The Laws of Race, as connected with Slavery. By the Author of "The Law of the Territories," "Rustic Rhymes," etc. Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard. 1860.

Remarks on the Latest Form of the Development Theory. By Francis Bowen, Alford Professor of Natural Religion and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. [From the Memoirs of the American Academy, New Series, Vol. VIII.] Cambridge. 1860. 4to. pp. 97–122.

Involuntary Confessions. A Monograph. By Francis Wharton. Philadelphia: Kay and Brother. 1860.

Mapoteca Colombiana. Coleccion de los Títulos de todos los Mapas, Planas, Vistas, etc. relativos á la América Española, Brasil é Islas Adyacentes. Arreglada Cronologicamente i Precedida de una Introduccion sobre la Historia Cartográfica de América por E. Uricoechea, M. D., Ph. D., Profesor de Química en el Colegio de N. S. del Rosario, Presidente de la Sociedad de Naturalistas Neo-Grenadinos, Miembro Honorario de la de Geografía i Esta-

dística de México, Socio de las Geologicas de Paris i de Berlin i de la Zoológico-Botánica de Viena. London: Trübner & Co. 1860. pp. 215.

Objects and Plan of an Institute of Technology; including a Society of Arts, a Museum of Arts, and a School of Industrial Science. Proposed to be established in Boston. Prepared by Direction of the Committee of Associated Institutions of Science and Arts; and addressed to Manufacturers, Merchants, Mechanics, Agriculturists, and other Friends of Enlightened Industry in the Commonwealth. Boston. 1860.

The German University in America. By J. Gambs, late Professor of the German University in Grand Duchy of Hesse. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

Courses of Study, Faculty and Instructors, of Union Christian College, Merom, Ind. Cincinnati: Applegate & Co. 1860.

A Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors, and Students of Lawrence Academy, Groton, Mass., October, 1860. Boston. 1860.

Eleventh Annual Report of the New-England Female Medical College. Boston. 1860.

Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. October, 1860. Boston. 1860.

First Principles. By Herbert Spencer, Author of "Social Statics," "The Principles of Psychology," "Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative." No. 1. Oct. 1860. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the latest Edition of the German Conversations Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. Parts 19 – 22. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. pp. 321 – 512.

Tom Brown at Oxford: a Sequel to School-Days at Rugby. By Thomas Hughes, Author of "School-Days at Rugby," "Scouring of the White Horse," etc. Parts IX. – XI. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. pp. 389 – 520.

Address of the Home Life Insurance Co. to Ministers of the Gospel. Brooklyn. 1860.

Jack Tier; or, The Florida Reef. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 511.

The Redskins; or, Indian and Injin; being the Conclusion of the Littlepage Manuscripts. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 536.

The Wing-and-Wing; or, Le Feu-Follet. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 486.

The Oak Openings; or, The Bee-Hunter. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 12mo. pp. 497.

Tom Brown at Oxford: a Sequel to School-Days at Rugby. By the Author of "School-Days at Rugby," "Scouring of the White Horse," etc. Part First. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 12mo. pp. 378.

The Same. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 360.

"My Novel;" by Pisistratus Caxton. Or, Varieties in English Life. Library Edition. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. 1860. pp. 580, 581.

Harrington: a Story of True Love. By the Author of "What Cheer," "The Ghost, a Christmas Story," "A Tale of Lynn," etc. Boston: Thayer and Eldridge. 1860. 12mo. pp. 558.

Evan Harrington; or, He would be a Gentleman. By George Meredith. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 491.

Miss Gilbert's Career: An American Story. By J. G. Holland, Author of "The Bay Path," "Bitter Sweet," "The Titcomb Letters," "Gold Foil," etc., etc. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo. pp. 476.

Lake-House. By Fanny Lewald. Translated from the German by Nathaniel Greene. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 304.

Wheat and Tares. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 280.

American History, by Jacob Abbott. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Engravings. Vol. II. Discovery of America. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 24mo. pp. 288.

Constance and Edith; or, Incidents of Home Life. By a Clergyman's Wife. With Illustrations. New York: Thomson Brothers. 1861. 12mo. pp. 304.

Paul Blake; or, The Story of a Boy's Perils in the Islands of Corsica and Monte Cristo. By Alfred Elwes, Author of "Ocean and her Rulers," etc. With Illustrations by F. Anelay. New York: Thompson Brothers. 1861. 12mo. pp. 383.

Odd People. Being a Popular Description of Singular Races of Men. By Captain Mayne Reid, Author of "The Desert Home," "The Bush-Boys," etc. With Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 461.

The Same. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 16mo. pp. 445.

A Treasury of Scripture Stories. Beautifully illustrated with Colored Plates, from Original Designs by the First American Artists. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. pp. 89.

A Year with Maggie and Emma; a True Story. Edited by Maria J. McIntosh. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 137.

The Little Nightcap Letters. By the Author of "Nightcaps," "New Nightcaps," "Baby Nightcaps," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 178.

The Fairy Nightcaps. By the Author of the Five Nightcap Books, "Aunt Fanny's Stories," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 215.

Our Year: a Child's Book, in Prose and Verse. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated by Clarence Dobell. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 16mo. pp. 297.

The Big Nightcap Letters; being the Fifth Book of the Series. By the Author of the Six Nightcap Books, "Aunt Fanny's Stories," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 182.

The Oakland Stories. Claiborne. By Geo. B. Taylor, of Virginia. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 180.

The Florence Stories. By Jacob Abbott. Excursion to the Orkney Islands. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 252.

New Fairy Stories for my Grandchildren. By George Keil. Translated from the German, by S. W. Lander. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 24mo. pp. 84.

Faithful for Ever. By Coventry Patmore, Author of "The Angel in the House." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 240.

Concord Fight. By S. R. Bartlett. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 34.

The Odes of Horace, translated into English Verse, with a Life and Notes, by Theodore Martin. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 358.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems. By T. Babington Macaulay. New and Revised Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 358.

Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts. By Mrs. Jameson. Corrected and Enlarged Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 483.

Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World. With Narrative Illustrations. By Robert Dale Owen, formerly Member of Congress, and American Minister to Naples. From the Tenth American Edition, with Emendations and Additions by the Author. London: Trübner & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 392.

The Union of Churches in the Spirit of Charity; with its Articles of Association and Trust, and the Ritual of the Christian Liturgy accepted. Under the Sanction of Many of the Distinguished Clergy and Laity of New England. Incorporated Oct. 1, 1858. Boston. 1860. 8vo. pp. 36.

Altar-Light: a Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, D. D., London. By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL. D., Glasgow, Author of "Altar-Gold," "The Night-Lamp," "The Mountains of the Bible," etc. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 59.

Reason and the Bible; or, The Truth of Religion. By Miles P. Squier, D. D., Prof. of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Beloit College. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo. pp. 340.

Notes on the Parables of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench. Condensed. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 288.

The Benefit of Christ's Death; or, The Glorious Riches of God's Free Grace, which every true Believer receives by Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Originally written in Italian by Aonio Paleario, and now reprinted from an ancient English Translation. With an Introduction by Rev. John Ayer, M. A., Minister of St. John's Chapel, Hampstead, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Roden. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1860. 16mo. pp. 160.

Love and Penalty; or, Eternal Punishment consistent with the Fatherhood of God. By Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 24mo. pp. 358.

Logic in Theology, and other Essays. By Isaac Taylor. With a Sketch of the Life of the Author, and a Catalogue of his Writings. New York: William Gowans. 1860. 12mo. pp. 297.

Recent Inquiries in Theology, by Eminent English Churchmen; being "Essays and Reviews." Reprinted from the Second London Edition. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 480.

Hints on the Formation of Religious Opinions. Addressed especially to Young Men and Women of Christian Education. By Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Albany. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 324.

The Cottages of the Alps; or, Life and Manners in Switzerland. By the Author of "Peasant Life in Germany." New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo. pp. 422.

The Four Georges. Sketches of Manners, Morals, Court, and Town Life. By W. M. Thackeray, Author of "Lectures on the English Humorists," "Vanity Fair," "The Virginians," "The Newcomes," "Pendennis," "Lovel the Widower," etc., etc. With Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 241.

The Heroes of Europe: a Biographical Outline of European History from A. D. 700 to A. D. 1700. By Henry G. Hewlett. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 12mo. pp. 370.

Lectures on Logic, by Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by the Rev. Henry L. Mansel, B. D., LL. D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Oxford, and John Veitch, M. A., Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics, St. Andrews. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1860. 8vo. pp. 731.

A Course of Six Lectures on the Various Forces of Matter, and their Relations to each other. By Michael Faraday, D. C. L., F. R. S., Fullerian Professor of Chemistry, Royal Institution. Delivered before a Juvenile Auditory at the Royal Institution of Great Britain during the Christmas Holidays of 1859 – 60. Edited by William Crookes, F. C. S. With numerous Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 16mo. pp. 198.

The Philosophy of Natural History. By John Ware, M. D. Prepared on the Plan, and retaining Portions of the Work of William Smellie, Member of the Antiquarian and Royal Societies of Edinburgh. Boston: Brown and Taggard. 1860. 12mo. pp. 448.

The Glaciers of the Alps. Being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents, an Account of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers, and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to which they are related. By John Tyndall, F. R. S., Member of the Royal Societies of Science of Holland and Göttingen, of the Scientific Societies of Halle, Marburg, and Zürich; of the Société Philomatique of Paris; of the Natural History and Physical Society of Geneva; of the Physical Society of Berlin; Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and in the Government School of Mines. With Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 446.

Primary History of the United States: made Easy and Interesting for Beginners. By G. P. Quackenbos, A. M., Principal of "The Collegiate School," N. Y.; Author of "Illustrated School History of the United States," "A Natural Philosophy," "First Lessons in Composition," "Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 192.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa: a Picture of Exploration. By Richard F. Burton, Capt. H. M. I. Army; Fellow and Gold Medalist of the Royal Geographical Society. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 572.

Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major-General U. S. A., and Governor of the State of Mississippi. By J. F. H. Claiborne. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 400, 392.

The Housekeeper's Encyclopædia of Useful Information for the Housekeeper in all Branches of Cooking and Domestic Economy; containing the First Scientific and Reliable Rules for putting up all Kinds of Hermetically-sealed Fruits, with or without Sugar, in Tin Cans or common Bottles; also Rules for preserving Fruits in American and French Styles; with Tried Receipts for making Domestic Wines, Catsups, Syrups, Cordials, etc.; and Practical Directions for the Cultivation of Vegetables, Fruits, and Flowers, Destruction of Insects, etc., etc. By Mrs. E. F. Haskell. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 445.

State University of Michigan. Catalogue of the Officers and Students for 1860. Ann Arbor. 1860.

State University of Michigan. General Catalogue of Officers and Graduates from its Organization in 1827 to 1860. Ann Arbor. 1860.

The Chapel of St. Mary. By the Author of "The Rectory of Moreland." Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 396.

The Conduct of Life. By R. W. Emerson. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 288.

Poems by Rose Terry. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 231.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated and arranged, with Notes, by Leicester Ambrose Sawyer. Vol. II. The Later Prophets. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 384.

The Union Text-Book: containing Selections from the Writings of Daniel Webster; the Declaration of Independence; the Constitution of the United States; and Washington's Farewell Address. With Copious Indexes. For the Higher Classes of Educational Institutions, and for Home Reading. Philadelphia: G. G. Evans. 1860. 16mo. pp. 503.

History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. By Henry Hart Milman, Dean of St. Paul's. In Eight Volumes. Vols. II., III. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. pp. 551, 525.

Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible. Part 19. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Cassell's Illustrated History of England. The Text by William Howitt. Part IX. New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Cassell's Popular Natural History. Part 18. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Analysis of the Cartoons of Raphael. New York: Charles B. Norton. 1860. 24mo. pp. 141.

Life and Religion of the Hindoos; with a Sketch of my Life and Experience. By Joguth Chunder Gangooly (baptized Philip). Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 306.

Dies Iræ in Thirteen Original Versions, by Abraham Coles, M. D. Second Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. Small 8vo. pp. xxxiv., 65. Engravings, 3.

ERRATA.

Page 210, line 18, for 1714 read 1713.
Page 211, lines 5, 6, dele "and Shaftesbury."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXCI.

APRIL, 1861.

ART. I. — 1. *Narratives of Remarkable Criminal Trials.* By A. VON FEUERBACH.
2. *History of Trial by Jury.* By WILLIAM FORSYTH.

THE first duty of civil government is the protection of the life, liberty, and property of the individual. All direct means for his mental, moral, and physical elevation are second to this paramount object. The most important branch of municipal law, then, is that which provides for the detection and punishment of crime. Other departments of legislation, regulating the private and public rights of the citizen, are intended to maintain and increase the temporal prosperity of each member of the community, and to aid the growth of the whole in power and political influence; this reaches to the very foundations of social order, and preserves the entire fabric from absolute disintegration.

Of necessity, Criminal Law comprises two distinct branches, — that which prescribes the methods and processes of discovering, investigating, and determining the grade of the offence, and the person of the offender; and that which regulates and defines the classes of crimes, and the punishments adapted to each. This latter division is doubtless of far the greater importance, and has in England and America received the most consideration. The study and endeavor of thoughtful and good men have long been directed toward the nature and

object of punishment, and have placed it upon a rational and true basis, so that the French law, as now administered in the countries where the English Common Law obtains, would hardly be recognized as the outgrowth of the system which prevailed in England at the time when Sir Samuel Romilly commenced his attacks upon it. The idea of reformation, introduced amidst regulations purely punitive, has wrought a complete revolution in the criminal code. But, passing by this branch of the subject, interesting as it is, we propose to offer some observations upon the methods by which crimes are discovered, and criminals are condemned.

Although of inferior importance to a true classification of crimes and apportionment of penalties, a correct method in administering the law is by no means to be lightly esteemed. However consonant with the lessons of experience, and the teachings of an enlightened social philosophy, the modes and gradations of punishment may be, yet if there exist such faults or disturbing forces in the operation of the judicial processes that the course of justice is unwarrantably delayed, or that the guilty escape, or the innocent suffer, then the penal code is comparatively valueless. The object of all judicial investigations is the discovery of the truth. Certain forms and methods of procedure are prescribed, in conformity with which the search after the truth must be conducted; and these rules are necessarily generalizations from a vast number of particular instances. They cannot be arbitrary, and the more firmly they are based upon reason and the general experience of mankind, the more effectual will they be in attaining the prescribed object.

Every system of criminal procedure must propose to arrive at two results, — perfect certainty in condemning the guilty, and equally unerring certainty in acquitting the innocent. The theory of our law regards the latter object as of the highest moment, and so it is, abstractly considered. Yet in the actual administration of justice, the former far outweighs the latter in practical importance. Of all the persons arraigned and tried for crime, a very large majority are guilty. The reason of this is obvious, in the fact that no person is arrested and brought to trial until some overt act of his, or some group

of criminative circumstances, has fastened suspicion upon him, and rendered his guilt probable.

Such being the conditions under which the criminal law is administered, its methods should chiefly consult the speedy detection and conviction of the guilty, and should afford him few or no opportunities of escape. He has forfeited his rights as a citizen, and his claims upon society for its protection, and can demand, and should receive, no favor, other than in endeavors for his reformation. Yet, as it is true that the guiltless are sometimes suspected, accused, and put upon trial, it is indispensable to a perfect system of criminal procedure that an opportunity be given for innocence to be vindicated. We esteem it to be the greatest defect in the methods which we have inherited from our English ancestors, that so much care is bestowed upon the protection of the guiltless, and so many restrictions hedge in the steps of the prosecuting officers, as to put great difficulties in the way of convicting the criminal, and to allow him too many means of escape.

We do not propose to examine the source or to trace the progress and gradual development of the different forms which compose the administrative machinery of the criminal law, and of the general maxims and principles which underlie and support it. They all have an historic origin. Some find their first germs in the social and neighborhood customs of the people at a period so remote that even these customs can be ascertained only by conjecture. Others were evolved by the early and severe conflicts between the people, the nobles, and the king. All have had great power in moulding the character of the English people, or, we should rather say, in affording a free opportunity for the national force to expand itself, and produce the English character. Trial by jury has certainly been a strong bulwark against the encroachments of the government, and the maxim that every person is presumed innocent until proved to be guilty has effectually prevented the continued and successful usurpation of power by the courts in the trial of persons charged with political offences.

But although certain forms may be useful, even indispensable to the progress of society toward a high degree of civilization, a condition may be reached, through their aid, when

society will be retarded by retaining these old helps. And what progress has been made? what social status attained? The people, the governed, are no longer obliged to contend with unceasing vigilance against their rulers, for the simple reason that in England and America all political power has passed into the hands of the people, to be by them disposed of at will. There is now no need of the constant watch over the crown officers, public prosecutors, and judges, for a far more efficient means of control has been found in the hustings, the ballot-box, and, better still, in the overwhelming power of public opinion. In short, society has advanced beyond the position in the struggle toward which the existing maxims of jurisprudence and methods of judicial procedure have been such efficient aids, and it may be that they are now useless.

Without entering into detail, we will give, as preliminary to our proposed discussion, a general outline of the methods by which a criminal is brought before the court, the composition of the tribunal which determines his guilt or innocence, and the rules of procedure, and especially the general principles of criminal evidence which serve as guides to the judge and to the prosecutor in the actual trial. This outline will apply equally to England and to the American States; for, while many and substantial changes have been made in the civil practice of the courts, criminal procedure has remained substantially unaltered for centuries.

Before a person can be put upon his trial, he must have been indicted by a grand inquest of the county. That is, a certain number of individuals, chosen, without reference to profession, education, or ability, from among the freeholders or the tax-payers of the county, meet in secret conclave to originate and receive complaints; and they embody the result of their deliberations upon each case before them, in the form of a bill of indictment, which sets forth in technical language the crime for which they present the accused for trial. The prisoner being arraigned upon the charges thus exhibited in the indictment, the question of his guilt or innocence is submitted to a compound tribunal, consisting of one or more men appointed to their station for life, or for a term of years, on account of the legal learning, experience, skill, and honesty

which fit them for their office, and of twelve other individuals chosen by lot from a large number of the freeholders or the tax-payers of the county, without regard to these qualifications.

The issue between the state and the criminal thus to be tried, and the judgment thus to be rendered between them, involve the consideration of two distinct classes of questions, and their separate decision. The one class embraces the principles of law which arise in the case, and the other embraces the facts which are peculiar to each individual trial. As the consideration of the latter branch of the issue always requires care and attention, and often demands the use of the most acute intellect, the most searching investigation of motives, the weighing of nicely balanced probabilities, the reconciling of conflicting statements, and the unravelling of perplexed and intricate mazes of circumstances, by a strange perversion of reason and justice, these questions of fact are given exclusively to the twelve unlearned, unknown, chance-selected laymen, while the legal questions are assigned to learned and professional judges. And, to make the strangeness of this arrangement more apparent, although means are given to review the expositions of the law announced from the bench, the decision of the jury upon the facts is absolutely final and irreversible. This is modern trial by jury. Such is the tribunal to which, under our system of jurisprudence, are committed the interests of the state, and the lives and liberties of the accused.

While actually at the bar of the court and before the jury, the prosecutor, representing the state, and the accused, are guided by a few maxims which are the foundation-stones of the whole fabric of criminal law. We will state these principles as concisely and plainly as possible. First and foremost is the oft-repeated rule, that every man is presumed to be innocent until he is proven to be guilty, and secondly comes the corollary, that a jury is not to convict if its members have a reasonable doubt of the guilt of the prisoner, — or, as the same doctrine is otherwise expressed, if the circumstances of the case will admit of any other reasonable hypothesis than that of guilt, a verdict of acquittal should be rendered. The jury

are to deliberate and decide, in the light of these principles, after the evidence is laid before them. In presenting their proofs, the government and the prisoner are regulated by the following fundamental rules.

First, the cases, both of the prosecution and of the defence, may rest entirely upon presumption, or circumstantial evidence, and need not be proved by the testimony of eyewitnesses. To this rule there must be made the very important exception, that, in cases of homicide, the *corpus delicti*, or, in other words, the fact of the violent and feloniously procured death of the deceased, must be determined by absolute, direct proof. This doctrine has lately been established in the court of last resort in the State of New York, in one of the most extraordinary criminal proceedings which ever came before any tribunal, either in England or America. Secondly, the prosecution must confine itself to the very transaction which is the subject of judicial inquiry. It cannot, by any evidence of the former bad character, acts, habits, or associates of the prisoner, attempt to make it appear antecedently probable that he would commit the crime. Thirdly, while the state cannot affirmatively show his bad character, the person on trial may rely upon his good character to rebut the evidence of the prosecution, and remove the probability of guilt. After the prisoner has thus opened the question, the prosecution may give proof of his generally bad character, but in no case can they resort to proof of particular acts of crime or infamy. Fourthly, the accused cannot testify in his own behalf; nor, fifthly, can he be examined by the prosecution. By no possibility can any statements or confessions be forced from him; and although the state may prove admissions made in reference to the issue, if free from objection, yet if it appear that they were obtained by offering the slightest inducement or hope of benefit, or threat of evil, they will be instantly rejected.

Such is a general outline of the tribunal before which persons accused of crime are tried, and of the rules which govern the judicial process. We are now prepared to examine more particularly the separate portions of this machinery devised to ascertain by public investigation the nature and convict the perpetrators of crime.

That a person accused of an offence should be clearly and distinctly informed of the nature of the charge made against him, is too evidently just to admit of a question. But we think that no one who has given the subject a careful examination, and is conversant with the actual operation of our criminal law, will contend that the method of investigating, originating, and presenting complaints by grand juries has any valid argument in its favor. These bodies are irresponsible, and can be called upon by no authority whatever to give a reason or answer for their acts. While their duties are of a delicate nature, and demand great skill and knowledge of the law, and experience in the designs and operations of depraved and criminal persons, they are composed almost entirely of men unfit to discharge these duties. In fact, they are fast degenerating into cliques for the gratification of private malice and personal revenge. When we have numerous examining magistrates, and prosecuting officers, whose special duties are to inquire into crimes, to investigate suspicious circumstances, and to search out the wiles and subterfuges of the criminal, and who from the very nature of such pursuits must become fitted for the discharge of their duties by experience and study, why should their labors be futile, until the results have been passed upon by a number of merchants, mechanics, tradesmen, and others, collected together from the people at large, to weigh the evidence of guilt, and to determine whether there be sufficient cause to put a suspected person upon trial? We think that it will be found to be the concurring, almost universal testimony of prosecuting officers, that grand juries are really a hinderance, rather than a help, to the cause of justice.

The theory of the grand jury, and at one time the cause of its efficiency, was, that good men and true were called together from different portions of the county, who, during the period which had elapsed since the last inquest, would have become personally cognizant of the various offences committed in their respective vicinages, and who, by meeting and comparing their different accounts, might bring all the offenders of the county to justice. This design and use of grand juries was adapted to the state of society in which

they had their origin; when there was hardly any intercommunication, no method for the transmission of intelligence, no newspapers, no mail, no telegraph. Now everything is different. We have in our progressive civilization far outgrown the need of these bodies, and instead of being an assistance, they are a cumbersome dead weight upon the practical working of the criminal law. They are known only to the countries where the common law of England prevails, and their duties could be far better performed if committed to prosecuting officers, who by information, instead of indictment, could bring offenders to trial. These objections to grand juries are not merely theoretical. Nay, so great a grievance have they become, that in some States of the Union they have been practically abolished.

The boast of English jurisprudence, repeated by almost every writer upon the law, and so highly esteemed as to be specially guarded by almost all of the State Constitutions of this country, is trial by jury. It may savor of impertinence to question the correctness of so many consenting opinions, and to suggest that truth and justice would be better subserved by the adoption of a different tribunal for the determination of questions of fact in judicial proceedings; yet we think that of late years the feelings and opinions of lawyers and legislators are tending toward a practical abandonment of what Blackstone lauds as the bulwark of English liberty. The fact that, in civil proceedings, so much opportunity is now given to suitors, and gladly accepted by them, of submitting their controversies to judges, or to referees, who adjudicate both upon the law and the fact, evinces in the public mind a deep feeling of distrust in the decisions of juries. We intend no historic argument. We willingly admit that, as an element in our civilization, this institution has had great and almost controlling power. We simply take society as it now exists in England and the United States, and trial by jury as it is actually administered, and maintain that it fails to fulfil the important part in judicial investigation which is assigned to it.

In discussing this subject, we must have in constant remembrance the paramount object of all criminal trials; namely, to ascertain the truth with as much certainty as possible; to

vindicate the law and protect the state by the punishment of the offender; and to discharge and restore to society those wrongfully accused. Courts are not designed for the protection of our liberties any further than as society is preserved from anarchy, and thereby rational freedom is sustained, by control over the vicious, and the punishment of crime. Now, if, guided by these considerations, we were constructing a judicial system, unaffected by the bias derived from our English ancestry and habits, would the purpose be entertained, could it be conceived, of forming a double court, and submitting the determination of the law, which is constant and fixed, to a learned judge, and the intricate questions of fact, resting for their solution upon circumstances ever new and shifting, yet contained within certain general principles, to twelve inexperienced and unlearned citizens, chosen by lot to form a jury? Trial by jury cannot be sustained by any *a priori* arguments; there is nothing in the nature of things which would lead a people uninfluenced by traditionary sentiments to adopt it. Is there anything in the character and composition of this tribunal which renders it more likely that their decisions upon controverted questions of fact would be nearer approximations to the truth than those of a single judge, who, in applying to the law the consideration of the facts, adds to his legal learning habits of mind fitted for the investigation of the motives and intent of criminal acts, and of the circumstances, from and through which the steps of the offender are traced? It seems hardly necessary to give any reply to this question, for it contains its own answer.

There are characteristics of every class of offences, and of the evidential facts by which they are established in judicial proceedings, which render it eminently fitting that they should be reviewed by minds trained for and skilled in such investigations. For there is a wonderful sameness in all crime, and a wonderful likeness in the kinds of evidence by which the fact of criminality is established. Especially is this true in the higher grades of offences, such as murder, which are only to be discovered by presumptive proof. The criminative circumstances relied upon to show the guilt, and the physical and psychological facts grouped around the crime, which point to

the offender and indicate the offence, have in each separate class of crimes a general resemblance, both in outline and detail. The culprit uses the same means to effect his object, resorts to the same methods of concealing his guilt, is betrayed by the same suspicious movements and telling *evidence*. It is by knowledge of this truth, and by the experience gained by constant practice, that detective officers acquire such unerring certainty in tracing out the indications of crime, and following the steps of the criminal. A perusal of the reports of judicial trials on the European continent shows that the judges of their courts possess the same power of analysis and discrimination. All this experience is lost in the jury. All this knowledge of the ways of the criminal, and of the means to which he resorts in perpetrating his designs, which would be such an invaluable aid to the judge in weighing and comparing criminatory facts, is wanting in the unskilled men who sit as triers in our courts. Does not the state, and do not the accused, suffer by the loss?

In all criminal trials, the nature of the facts given in evidence to sustain the charge or defence is always such as to require great care in duly understanding and correctly applying them. They are often so complicated and conflicting — involving matters of science, of medicine, of anatomy, of mental philosophy, and the weighing and adjusting of nicely balanced probabilities and presumptions arising from the mute testimony of circumstances — that it is absolutely impossible for a jury to do anything but come to a general conclusion, which may as well be wrong as right, and which will often be absolutely absurd. To illustrate our statement, we will suppose that on a trial for murder the defence is insanity. The jury listen to the learned and subtile refinements of the medical witnesses, — subtile refinements because the subject is in itself subtile and refined, — they take no minutes of the examination, they must carry in their minds the testimony once heard to the consultation-room. What a tribunal to decide such a question! Yet life hangs upon their conclusion. We should deem it laughable, were a jury of laymen to listen to the conflicting opinions of physicians, their description of symptoms, and the result of their diagnosis, and gravely to

decide from such statements whether a patient were afflicted with a particular disease of the body; but how much more exquisitely absurd is it — and the feeling of absurdity is deepened into a sentiment of horror as we reflect that they are adjudicating upon a human life — when these twelve men decide upon a disease of the mind! So great is the difficulty of decision in intricate cases, resting upon involved circumstantial evidence, that, unless the proof is overwhelming in one direction, a jury almost always disagrees, or, what is far worse, renders a compromise-verdict. Instances of the latter kind occur in every criminal court, and are often so palpably absurd, and in so direct violation to a juror's oath, that the public mind is shocked, and jury trial brought into disgrace. In a very intelligent county in the interior of the State of New York, a brother and sister were indicted for the murder of the woman's husband. The evidence was circumstantial, but clearly implicated both, and the homicide was undoubtedly committed by both, in assistance of each other, and under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. The evidence offered in each case was the same. One jury convicted the brother of murder, and he was executed. Another jury found the sister guilty of manslaughter in the second degree, the gist of which offence is unintentional killing in the heat of passion. In the same county, and within the same year, a woman was indicted for murder, and the evidence for the prosecution showed that she secretly delivered a young woman of a living child, and almost immediately drowned the infant in a pail of water. The defence, admitting the delivery, claimed that the child was born dead. Either the woman was entirely innocent, or was guilty of a most foul murder; yet the jury, in disregard of their oaths, in the face of all the evidence, and in direct contradiction to the law, convicted the defendant of manslaughter in the second degree, and thereby found that she had killed the new-born infant in a fit of passion strong enough to cause her to use such violence as unintentionally to take life. Can there be a better comment upon the trial by jury in criminal cases?

There is another evil in the system of jury trials, common both to civil and criminal cases. As the jury are

ignorant of the law themselves, and must receive it as orally delivered by the judge, great liability exists of their mistaking and misapplying the legal rules which are to guide them. Every practitioner knows full well what a crying evil this is, and that it can have no remedy. After perhaps a long trial, extending through several days, and requiring the resolution of many questions and the application of many legal principles to the various facts, the judge rises to deliver his charge to the jury. How much depends upon the correctness with which the twelve men hear, understand, and remember these judicial *dicta!* How liable are they to error and forgetfulness! The trial of all cases demands the finding of the facts in accordance with the legal principles which control and govern the controversy. A perfect judicial system would require that those who are to determine the facts consistently with the law should know and understand that law. Our system recognizes this truth, and attempts to provide for its operation; but it assumes the impossibility, that a body of men, chosen when ignorant and unskilled, will correctly receive and completely retain the statements which are made to them from the bench, and will accurately apply them in their deliberations. As before remarked, this is an evil inherent in the whole system, and is alone a sufficient ground for discarding it.

These are some of the practical difficulties belonging to jury trials. They operate against the prisoner as well as against the state, for error in deciding upon the evidence is as likely to be made to the injury of the accused as in his favor. Indeed, the Report of the English Commissioners of the Criminal Law states that, in the year 1827, no fewer than six persons who had been convicted of capital crimes at the Old Bailey, and left for execution, were proved to be innocent, and saved by the zeal and activity of a sheriff. English judges at the present day, in civil cases, doubtless convinced of the untrustworthiness of verdicts, practically invade the province of the jury, and instruct them what and how to decide; and a verdict is always set aside by the court, if the judge who tried the cause states that he is not satisfied with its correctness. The English have always adhered to the form after they have abandoned the substance, and the constant practice of their

judges is a virtual admission of the inability of their common-law system to produce correct results in judicial trials. Our own judges have not as yet had the independence and strength to follow their English brethren in this inroad upon the peculiar province and function of the jury.

It seems to us demonstrable that we have passed through the times when the jury trial was a necessity, and have attained such a social state that it is a burden. The duties now discharged by the court and the jury should be allotted to a single tribunal, composed of one or more persons, trained by study and practice for judicial office, and skilled in the investigation of facts. In criminal cases this professional court should be assisted by assessors specially qualified, when questions of technical science are involved in the course of the prosecution or defence. The change would undoubtedly be a great shock to our prejudices; but we are confident, that, under our form of government, controlled as it is by the popular will, the benefits to be gained by such a system would far outweigh its dangers. That questions of fact are more carefully considered by a tribunal which determines both the law and the fact, than by a jury, will be admitted by all lawyers and laymen who have carefully studied the decisions of the English and American Courts of Chancery, and especially the adjudications of the judges who have presided in the English Ecclesiastical Courts. The dangers incident to such a system are all comprised in the tendency toward judicial usurpation. But when the judge who decides, the officer who executes, and the legislator who makes the laws, are alike responsible to the governed, there can be little danger of a transgression of official power and duty. This objection of judicial usurpation is one which has been handed down through a long line of English writers, and is repeated from mouth to mouth, without any adequate consideration of the changes which have taken place in society, through which the entire force of the argument has been removed.

But we had intended rather to examine and discuss the fundamental maxims of the criminal law, which guide the actual course of judicial trials, than the nature of the forum itself.

The maxim, that every person is to be presumed innocent until he is proved guilty, and its corollary, that conviction must proceed only upon a state of the evidence which does not admit of a reasonable doubt, are founded in the first principles of justice, and are common to all scientific codes. Yet this time-honored maxim should not be misunderstood. Although the accused is in theory presumed to be innocent, yet he is not, nor can he be, treated as such. He is deprived of his liberty, or held to bail, and required to prepare for his defence. The true and accurate meaning of the doctrine is, that the burden of proof is thrown upon the prosecution; that when the prisoner is arraigned, his case, prior to any evidence, is clear in his favor, and that the state cannot demand a conviction, unless such proof is offered as to satisfy the minds of the triers, beyond a reasonable doubt, of the guilt. This principle, as already said, is not peculiar to the English law. It prevails and must prevail in every civilized country, where the law is studied and administered as a branch of ethics. Whatever be the character of the tribunal which decides the facts, whether jury or judge alone, or judge aided by assessors, it must recognize this rule in reaching a just conclusion. The maxim, in short, means, that the accused shall not be convicted upon a presumption, but only upon such reasonable certainty as can be obtained from fallible evidence.

The doctrine, that the prosecution and defence may rest entirely upon circumstantial proof, is common to the English and the Continental systems, with the exception that, by some of the latter, the punishment of death cannot be inflicted, unless to the evidence of circumstances is added the corroboration of the prisoner's confession of guilt. A resort to presumptive proof is a necessity in judicial trials. It is relied upon, not, as some judges have very foolishly said, because it is more cogent than the direct testimony of eyewitnesses, but because in the great majority of instances it is the only species of evidence left for the prosecution to adopt. Crimes are rarely committed openly, and so true is this to ordinary human nature, that, when an offence is perpetrated in public view, this very fact is always relied upon, with much force to the defence, to establish a morbid state of mind in the accused.

As we ascend in the grade of criminality from mere assaults and petty thefts up to murder, we shall find the criminal more completely withdrawing himself from the gaze of any other eye, and more carefully obliterating all marks of his presence and agency in the deed. But it is almost impossible to commit a crime without leaving behind some traces, some criminating *indicia*, which, combined and grouped together, draw like a net-work around the miserable offender, who vainly thought that he could destroy all indications of his instrumentality. Yet this evidence of circumstances has power of conviction only as it so completely involves the accused that no other reasonable hypothesis than that of his guilt is adequate to explain the general and combined appearance.

In proving the connection of the accused with the crime, and his agency in its perpetration, or, in the nomenclature of the writers on criminal evidence, the physical facts, the prosecution is allowed the utmost range of circumstantial evidence; and the same license is given in establishing one psychological fact, namely, the motive impelling to the perpetration of the offence. But beyond this the prosecutor cannot go. By an inflexible rule of the common law, the accused stands before the jury, not only as innocent of the crime under investigation, but as guiltless of all evil as a good and honest citizen of the state; and his past life, acts, and habits cannot be investigated, with a design to produce evidence of his previous character and moral traits bearing upon the issue to be tried. The argument from probabilities is entirely excluded from our judicial inquiries. In this the common law differs from all the criminal codes of the Continental states which derive their general principles and methods from the Roman jurisprudence. According to the European practice, inquiry is carefully made into the history of the accused from childhood. An investigation is carried into all his habits and pursuits, his associates and friends, his disposition and character, and any evidence is received which will tend to throw light upon his mental and moral peculiarities, — which will show by what motives he is, or is likely to be, swayed. These two systems thus stand in bold contrast. English and American writers are almost unanimous in lauding their own system as founded

in reason, and as calculated to protect the accused from undue and vexatious pressure from the government. But if we could divest ourselves of traditionary prejudices, if we could throw off the habit of mind induced by an exclusive acquaintance with our own practice, we should doubtless concede that the theory of evidence held by European courts is based upon a correct knowledge of human nature, that it is a more accurate generalization from the separate experiences of each individual, and that it is more directly instrumental in elucidating the truth. It is a strong argument against our rule thus restricting the range of judicial inquiry, that it is in direct conflict with the ordinary practice of all intelligent persons, in attempting to discover a crime, or to satisfy themselves of the guilt of one under suspicion. Should detective officers govern themselves by common-law rules of evidence in their labors, there would be few cases to be tried by our criminal courts. The most strenuous advocate for the reasonableness of the common-law restriction, if he suspected a theft by an *employée*, would not hesitate to make all possible inquiries from former employers in regard to the character and practices of his servant, and if he discovered that the person had been detected in other larcenies, or bore a bad reputation for honesty, he would consider this fact as throwing great light upon the question of present guilt, and would doubtless act upon it as convincing. All persons thus act in the concerns of every-day life when occasion demands. Now in judicial investigations, our common-law method abandons and rejects this universal practice thus founded upon good sense and constant experience, while the Continental system is based upon it. Evidence of this character certainly does aid in arriving at a just and accurate result in criminal trials. If a man has been in the habit of robbing, the probability that he will rob again is infinitely stronger than that a person hitherto innocent will commit this offence. In fact, as a general rule, what a person will do may with strong probability be inferred from what he has done. This argument from probability is resorted to in morals and in religion. In the ordinary transactions of the world, and in conducting the affairs of common life, it is the principal method of proof, upon which every person relies as determining his acts.

But there are reasons why this species of evidence is peculiarly applicable to the judicial investigation of crimes. In jurisprudence, as well as in morals, every crime consists of two parts, the outward act and the inward design. These elements must conspire to create an offence against the law, which courts can reach. The one is a physical, and the other a psychological fact; the one is the result, and the other the cause; the one is the fruit, and the other the root. The prosecution must convince the jury, or the judge who tries the cause, of the existence of both these elements. Our rules of evidence allow the widest scope of investigation into the physical *indicia* which bear upon the former of these two branches. Any circumstance, which alone, or in combination with others, tends in the least to indicate the commission of the outward act, and the agency of the prisoner in it, is allowed to be proved, and is used by the triers in arriving at their verdict. But the guilty intent, being an act or process of the mind, cannot of course be shown directly: it must be inferred from circumstances. Now the species of proof which the European system allows, and the common law rejects, is merely circumstantial evidence applied to a psychological fact, in the same manner in which ordinary presumptive proof is resorted to in establishing the *corpus delicti*, and the complicity of the accused with the crime. The same arguments which support the use of such evidence in one branch of the issue, are equally cogent in requiring its application to the other. The same grounds of error which would invalidate the one, would equally weaken the other. We may be misled, if we endeavor to discover the evil design by scanning all the past incidents and mental and moral traits of the person on trial, and we may also be deceived, if we rely for proof of the outward guilty act upon the "mute testimony of circumstances."

The guilty intent, under the operation of our rules of evidence, is *generally* only to be *presumed*, from the character of the act which forms the body of the crime; but in certain instances this restricted range of examination would tend so much to defeat the ends of justice, that courts have gradually permitted evidence of antecedent acts, which, by a rigid ad-

herence to the principle, should have been rejected. In showing motive to commit the crime, a general inquiry is allowed, although facts may be developed strongly affecting the character of the prisoner, if there be the slightest probability that such facts furnish any clew to the mental operations which led to the criminal deed. Now, we only ask that what has been allowed, in order to prove the single psychological fact of motive, may be permitted in all cases to aid in obtaining an insight into the mental processes which affect the intent. No system of criminal jurisprudence in those countries of Europe where the civil law prevails, allows evidence of probability to establish the *corpus delicti*, and, by some of their codes, much more positive and convincing proof is demanded than is required by our law.

The objection most relied upon by the English and American writers in support of their rule of restriction is, that the accused is informed by the indictment of the very crime for which he is to be put on trial, and is admonished to be prepared to meet that single and specific offence; that by presenting on the trial evidence of distinct acts, running back through his past life, he would be surprised at each step, and unprepared with explanations, which, if opportunity were given him, he might offer to the jury, and thus he would be placed completely at the mercy of the prosecution; that, if the jury are told of his former bad habits and criminal acts, they would be rather prejudiced against him, than aided in their investigation of the offence for which he is on trial; in short, that the jury would misunderstand and misapply such species of evidence, and convict for generally bad character, when there is no complicity shown on the part of the prisoner with the particular crime charged in the indictment.

This argument has much force, but in our mind it militates against the jury system, rather than against this class of proof. It is true, that jurors would be liable to grievous error and mistake in assigning the proper place, and giving due force, to such a range of circumstances, and it is because of the utter incompetency of this tribunal as proper judges of facts, that the English law has been so careful to narrow the issue submitted to them, and to reduce it, if possible, to the finding of

one single and separate fact. Herein is the whole explanation of the logical and refined methods of special pleading peculiar to the common-law courts. The necessity of discarding a range of judicial inquiry, which, to trained and experienced minds, is most fruitful of accurate results, because the triers who are to decide upon the facts are incompetent rightly to understand and appreciate the design and force of the evidence, is rather a reason for remodelling the tribunal than for excluding the entire class of facts.

But while such circumstances as tend to elucidate the character of the prisoner are forbidden to the prosecution, in order to establish the probability of the crime, the latter, although in the theory of the law already standing before the court with an unblemished reputation, may offer evidence of his general good character to rebut the probability of guilt. When he has thus opened the question and tendered an issue, the prosecution may meet it by rebutting proof, yet, absurdly enough, cannot pass into particular acts, which convincingly show the real disposition, but is confined to evidence of the prisoner's general reputation or outside appearance. Thus the law deliberately rejects the substance, and accepts the shadow. In short, it seems to us that this fundamental maxim of our criminal procedure is based upon a false generalization from facts, is repugnant alike to reason and to experience, and is inconsistent with the laws of outward human action and with recognized mental phenomena.

Our penal code gives the accused the benefit of his own silence, and also deprives him of the aid of his own testimony. In this it differs from the Continental codes, and, strangely enough, this peculiarity is lauded by our writers as the perfection of reason and justice. Until a few years past, the same disability in civil actions prevented parties from testifying in their own behalf, nor were they, except in chancery suits, liable to be examined by their adversaries. Indeed, so far was this restriction carried, that no one having any pecuniary interest in the event of the trial could be a witness in behalf of the party with which his interest was identified. The old English judges had so low an estimate of human nature, as to hold it to be an absolute presumption of the law, that not only

parties, but all persons, would commit perjury if they would derive any pecuniary advantage thereby. This ancient absurdity is now abandoned, and in the English courts, and in those of some of our States, parties, as well as all others, can freely testify in their own behalf. The result of this change is everywhere good. Is there any substantial distinction between civil and criminal actions in this respect? Shall the litigant parties be permitted to sustain their own claims, and defeat those of their opponents by their sworn statements, in controversies involving property only, and shall not the prisoner, upon trial for reputation, liberty, or life, be allowed the same advantage? Is the distinction due to the importance and quality of the interests at stake in the different trials? It would seem, then, that this difference should be an argument in favor of extending the right of examination to the accused. Indeed, if we once admit the propriety of calling upon parties to disclose their knowledge of the matters at issue in civil cases, we have conceded the whole ground. So clearly does the examination of prisoners in criminal trials stand upon the same basis as the rule now adopted in England in civil cases, that a movement has been made in that country, and a bill has been introduced into Parliament, with the sanction of some of the leading jurists and legal reformers, allowing persons on trial for crime to give evidence in their own behalf. Although it is not yet passed, a few years will certainly see this bill become the law of England. It is the right of the accused to be heard in his own behalf. As the proof against him is always partly, and often wholly, presumptive, he alone of all the world has the power to explain the circumstances, if they are susceptible of explanation. In other words, he possesses the knowledge of the truth, and is best qualified to speak both for the state and for himself.

If we admit the justice of allowing the prisoner to testify upon his defence, we also therein concede the reasonableness and necessity of interrogating him on behalf of the prosecution; for the one infers the other. If it be left optional with the prisoner whether he testify in his own behalf, — if he have the privilege to use or not at will, and he decline to use it, — this very neglect will be a virtual admission of his guilt.

That he who alone knows the fact of guilt or innocence, who can explain the circumstances, account for his acts, and expose his true situation, should keep silence when he has an opportunity to speak for himself, would be a manifest abandonment of his defence, and a fact of such moral weight with the court or jury as to be almost of itself convincing. If, then, an opportunity be given to the defendant, he must testify or he is lost. We are warranted, therefore, in assuming that, after such an alteration of the law of evidence, all parties accused of crime would avail themselves of the provision. The circumstances of the case are brought out by the state, and the accused is put upon his defence. He is sworn, and tells his story. He attempts to explain and account for the inculpating facts. If he be innocent, these facts can, with great certainty, be accounted for consistently with the theory of innocence, and, in a vast majority of cases, he will be successful in so doing. But if he be guilty, and attempts by subterfuge, concealment, or downright perjury, to establish his defence, how quickly will the cloak of deceit be torn from him, when he is exposed to the cross-examination of the prosecuting officer! How clearly will his lies and contradictions be exposed, and how plainly will the truth stand forth obvious to the court and to the public! When the prisoner is examined for himself, and meets in return the searching interrogation of the counsel for the state, we shall have the system of Continental Europe in all its essential principles, without its peculiar form. It will not be denied that the abrogation of the rule forbidding the criminal to testify in his own behalf involves a hostile examination from the prosecution, and we think that the cause of truth and justice would thereby be promoted, the innocent would be protected, and the guilty more surely condemned.

The point thus approached in a circuitous manner the European codes arrive at directly; and if we would borrow from them their great principle of criminal trials, if we would utterly abandon our antiquated dogma, that the mouth of the accused is locked, only to be opened at his own will, — would submit him at once to an examination on the part of the state, and allow him to testify in his own behalf, — we should be making a great advance toward a perfect system of criminal

procedure. While thus advocating the adoption of the principle which underlies the methods of the Continental courts, we would by no means recommend their entire practice. In general their examination of the prisoner is conducted by the judge, who thus, instead of holding evenly the scales of justice, appears to the accused party rather as a prosecutor. We would confide this examination to the counsel for the state, to be made in open court, in the regular progress of the trial. We would also discard all the clap-trap machinery which still disgraces so many of the Continental proceedings, the interrogatories to the prisoner in private, the vulgar attempts to excite terror by bringing the accused to the place of the crime, or before the body of the murdered person, and other like means of frightening him into a confession. Everything in their forms which resembles the inquisitorial process, everything which works upon the prisoner by mental torture, should be rejected as unworthy the calm dignity and serenity of a court of justice. But when we discard these appendages, there is left the principle, which our system utterly rejects, and thereby deprives courts of the very means by which truth can be the most readily and surely discovered.

ART. II. — *History of the Church of Christ, in Chronological Tables: a Synchronistic View of the Events, Characteristics, and Culture of each Period. Including the History of Polity, Worship, Literature, and Doctrines: together with Two Supplementary Tables upon the Church in America; and an Appendix containing the Series of Councils, Popes, Patriarchs, and other Bishops, and a full Index.* By HENRY B. SMITH, D. D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. Revised Edition. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

LEIBNITZ is said to have proposed a history of the world in a series of biographies. The suggestion was something better than a German dream. It was the fruit of a great knowledge,

and of a discerning philosophy. Make classes of the events which constitute the staple of any history, and then set the mind to look for the acting forces which produced the events, and at once *men* come to sight. Each event is obliged to divide qualities with some one from whose mind and hand it sprang. The actor invested a portion of himself in the act; and all the truth is not told about either the thing done, or the doer of it, until both are justly described. It is not the main business of true history to relate what was done, but also who did it. The event is often not half told until the actors in it are set forth.

This great work of Professor Smith, promising by its title to be a mere museum or depot of dates and names, tiresomely set in tedious tables and columns, really comes to be to the scholar's eye an intensely interesting encyclopædia of biography. It is all alive with the deeds of most noted men. Its broad pages glow with the fervid vitality of the noblest and choicest actors in the great life of the world since the Christian era. A double value thus invests the work, — a knowledge of the things done and of the men doing them. One interprets the other. We learn something of each by acquaintance with the other.

We incline to set this up as, after all, the highest merit — to the genuine scholar — of the magnificent compend under review; for a true scholar ought not to be contented with the knowledge of mere events in the order of their occurrence and connections. If he would have them of genuine use to himself, sources of life to his own mind and his means of imparting life to other minds, some contact he must have with the life beneath them. Vitality comes only from vitality. Even diamonds ever so carefully planted never send up the smiling germ and life-nursing grain. Only living seeds do this.

We hope it will not be taken as an assumption for us to claim that such a rare gift to the student as is this Chart should be accompanied with the plain suggestion to those for whom it was made, that an obligation to reach a more vivid and energetic scholarship as to the past attends the possession of it. It is true, we are a young nation, and have had too many cares to permit us to be very large or very accurate

learners; but is it not time for charity even to require that our learning blunder less, and that the knowledge we have shall not so blink and stumble in its necessary intercourse with the past? It is seldom that a writer among us can go back half a dozen centuries and be able to escape suggestions of the "babes in the wood," from those looking after him, if he can do it from himself. That honest familiarity with the past which comes from a just and familiar acquaintance, is a rare acquirement. Admirable examples — a few — we can remember of genuine scholarly intimacy, — that intimacy which has gone beneath the surface-facts to the vital, generic life under them; but the examples are admirable chiefly because so rare. Such a grand reunion, then, as this work proposes for the studious, thoughtful minds of all the centuries, no lover of the commonwealth of letters can fail to welcome with special gladness.

To describe this truly great work will be perhaps its best commendation. Ten years' labor in that wearisome task of finding, verifying, shaping, and placing the main events filling the last score of centuries are here combined. Whatever of the present is outgrowth from the past, — whatever is a perpetuation of ancient forces in unchanged or altered forms, — the beginnings, courses, endings, or continuance of opinions, customs, and systems are here skilfully and quite scientifically set in order. The Roman who wrote, "*Qui scit ubi est scientia, habenti est proximus*," spoke either from his want of such a guide-book to historic knowledge, or from satisfaction in having found it. The book is folio in form. After the necessary title and direction pages, the chart opens with twelve columns dividing the two royal pages into about equal spaces.

Taking an architectural similitude for these columns, the captions or descriptive titles would go for capitals or entablatures. The stately shafts are then laden with chronicles, names of men, of empires, of systems, and of works which vividly epitomize sections of the world's great past. The first Table presents "Ancient Church History, A. D. 1 to 750." "The Apostolic Church" is its first column, holding a portraiture of the main doctrinal, practical, and ecclesiastical features of the first hundred and eighty years of the Christian era.

"Contemporaneous History" follows, much of which is an outline of the sorrowful contentions which the Gospel encountered in its early progress. The fable of Hercules strangling the serpents which beset his cradle is brought to mind by the Herods and men of like qualities who assailed Christianity in its infancy. Then "Culture and Literature" invites the scholar by names of poets, orators, philosophers, and historians, — the elder sons of learning and of art. Their individual glories seem to mingle, each one heightening those of the others. We seem to see them among their kindred here. The lights and shadows of their own times magnify and justify their revered statures and conceded grandeur. An interplaced leaf adjusted to the marginal dates, and sheltered by the general title of the Table, ingeniously gains space for six more columns, presenting for contents, — "The Church and the Roman Empire"; "Growth of the Church"; "Founders and Fathers of the Church"; "Church Literature"; "Church Polity"; and "Worship and Ritual." Crossing from this clipped interleaf, another series of columns, with "Discipline and Monasticism," "Doctrines and Controversy," and "Heresies and Schisms," for titles, fills out this period.

We have been thus particular in copying a specimen of the tabular plan used by the author, because, next after the selections he makes for such a work, the question is how he has classified, assorted, and tabulated the multitudinous items which the various life of the period supplies. A poor plan or a false grouping would make the work as a chart worthless. "It is a great part of learning to know where learning is," was the maxim of one of the most eminent of modern students. But next after not knowing where it is, false directions about it must rank as a hinderance in study.

These twelve columns, like the famed gates of ancient Troy, open passages into all that early past about which so little is known with satisfactory exactness. It was the germinal period, — the seed-plot where sprang up the first growths of most of the received doctrines, opinions, and customs in religion and in civil life. We thankfully grasp the keys which set freely open the gates to that enclosure. It will be some acquirement to know what is *not* there, as well as to know what

is. The custom of making "primitive times" a lumber-loft into which we might toss all the opinions and ideas we are too idle to verify or too ignorant to put in their right places, is made more unsafe by such an easy guide to the half-known locality.

Five similar tables bring us through the shadowy period of "Ancient Church History." As the eye wanders among these careful records of those centuries, the comparative durability of character and opinions, and of empires and nationalities, becomes very impressive. The latter seem often to have been no more than lattices and props; while the former were living vines, which, spreading their fruitful branches over them, and gathering fresh sustenance from all the ages, dropped their fruit upon them all. The trellis often decays, and, falling, carries the vine upon it to the dust; but, like Antæus touching the earth, truth in character and in opinion rises stronger and sturdier than before.

"Mediæval Church History, A. D. 750 to 1517, — From Charlemagne to the Reformation," next opens in a similar series of five tables, numbering sixty columns. Vital characters and events are more thickly strewn through this period. Few of the popular notions as to the *dark ages* would fail of being beneficially modified by a perusal of these columns. It is rather painful, indeed, to find out how much mistaken we may have been in our general estimate of those centuries. This thorough exploration of them shows us that the *darkness* commonly charged upon them belongs quite as much to the popular opinion as the ages.

Passing these, another group of sixty-five divisions, in four tables with supplement, entitled "Modern Church History, A. D. 1517 to 1858," completes this admirable epitome. The columns here are crowded; the type is smaller, the items more numerous. As the grand march of the Church and of the nations with it goes on, strifes and victories distribute themselves more thickly through the crowded compartments. To the reader these pages are like a rising tide along the seashore, — fuller, stronger, and quickened in all movement. Each last throb ends in a shout over the stubborn rocks scarce touched before, or from fissures far up the ledges where a

little child could have played in safety an hour ago. A reverence — almost an awe — comes over us as we watch the mighty rising life, swelling over all ancient barriers, and pressing with irresistible force into the strongholds of ignorance, bigotry, and tyranny. Any man afflicted with that sore disease of the spiritual vision which makes the world seem to be moving backward, should be hastened to these pages as to a pool of Siloam. There would be hope for his vision, unless organically diseased, by waiting here.

The "Contemporaneous History" of this period reveals the suggestive predominance of religion as the cause of the wars which occupy so much space. Popery and Protestantism held drawn swords, and very often stained them in each other's blood. The American Revolution was the first contest of nations of any note in which religion was not a vital part of the quarrel, and the origin of the resisting nation then was almost wholly religious. But this great underlying moral force, guiding even the warfare of the civilized world, a force never safely to be overlooked in any study of the past, had been slowly passing from the sword to the pen. The great *writers* began to take the place of the great *warriors*. The earlier struggles for freedom of conscience were by arms, but its later conflicts were by noble labors of mind. The literature of Christendom, after the translations of the Scriptures, or about the opening of the seventeenth century, most cheeringly displaces the mortal combats of former times. The face of the chart is notably varied by these changes. The column for "Culture and Literature" widens and becomes solidified; while that containing "Civil History" narrows and is less dense. So the scholar, with these tables in hand, not only finds that *progress* is a fruit of time, but finds its periods and its processes.

We need these genial convictions. Learning is kept fresh and vigorous by them. Faith may pass from strength to stubbornness, unless some friendly vine creeps up its solid shafts, and keeps off the keen frosts and sharper sunbeams. The Portland stone is easily cut when fresh from the quarry; but if laid in walls, exposed without relief to all weather, it acquires a glassy hardness which no chisel can safely touch. It

is a misfortune for an educated mind to resemble this. Intimacy with the modes and visible instrumentalities of progress is needful to impart a natural and genial freshness to faith in progress.

But the spacious fane we undertook to describe is not yet fully traversed. Nine pages of Supplementary Tables contain the "History of the Church in America, A. D. 1492 to 1858." This is mostly new, both in the assemblage of the items and in their arrangement. It is a very vividly epitomized history of the religions, and, from necessary connections, of the political life of the country. No single library in the land could supply all the keys to the chambers and *closets* of our national history which are here found in admirable arrangement. Whatever events, characters, and opinions have been thought worth a place in the numberless annals of our land, are brought within easy reach of research by the minutely classified references enriching this part of the work. All the legion of denominations, their rise, progress, present state, literature, and representative names; all the agreements and disagreements with government; their political life and beneficent plans, — are methodically traced. These pages, with suitable questions, would form a rare manual for our schools. The brevity and skill of plan are unequalled.

A gift of wisdom also comes for our chafing and unamiable denominationalism. Sects can here compare themselves with the image which history is likely to copy from them for posterity. Some of the portraits are partly finished now, and will profitably reward study. Few men would repeat all the acts of a past life, — no wise man would. Organizations are no better than the aggregate parts combined. Hence any just summary of past acts is a good work from which to learn as to future conduct.

The "Contemporaneous History" of this period presents a very complete compend of political affairs, both measures and men. The "Culture and Literature" is a synopsis of Colleges, Schools, Libraries, Books, Periodicals, Belles-Lettres, Classics, Philology, Jurisprudence, Science, and Philosophy. These titles are testimonies.

An Appendix records, first, the General Councils; then the

minor ones in chronological order (over sixteen hundred being enumerated); then series of Popes, Patriarchs, etc., — a curious list, ending with Moderators of General Assemblies in the United States. A General Index of sixty-four columns in alphabetical order closes this Thesaurus.

We truly feel a pride in this work. American scholarship has few trophies equalling it. The Preface shows that the tabular treasures of all nations, and the annals of the Christian world, have been made tributary to it. It might have been named A Hand-Book of the Christian Era. With it in hand, we feel as if the world was in easy grasp. We feel less strangers in the past, — less defenceless against historic surprises and misleadings. The noble and the good of time past are made more familiar acquaintances, and the great experience of the past is rescued from loss, and offered to us as a treasure of wisdom. The synchronistic form goes beyond the mere tabular arrangement into consecutive digests and outline narrations. So that, in some portions, an almost thrilling narrative glows upon the commonly sterile thread of chronology. Its original plan, its ingenious convenience and minute availability, endow it with special value.

The list of errors found in the first edition has been corrected in the recent issues. It can safely claim a peerless rank among all the gifts of modern toil in that field.

ART. III. — 1. *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa; together with Journeys to Jagga, Usambara, Ukambani, Shoa, Abessinia, and Khartum; and a Coasting Voyage from Mombaz to Cape Delgado.* By the REV. DR. J. LEWIS KRAPF, Secretary of the Chrishona Institute at Basel, and late Missionary in the Service of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Equatorial Africa, etc., etc. *With an Appendix respecting the Snow-capped Mountains of Eastern Africa; the Sources of the Nile; the Languages and Literature of Abessinia and Eastern Africa, etc., etc.; and a Concise Account of Geographical Researches in Eastern Africa up to the Discovery of the Uyenyesi by Dr. Livingstone, in September last.* By E. J. RAVENSTEIN, F. R. G. S. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. xl., 464.

2. *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, a Picture of Exploration.* By RICHARD F. BURTON, Captain H. M. I. Army; Fellow and Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 572.

3. *Journal of a Cruise on the Tanganyika Lake. Discovery of the Victoria Nyanza Lake, the supposed Source of the Nile. Adventures in Somali Land.* By CAPTAIN J. H. SPEKE. Blackwood's Magazine, September, October, November, 1859, May, June, July, 1860. 8vo. pp. 118.

IN the issue of this Review for April, 1858, we gave a rapid sketch of recent researches in Africa, especially those of Barth and Livingstone, and the missionaries of the western coast. Though our prediction that Captain Burton would reach the centre of Africa, and perhaps settle finally the vexed problems of the sources of the Nile and of the Niger, has not been fulfilled, it is satisfactory to know that the hiatus in the coast exploration exists no longer, and that the eastern belt of the continent is now as well laid down and defined as the western. The publications named at the head of this article, to which we ought to add Dr. Livingstone's reports to the Royal Geographical Society of his latest expeditions to the lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, are an admirable supplement to those which we

catalogued in the former article. Dr. Krapf's volume is an excellent companion to the volumes of Messrs. Bowen and Wilson, and what he says about Jagga and the Wakamba may be fitly compared with what they say about Yoruba and the Fúlbe. Captain Speke reminds us, in more than one respect, of the French General Daumas; and if Captain Burton has less reverence and less simplicity of character than Dr. Livingstone, he is an equally accurate observer, and is master of a more entertaining style. In literary finish, his is the best work of African travel that has yet come under our notice. Indeed, there is almost too much literary effort; and the suspicion will be awakened in some minds, that so brilliant a writer sacrifices truth to effect, and invents the scenes which he describes.

The volume of Dr. Krapf, the first upon our present list, though exceedingly interesting from its various and curious details, leaves upon the mind of the reader a confused and fragmentary impression, a feeling of work half done and of conclusions justified rather by pious desire than by recorded facts. While Dr. Krapf means to commend the regions which he visited as suitable and encouraging missionary ground, the tendency of his narrative will, we think, be quite in the opposite direction. His experience will be more likely to warn evangelists off than to attract them. There is an unpleasant sense that the author is trying to make out a case, and that he has a hard case to make out; and the more he says, — the more he adds of his own disappointments and trials, and the mishaps of his companions, — the stronger does the impression become that the tribes of Eastern Africa are not, as he would have us believe they are, waiting to receive the Gospel. The fortunes of Rebmann and Erhardt, which occupy a large space in the narrative, were as melancholy as his own; and, even without the confirmation of the worldly Captain Burton, we should infer from the admissions of the preacher to East African savages, that the time for bringing these heathen into the Christian inheritance is still very far distant. The tone of Dr. Krapf's book is one of resignation rather than of hope. Its reminiscence of failure runs like a sad-colored thread through all the pictures of scenery and manners, and

the author cannot forget that the lands which he recollects as the theatre of such striking adventure have not been won to God.

Dr. Krapf's prefatory Autobiographical Sketch is at once modest and amusing. He was from childhood predestined to become a traveller and a missionary. At eleven years of age he manifested so much religious promise, that the inmates and intimates of his native German home prophesied that he would be "a parson." At fifteen he went to Basel, determined to be a missionary; and at twenty-seven set out on his first journey to the interior of Abessinia, as the successor of Knoth and the assistant of Isenberg. His pious labors, however, began on shipboard. On the way from Malta to Alexandria a great storm arose, the passengers were greatly alarmed, and were calmed only by Dr. Krapf's reading of passages from the Scriptures. So powerful was the impression produced, that a "French actress" was comforted, and a Maltese "Doctor of Laws" was converted, bought a Bible, started "prayer-meetings" in that Catholic island, and was driven off by the Romish priests. The voyage on the Red Sea had no spiritual results of this kind; but it gave the traveller an opportunity to note the advantages of the deliberate manner of Arab boatmen: if one gets along slowly, one sees the more on the way. On the Persian ship, from Jidda to Mokha, he was able to witness the method of teaching slaves the postures of the Mohammedan religion, of which plentiful curses and boxed ears formed an important part.

It was not until June, 1839, two years and four months after leaving Europe, that the vexatious delays, the goings and returnings by land and sea, ended in bringing Dr. Krapf to his destination in Ankober, the capital of Shoa. Two chapters are occupied in the account of this kingdom and its dependencies, the most novel details of which are concerned with the Abessinian literature and Church. The literary class of this nation are at once schoolmasters, copyists, and acolytes in the churches. The library which they have to multiply consists of less than one hundred and fifty works, all theological and all ancient. The class of Alakas, or unordained superintendents of churches, corresponds to the Monsignori of Rome, both in

the power which they exercise and the respect which they inspire. The faith of the Church is substantially orthodox, dashed by Monophysite heresy. The influence of the Virgin, perhaps, is better defined than at Rome, and the faithful at Shoa can rejoice that the mother of God saved by her dying one hundred and forty-four thousand souls. The most recent religious history in Abessinia is of the strifes concerning the *three births* of Christ. The author of this dogma was a monk of Gondar. He maintained that the first birth was primeval, "before all worlds," the second in Bethlehem, and the third at the baptism. Sixty years of fierce warfare were at last happily terminated by the edict of Sahela Selassie, the Abessinian Constantine, who decreed, in 1840, that the "three births" should henceforth be considered canonical doctrine in the Church, and allowed its sectaries to drive the conservatives out of their assemblies. More recently, it is sad to say, a reaction has again divided the Church, and the people are still in doubt as to the number of times that Christ was born. The "Knife Faith" believers, who have cut off the third birth, are even, Dr. Krapf thinks, a majority. The Abessinians are instant in prayer, unwearied in fasting, and their secular and feast days are about as rare as pleasant days in London. A surplus of devotion compounds for a lack of morality. The king has five hundred wives, and is willing to take a daughter of Victoria in addition, if she wishes to ally her nation to his. The priests are not afraid to violate the seventh commandment, and the monks keep their vows like the monks of Rabelais and Boccaccio. The "thief-catcher" is as celebrated a character, and as much dreaded, as Fouché in Paris or Old Hayes in New York, though his style of operation might seem ill-adapted to win confidence. A servant is made crazy with a preparation of meal, milk, and tobacco, and is followed by the beadle into some house, the owner of which is thus divined to be the thief, and compelled to pay for the stolen goods. No one doubts the accuracy of such divination; but all tremble for its consequences.

Two chapters are given by Dr. Krapf to the Gallas and the unexplored countries beyond them. In these countries there are scattered Christian tribes, uninteresting and barbarous

enough in the main, but not unworthy of a missionary's notice. He tells us how the Guraguans protect their children from being kidnapped at night by covering them over with thick stakes, hiding them literally under a wood-pile; how the patriarch of Abessinia, unable to go as far as Susa in the South, and to breathe upon the candidates for ordination, sends them a leather bag full of his breath, which they can squeeze out in small quantities as it is wanted; how the pigmy Dokos, four feet high, pray with head on the ground and feet in the air, and feed on snakes, ants, and mice; how the men of Kaffa plough with staves, and the men of Senjero elect their king, like the old Romans, by the flight of birds, choosing the man on whom a vulture lights; how the Senjerese custom of selling only women into slavery arose from the politeness of a wife, who sent to the sick king a slice of her husband's flesh as a cure; how the sacrifice of Abraham is statedly repeated, and the death of the first-born is necessary to secure at Senjero a propitious harvest; how a white elephant is as sacred in Enarea as in Ceylon or Burmah, though the respect for this color does not extend to the human subject; how there is a story of a city on the Suahili coast with "walls of copper," more than repeating the "gates" of brass of the ancient time, and a legend of a column of brass before the capital of Senjero, huge as the Rhodian Colossus; and many other pleasant oddities. Of the Gallas, the "coming" Christian nation of Africa, — the counterpart of the Germans in Europe, — Dr. Krapf furnishes a minute account. Their color is dark brown, their hair is like a mane, their limbs are anointed with butter, they ride swift horses, talk incessantly, practise magical rites, worship the serpent, which they regard as the mother of the human race, and hold, like the Druids, their religious services under the shadow of a sacred tree. Most of them are heathen, in the opinion of Dr. Krapf, though he claims that many of their sacred names have a Christian sound, and denies that they are worshippers of idols. One tribe keeps every *fourth* day as a Sabbath. The seven tribes of the Wollo-Gallas are Moslems. Connected with the Thursday and Friday morning prayer-meetings of these tribes is the *Wodaja*, or social union, where they not

only, like our modern pseudo-spiritualists, wait for "revelations," but also smoke largely,—and have coffee and Chat, which, as in English religious gatherings, is the synonyme of "tea."

In 1842, while Dr. Krapf was absent at Cairo, looking after a wife, his mission in Shoa came to an end by the will of the despotic monarch, and he was compelled to seek another field of African labor. He chose the coast of Suahili, near the latitude of the equator, and, after the delay of more than a year, reached Zanzibar in January, 1844. From that time until the autumn of 1853, a period of nearly ten years, with the interval of a visit to England, he was employed in voyages along the coast, from Mombaz to Cape Delgado, some six hundred miles, in short journeys among the inland coast tribes, and in the general work of his mission. Along with the narrative of his own labors and journeys he gives the narrative of his colleague, Rebmann, and the accounts of both may be joined in a view of the country. The most northern and the most interesting of the tribes described are the Wakamba, who inhabit the region northwest of Mombaz, and about three degrees south of the equator. The first view of these savages seems to justify the theory of Lord Monboddo. Their chief article of dress is a thong around the loins, by which hangs an unquestionable tail of leather. Originally nomadic, they have been forced by want to adopt settled habits, and now, in spite of their laziness and nudity, are not unskilful either in farming or in trading. Their forms are slender, their skins smooth and dark; but they have no negro features, and are quite different from the races which surround them. They are comparatively rich, both in flocks and herds and in domestic ornaments, and they have a great contempt for the inferior negro races. According to Dr. Krapf's observation, they have no king and no general laws; but each family is ruled by its own head, according to traditional custom. Great stature, fluency of words, and the faculty of magic, are the gifts which secure for any one popular reverence. Their numbers are reckoned at seventy thousand. Their reputation for truth, honesty, and humanity is bad; but Dr. Krapf found in several instances that the people were better than their fame,

and was cared for by them sometimes with a truly Christian tenderness. His general impression, however, agrees with the common estimate, and he painfully proved that no dependence can be placed on the courtesy or gratitude of a superstitious tribe; and we quite agree with his quaint conclusion from the outrages and robberies to which he was subjected, that "a permanent residence among the Wakamba must be an unsafe and doubtful enterprise."

Another curious tribe of savages calling themselves "Loikob," or aborigines, are the Wakuafi and Masai, who, in spite of their common origin, are deadly foes to each other. They live a wholly pastoral and wandering life, eating only meal and milk, and treating all the tribes around them as enemies to be plundered. They are a handsome race, tall, light in complexion, and their females, when reduced to slavery, are favorites in the Arab harems. They wear leather dresses, and their personal attire is far more decent than that of the Wakamba. Their men are warriors, and their bands for war or chase are thoroughly organized by age not less than by strength. Their chief is elected, and their government is that of a military republic, in which the old men give counsel, while the young men do the work. Unlike the other tribes, they kill their prisoners instead of making slaves of them; and they are very suspicious of all foreigners. They are kind to beggars and blind men. Their sacred place is the great snow mountain Kilimanjaro, which overlooks their land, and fertilizes the soil by its descending streams. There dwells Engai, their mystic god, to whom they pray for temporal blessings, asking no other. Though they practise circumcision, they have no Sabbath, and the medicine-man is their only priest.

The tribes near the coast, among which most of the missionary work of Krapf was done, have the general name of Wanika. They are a pliable set, and will change their religion if they can get something to eat, only changing back again when they are satisfied. They have a contempt for those who want anything more than clothes, corn, and wine; —"these are their heaven." Their chief superstition is a fear of the roaring Muansa, which they believe to be a wild

beast in the wood, but which is really a hollowed tree made to send forth by friction hoarse and unearthly sounds. Only the initiated are allowed to know the secret of this charm, or to own any specimen of it. All the rest, under penalty of a heavy fine, must hide when the dreadful roaring begins, and often all night long the people tremble in their houses at this voice of the monster. The Wanika have four kinds of ordeals; — that of the *red-hot hatchet*, which burns the hand of a criminal, but spares an innocent man; that of the *copper kettle*, from which only an innocent man can take out unharmed the hot mango-stone; that of the *hot needle*, which draws blood or not from its passage through the lip, as the accused is or is not guilty; and that of *poisoned bread*, which will stick in the guilty throat, but be swallowed by the innocent. Their notion of the end of the earth is that it is buried in a great morass in the west of Africa. Their eschatology is not very clear, and their belief in spiritual existence is confined to a notion of Koma, a sort of shadowy state, which is sometimes under and sometimes above the earth, and shows itself in the lightning. Dr. Krapf finds in this Koma a door for the entrance of Christian ideas.

The journeys of Rebmann, which are given in the volume of Dr. Krapf, were to Mount Kadiaro, some hundred miles from the coast, and to the Jagga country, still farther inland. In the first of these journeys, the most remarkable things which he saw were two magic staves stuck in the hill-side, which the people would carry along with them as talismanic protectors, — the curious animal called Baschi, of which the young are like swine and the old like gray asses, — the huge perpendicular rock-mountains, piled one above another like terraced forts, — the quantities of beads and brass-wire worn on the bodies of the women, — and the striking resemblance of the porters bent under their loads, to the configuration of the continent of Africa. He reckons the whole number of the Teita tribe, which dwell around this mountain, at one hundred and fifty-two thousand. To Jagga, Rebmann made three journeys. In his notes of these he mentions the liquor "Jofi," prepared from sugar-cane, — the great number of elephant pits which make travelling dangerous, — the custom of greet-

ing the king by presenting a "handful of grass," — the fastening of a bit of skin from the forehead of a slaughtered sheep upon the middle finger of a guest, as a token of friendship, — the use of a *fork* for hair ornament, — milk placed on the graves of the dead, — the substitute for salt, a kind of earth dissolved in water, called "Emballa," which cures sick cattle, — the usual way of speeding the parting guest, by *spitting* upon him, for which courtesy, moreover, he is expected to pay liberally, even to the surrender of his coat, — the edible birds-nests, which the savages eat with the gusto of genuine Chinamen, — and the great attention of the Jagga people to ablutions and cleanliness. Rebmann, in spite of his aversion to the superstition of the Mganga or medicine-man, was mistaken for one by the people, who would not be persuaded out of the notion that a rhinoceros which ran away instead of attacking them was put to flight by the Bible in the missionary's pocket. His observations on the manner in which missions to the Jagga tribes should be conducted are very sensible. He would have a "good doctor and some useful mechanics" go with the preacher. He would have good farmers go there, to show the people how to till the soil, and families, to show in practice and life the essence and value of the Gospel. He would have the missionaries support themselves, and show thus that Christianity makes men independent. The religion on which he relies to convert the Wasoro and the Wanika is not a religion of dogmas, but, as he says, "muscular Christianity." The roads leading to Jagga from the coast are very bad, and access is difficult. But when this difficulty is overcome, the missionary finds a healthy climate, an orderly people, beautiful scenery, and as many encouragements as can be enjoyed in any African tribe. To his touching narrative he appends the original stanzas recited when the glass of Jofi was offered to him, which compare favorably with similar productions in Christian lands. These, as translated, read, —

"Stranger this went out from his,
Came to me;
'Maina, let us talk, let us unite!'
I to him: 'Let us speak as joyous friends,
Let us pray to Heaven together

The land to bless!'
Sickness! — Depart from village mine.
Stranger this, whereunto he goes,
May he not see anything in the way;
Not kept back by thorns,
Not kept back by long grass;
Meet not with elephants;
Meet not with rhinoceroses;
Meet not with enemies!
When he reaches Jagga,
People of Jagga, pleasure him!
I pray the spirit of father mine,
And of the mother mine, him to let arrive;
Man this, may he come,
May we meet. I with him to rejoice!"

Dr. Krapf gives the narrative of two journeys which he made to Usambara,* a province to the southwest of Mombaz, inhabited by the Wasambara and the Washinsi. Of the characteristics and customs of these tribes he has little to say. He notes their way of casting out demons by firing guns; estimates the number of subjects of the Washinsi King Kmeri at *half a million*, which is clearly extravagant; finds the king "lying on a bed" when he is summoned to the audience; is pleased to see the queen doing her own work, though she has plenty of slaves; is charmed to escape the annoyance of beggars, both official and unofficial; is reminded of Switzerland and the Black Forest by the romantic scenery; observes that there is no need of the savages painting themselves near the capital of Usambara, since they have "only to squat on the ground" to have their bodies assume its color, — the color being that which New Jersey farmers bear about them in dry weather; is allowed by the king to settle at *Tongue*, certainly a good place for a preacher; hears some strange stories about the Wadoie, how they drink out of their enemies' skulls, how their shields are so large that half a dozen men can hide at once behind them, and how the Wadoie king was

* In the East African dialects the letter U prefixed to the word indicates the name of the country, the letter M indicates a man of the country, and the letters Wa indicate the plural collective expression for the race in general. Thus "Usambara" is the region which the "Wasambara" inhabit, and an individual of the tribe would be a "Msambara."

frightened by a fog on the mountain, taking it for the covering of an army of tobacco-smokers. His interview with King Kmeri on his second visit to Usambara has some imposing features. The grave, barefooted blackamoor, seated on his bedstead, with his tobacco-pipe, receiving delegations who salute him as the "Lion of Heaven," but whom he answers only by humming an "M," and whose cough makes all the courtiers ejaculate "Muisa," equivalent, we suppose, to the Christian "God bless us," gives us an admirable cabinet picture. Dr. Krapf won some privileges from this sable potentate, but did not succeed in converting him to Christianity, either by the gift of "colored caps," or by his still more taking arguments. Kmeri obstinately preferred to talk about business, and was indifferent to his soul's salvation. His parting present to the king was somewhat unlike the keepsakes usual on such occasions. His Majesty felt unwell, and Dr. Krapf left him an *emetic*, consisting of twenty-seven grains of ipecac, rather a tough dose, and somewhat dangerous withal to the giver as to the receiver, since it is customary in Usambara to kill the physician if his prescription fails to cure. Dr. Krapf's present, however, produced the desired effect, and he saved at once his credit and his head. The climate of Usambara Dr. Krapf pronounces to be good, with the reservation of the inevitable acclimating fever; and he is delighted with the good despotic government, so much better than that of the free Wakamba. "Certainly," he enthusiastically exclaims, "a monarchy is thrice as good as a republic, whether it be savage or civilized"!

In 1850 Dr. Krapf made a voyage down the coast from Mombaz to Cape Delgado, a distance of some six or seven degrees. The coast line here is dangerous for vessels, abounding as it does in islands and reefs, and imperfectly surveyed and mapped. Beyond the mouth of the river Pangani, which is nearly opposite to the island of Zanzibar, there are nine tribes of savages, the Wasegua, Wadoie, Waseramu, Wakatoa, Watumbi, Wagnindo, Wamuera, Makonde, and Makua, all subject to the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In the territory of all these tribes there is not a single good harbor, and in all of them the slave-trade prevails. Beyond their territory the

coast is subject to the Portuguese. On the islands along this coast, guano is found in great quantities, and *cowries*, the currency of West Africa, form an important article of export. The most important town is Kiloa or Kilwa, the principal depot for the slaves and ivory of the interior, and the point of departure for caravans to the great Lake Nyassa. From ten to twelve thousand slaves annually pass through this port. The shortest route between Kilwa and the Lake Nyassa can be traversed in ten or fifteen days; but the caravans usually touch the lake at a point farther south, and occupy forty days in the journey. A few details concerning the lake, taken from the record of missionary Erhardt's conversations with the natives, are given here. It is shut in by mountain chains; there are four ferries across it; none attempt to make the passage except in a dead calm, which is divined beforehand by the dropping of meal; father and son, or two brothers, never attempt to make such a dangerous expedition together; and the safe return of any one is celebrated by a kirosi, a sort of Thanksgiving feast. Those who will not attempt the passage are nicknamed "Kiwirenga Masira," — *egg-counters*, — and are regarded with the same contempt as the Nantucket man who has not killed his whale. The recent discoveries of Dr. Livingstone will make us more fully acquainted with this inland sea.

In the concluding summary, Erhardt furnishes a curious list of the resources and products of Wanika land, the animals and birds, tame and wild, the cereals and vegetables, of which he enumerates twenty-one, five oil-producing plants and three resinous, nineteen cultivated and six wild fruit-trees, and twenty useful forest-trees, the wood of which is good for cabinet-work and ship-building. There are many products fit for exportation, the principal being oranges, limes, lemons, tamarinds, sugar-cane, — Grafu, Dellasini, and Mandano, three substances the nature of which he does not explain, — cotton, and a substitute for cotton and feathers, called Sufu, which grows on high trees, — arrowroot, sweet-flag, the five kinds of oil, and, of the interior products, the ivory of the elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, the horns of the buffalo and antelope, and ostrich-feathers. Of domestic manufactures, the

only article likely to find sale abroad is the mats of rush and grass. There are mines of coal, iron, and antimony, which may be worked, and precious stones are found in considerable numbers. The various woods, too, would perhaps pay for transport.

We shall not attempt to give even an analysis of the short sketch of East-African history which closes the narrative of Dr. Krapf. It is not at all important in illustrating either the progress or the present condition of the land. The author intimates that the Queen of Sheba may have been ruler over this region, and that the disputed Ophir may be fixed upon this coast. His argument will hardly settle that question. Arrian's Periplus, and the few notes of Cosmas Indicopleustes, help to make visible the darkness which covers this land down to the time of the Mohammedan conquest. The Arab rule lasted for more than eight centuries, till the Portuguese rule began; and the Portuguese rule, yielding gradually, however, to the Arab reaction, did not finally cease till a period within the memory of the living. The Arabs did something for the civilization of the coast, and the traces of their influence are the chief spots of brightness in the general barbarism. The Portuguese benefits are very few, and the curse which the tyranny of that Christian power entailed has neutralized nearly all the salutary influence of the Moslem sway. Frequent revolutions have diversified in this century the history of Eastern Africa as they have the history of Southern America, and the end of these revolutions has by no means yet come. The land is still as spiritually waste as in the days of Solomon, nor have the missionaries succeeded in speaking an effectual word for its regeneration. Apart from the details of geographical formation and domestic life, the most valuable result of the mission of Krapf and his companions is the linguistic contributions they have brought back. And the most curious thing in the volume we have noticed is Appendix IV., which catalogues no less than one hundred and seventy-four works illustrating the languages of Eastern Africa, vocabularies, grammars, translations, and geographical works. If the Church proper has not received a large return in these missionary labors, the science of philology owes to them a lasting

debt of gratitude. Dr. Krapf's accuracy as a linguist, we are aware, has been questioned, and even ridiculed in high quarters; but, making all allowance for errors and hasty deductions, his works on the dialects of Africa will be for him a sufficient and noble monument.

We turn now to speak of the travels of Captains Burton and Speke, which open for us a part of the African country which the missionaries have not visited. Captain Burton, in spite of his arrogance, levity, and irreverence, will always be a charming writer. His pages have a fascination, even when the detail is dry; and he has enough of the spirit of daring adventure to make him a hero. But we must take leave to protest against the contemptuous way in which he has seen fit to treat his companion and former friend. We are not informed as to the first cause of the quarrel; but the expression of scorn and vindictive hatred which pervades all notices of Speke's part in the expedition is unworthy of such a gentleman as Captain Burton pretends to be. The tone is not reciprocated; and when Captain Speke has occasion to mention his superior officer, it is always with respect, though it is quite evident that there is no special friendship on his side. This contemptuous speech about his companion is the greatest blot in Captain Burton's volume, and it is feebly excused by the slight Preface. We do not find in Speke's narrative that claim of superiority of which Burton accuses him. He tells only what he did when separated from his commandant, and his journeys are strictly a supplement to the journeys of his associate. The sneer at his ignorance of the Arabic tongue, so often repeated, does not seem just, since he knew enough to get all needful information. The sympathy of Captain Burton's readers, forced to witness an unexplained strife, will inevitably go with the object of his abuse; and the last conviction of all will be, that, whatever other advantages the society of so accomplished a traveller may bring, Captain Burton is a very difficult person to get along with.

The expedition organized by the Royal Geographical Society for East-African discovery, consisting of Captain Burton as principal and Captain Speke as assistant, with fourteen servants of various races, left the harbor of Zanzibar on the 16th

of June, 1857, and on the following day anchored off the coast of Africa. At this point the narrative begins. The period of exploration extends to March, 1859, nearly two years, the larger part of which was spent in the inland region and in actual journeying. After his return to Zanzibar, Captain Burton made a short voyage down the coast to Kilwa; and he promises in another volume to give the results of this voyage in connection with details concerning the Zanzibar coast. Bulky as the present volume is, it contains no superfluous matter; and it is very difficult to condense an adequate notice of it into the limits of an article. The full and admirable tabular views, appendices, index, map, and illustrations, which accompany the volume, greatly assist, nevertheless, a rapid survey. The length in hours of each day's march, and the name of each stopping-place in the different regions from the coast to the Tanganyika Lake, with the latitude and longitude of the principal towns, and the height of the principal mountains, greet the reader at the very commencement of the book, and forestall the probable confusion of so long a series of records. The plan of division which Captain Burton has adopted makes the way of his journey as clear as a journey in any civilized land. The rectilinear distance from Kaole on the coast to Ujiji on the lake is 540 geographical miles, which the inequalities of the ground increase to 796 statute miles, the necessary *détour* in the route adding 159 miles more, making the distance actually travelled 955 miles. The time occupied in travel was 420 hours, which would make the average marching rate a little more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles in each hour, — a reasonable speed when the numerous difficulties of the way are considered. This broad belt of territory Captain Burton separates into five regions, taking marked natural features for the lines of division, and stopping, after his narrative of travel across each of these five regions, to give its geography and ethnology. The *length* of the various regions, of course, he has to assume, and the river boundaries which he adopts are arbitrary and not to be taken as exact. The breadth is given in geographical miles.

The first of these five regions is the *maritime* region, extending from the shore of the Indian Ocean to the mountain

chain of Usagara. Its breadth is about 92 miles, and its average length about 110 miles. Its surface is level or gently undulating, its soil is very rich, its forests are thick, its grains and fruits are abundant; the numerous villages are hidden in the bushes or the grass, which grows to a height of twelve feet, and has stalks the thickness of a man's finger; branching rivers supply by their inundations sufficient water, and roads run from the coast in every direction. The climate is very sultry and oppressive; fevers, of a peculiar and violent kind, are frequent, but short; and copious rains fall during most of the year. Three principal and two minor tribes inhabit the region. The first is the tribe of Wazaramo, a tall race of negroids, whom Captain Burton stigmatizes as "ill-conditioned, noisy, boisterous, violent, and impracticable." Their peculiarities are that they thatch the hair with red clay, wear a collar of colored beads, dress elegantly, impale the heads of thieves at the entrance of their villages, burn witches, and sell or murder twins. Albinoes are very frequent in this tribe. Copal-digging is their principal business when the wet season prevents them from cultivating the ground with their hoes. In the autumn they burn their prairies. Of the next tribe inland, the Wak'hutu, the most noticeable facts are their tattooed breasts, their front teeth ground to a point, their miserable houses, their excessive laziness, and their proverbial treachery. A third tribe, the Waziráhá, are mentioned only as having more beard than the others. Of the other tribes, Burton observes, that the Wadoe gash the cheeks for ornament, bury their chiefs in a sitting posture with the forefinger protruding above the ground, and with a live male and female slave to serve in the death-world, and drink out of unpolished human skulls, — and that the Wazegura live in anarchy, and are outlaws and kidnappers.

The principal town of this first region is Zungomero, situated on its western border, just at the foot of the mountains. It has the peculiar attractions of an African capital, and is a great centre of inland traffic. Provisions are abundant and cheap, and in one respect there is a resemblance to a German city, — everybody drinks beer and smokes a poor quality of the weed. The African weed here, however, is not tobacco,

but *bhang*, and the African pipe holds a quarter of a pound. The African beer, too, the name of which is *pombe*, is a trifle less palatable than the "*echt Baiersch*" of Munich. The houses of Zungomero are less spacious and sumptuous than Roman palaces, though they remind one of these in their variety and quantity of vermin. They are, to use Captain Burton's graphic summary, "leaky huts, full of hens and pigeons, rats and mice, snakes and lizards, crickets and cockroaches, gnats and flies, and spiders of hideous appearance, where the inmates are often routed by swarms of bees, and are ever in imminent danger of fires." The hotels of such a city must be a shade less commodious than the "Stadt Rom" of Leipsic, or the "Albergo Reale" of Terracina, which we have been accustomed to take as the extreme types of dirt and discomfort. Everything in Zungomero is damp; lucifer-matches will not burn; powder will not explode; paper becomes pulp; all metals grow rusty; and the dews are heavy enough to float a Western steamboat. The attractions of Zungomero are, in more than one respect, those of the American "Cairo."

In this interesting village was found a hut, of which the roof was a sieve, the walls were systems of chinks, and the floor was a sheet of mud. Captain Burton was compelled to make a halt of a fortnight to form his caravan, and to make preparation for his future journey. In "masterly inactivity" the East African, whether sovereign or slave, excels even the most conservative of English or American office-holders. The *dolce far niente* interprets the universal custom of African races. The caravan, as finally made up, was a remarkable body, and the description of its several groups and fraternities, their costumes, their characters, their features of body, and their mutual relations, is very graphic. None of them, from the English captain down to the lowest porter, are favorites with the head of the expedition. The two interpreters, Bombay and Mabruki, are lazy, surly, proud, and ugly. The two hybrid Portuguese are weak, wasteful, and voracious. The Baloch, the body-guard of the host, — twelve followers of the Jemadar Mallok, kindly lent for the occasion by the Sultan of Zanzibar, their master, — are all marked personages. The captain is a one-eyed hypocrite; the two graybeards are two

knaves; Shahdad is a fast young man, who abuses the "H" like a London cockney; Ismail is a confirmed consumptive; Belok is the snob, who is conceited and always making trouble; Abdullah is the "good young man," who prays, cries, and loves his mother, but does not hesitate to steal all he can lay hands on; Darwaysh is the spy of the captain; Seedy Jelai is a coward, who hates to be called a "nigger"; Khudabakhsh has a quiet, dignified manner, which quite belies his actual malice and rascality; Gul Mohammed, learned in medicine, science, and divinity, is a strange union of good and bad, the bad predominating; Hudul, the tailor-boy, has the faculty of misunderstanding what all around him say; and altogether, the baker's dozen of Baloch are an extraordinary cohort. Next to the Baloch in rank were the sons of Ramji, the guides and armed escort, a company of nine slaves, swaggerers, and cheats, whose chieftain, Kidogo, — or Mr. Little, in English, — did full justice to his name both in conduct and stature. Extortion was the rule, and truth the rare exception in his intercourse. Five donkey-drivers proved that the nature of the beast was that of the master in an aggravated form. The lowest order was the Wanyamwezi porter company, — thirty-six souls, — who, "even in their own estimation, were but little above the asses." These human beasts of burden were loaded as regularly as the other animals. Old men were among them, who worked as hard and quite as well as the younger. The average load of these African Issachars is from fifty to seventy pounds, besides weapons and private property, and they go better in proportion as the load is larger. This load is made up principally of beads, wire, and cotton cloth, which constitute the currency of all the East-African country. Colored beads are preferred, and are taken in exchange for slaves and provisions. Of cloth, the favorite kind is the unbleached product of New England mills. Salem industry bears the palm in the exchange of Zungomero, though Captain Burton predicts that the trade in "Merkani" stuff will go down before long.

On the 7th of August, 1857, the caravan of Captain Burton started, with its full complement of men and beasts, and its plethoric outfit of goods, clothes, medicine, books, and in-

struments, for its perilous and fatiguing journey over the Usagara Mountains. The ascent began in five hours after leaving Zungomero; and on the 18th of September, after a march of forty-two days, and the loss of a large portion both of beasts and property, the land of Ugogo was reached, and the travellers had leisure calmly to review the labors, dangers, and sufferings of their transit. This *second* East-African region, measured diagonally, as the course of the way requires it to be measured, is computed to be eighty-five geographical miles. No estimate can be made of its length. It is altogether a mountain region, diversified only by high table-lands and deep basins. The highest peaks reach an elevation of six or seven thousand feet, and one actually tested by the thermometer was five thousand seven hundred feet in height. The faces of the hills toward the sea are abrupt, and the precipices are often difficult to scale. There is plenty of forest, of running water, and, as a natural consequence, of fruits and flowers, though the population is more sparse, and the culture of the soil less cared for, than in the first region. The climate is cold and damp, unwholesome below, but healthy above. In the basins, the atmosphere is loaded with a haze almost Italian, while on the summits the clearness is wonderful. The principal mountain chains run from north to south, traversed by shorter chains from east to west, thus giving to the land a checkered aspect. This mountain region is mainly inhabited by the tribe of Wasagara, with their sub-tribe, the Wakwivi. The most marked peculiarity of this tribe is their singular head-dress of ringlets and pigtails, dressed out with feathers, which recalls to Captain Burton the classical coiffure of ancient Egypt. The ears are not merely bored for ornament, but are made so large in the opening, that musical instruments and snuff-boxes are safely carried there. The common dress, of untanned sheepskin, is taken off and packed away when it rains, and worn only in pleasant weather. For weapons, they use bows and arrows, spears made out of old hoes, and bill-hooks with the blade at a right angle. Each village has its head man, and all are subject, after a fashion, to the central sultan. The tribe has no peculiar moral characteristic. Its business is

fighting and plunder, and few travellers through the territory are so fortunate as to escape without robberies, not to say murders, in their company.

Captain Burton's journey through this second region was fertile in new experiences. The passage which we extract will show his first impressions of the mountain, and may pass as the most elaborate piece of fine writing in his volume.

"There was a wondrous change of climate at Mzizi Mdogo; strength and health returned as if by magic; even the Goanese shook off the obstinate bilious remittents of Zungomero. Truly delicious was the escape from the nebulous skies, the fog-driving gusts, the pelting rain, the clammy mists veiling a gross growth of fetor, the damp raw cold, rising as it were from the earth, and the alternations of fiery and oppressive heat; in fact, from the cruel climate of the river-valley, to the pure, sweet mountain air, alternately soft and balmy, cool and reviving, and to the aspect of clear blue skies, which lent their tints to highland ridges well wooded with various greens. Dull mangrove, dismal jungle, and monotonous grass, were supplanted by tall solitary trees, among which the lofty tamarind rose conspicuously graceful, and a card-table-like swamp, cut by a net-work of streams, nullahs, and stagnant pools, gave way to dry, healthy slopes, with short, steep pitches and gently shelving hills. The beams of the large sun of the equator — and nowhere have I seen the rulers of night and day so large — danced gayly upon blocks and pebbles of red, yellow, and dazzling snowy quartz, and the bright sea-breeze waved the summits of the trees, from which depended graceful llianas, and wood-apples large as melons, while creepers, like vine tendrils, rising from large bulbs of brown-gray wood, clung closely to their stalwart trunks. Monkeys played at hide-and-seek, chattering behind the bolls, as the iguana, with its painted scale-armor, issued forth to bask upon the sunny bank; white-breasted ravens cawed when disturbed from their perching-places; doves cooed on the well-clothed boughs, and hawks soared high in the transparent sky. The field-cricket chirped like the Italian cigala in the shady bush, and everywhere, from air, from earth, from the hill slopes above and from the marshes below, the hum, the buzz, and the loud continuous voice of insect life, through the length of the day, spoke out its natural joy. Our gypsy encampment lay

'By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.'

"By night, the soothing murmurs of the stream at the hill's base

rose, mingled with the faint rustling of the breeze, which, at times broken by the scream of the night-heron, the bellow of the bull-frog in his swampy home, the cynhyena's whimper, and the fox's whining bark, sounded through the silence most musical, most melancholy. Instead of the cold night rain, and the soughing of the blast, the view disclosed a peaceful scene, the moonbeams lying like sheets of snow upon the ruddy highlands, and the stars hanging like lamps of gold from the dome of infinite blue. I never wearied with contemplating the scene, for, contrasting with the splendors around me, still stretched in sight the Slough of Despond, unhappy Zungomero, lead-colored above, mud-colored below, wind-swept, fog-veiled, and deluged by clouds that dared not approach these delectable mountains." — pp. 125, 126.

This rose-colored view, however, did not continue all the way to Ugogo, and the traveller was glad at last to see the other side of the mountains, and to get a few days of rest, even at the sacrifice of some atmospheric and landscape charms. His barometers were broken, his asses died, he was deceived by the traders who met him, his own men lied, the streams were forded with difficulty, the nights were made wretched by mosquitoes, Dr. Livingstone's *tzetze* tortured the beasts, white ants destroyed the bedding, half the men were prostrated by one disease or another, and when the company arrived at Ugogo, they were in a sufficiently miserable plight. It is wonderful that Captain Burton, with such varied and incessant vexations, could note so many details of scenery and life in his journey. His sketch of the Lady Sikujui, "mulier nigris dignissima barris," whose name being translated was, "Don't know," and who had a dozen husbands on the way, reminds one of Boccaccio's tale of the daughter of the Sultan of Babylon. For four days the party remained at Ugogi, on the 22d of September set out with nine asses and fresh porters to cross the land of Ugogo, and on the 28th of October reached Tura, the frontier district of Unyamwezi. The diagonal breadth of this third region is one hundred and fifty-five miles, with an estimated length of one hundred and twenty miles. The surface of this region is level, sprinkled over with dwarf cones, with rocks and boulders. The soil is dry, sandy, and for the most part barren. No rivers intersect the plains, and water is everywhere scanty. The trees

are bushy and stunted, the plants are mainly worthless, the ground is baked by a fiery sun, whirlwinds devastate the fields, there are sudden changes of temperature, and the nights are cool, as on the Arabian desert, and altogether the region is not an inviting one. The most remarkable vegetable productions are the calabash-tree and the various species of Euphorbia. The saline and succulent nature of most of the plants prevents them from burning, and the supply of food from the soil is extremely limited. In compensation for this, the land is rich in wild game, and the carnivorous propensities of the African are here fully satisfied. The jungle is full of elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, lions, leopards, red hogs, giraffes, deer of many kinds, and birds of infinite variety, from the ostrich to the dove. In regard to the larger animals, nevertheless, it is a remarkable fact, that, abundant as they are in this part of Africa, they are not often seen by the traveller. Only a sportsman finds them; and in vain we seek in the narratives of Burton and Speke for any such perilous adventure with a lion as gives magic flavor to Livingstone's missionary record, or any such "bagging" of elephantine monsters as is set down in the exploits of the valiant Henry Shakespear. Wild animals keep out of the way of a party who go to measure heights and distances, and to make reports for the Royal Geographical Society.

The Wagogo tribe, inhabiting this third region, are adulterated from the genuine negro type by the mixture of other races, and show, as Captain Burton shrewdly remarks, by their variety of complexion, their slave-trading habit. Their women are comparatively handsome and well clad. The numbers of the tribe are large, and they are formidable to the surrounding tribes rather by the quantity of their force than by the quality of their valor. Their voices are alarmingly hoarse and strident, and the tone, even of the female sex, is arrogant and unmusical to a sensitive ear. They are the bullies of Eastern Africa, and profess unlimited contempt for most of the other races. The epithet, "sons of birds," which they apply to themselves, is simply a version of the Latin, "semper parati." Modesty is not one of their virtues, and honesty still less. When they cannot get tobacco by beggary, they steal it, and

no slave caravan passes through their land without leaving with them some of its human cattle. The exports of the country consist chiefly of salt and ivory. Ugogo is to Eastern Africa what Syracuse is to New York; and the trading traveller who falls into one of the thousand elephant pits finds to his sorrow that the price of tusks may be broken limbs in advance. Some ancient customs of this people, particularly that of human sacrifices, have happily disappeared; and a *fat man* may now traverse the territory without being mistaken for a deity, and without the penalty of death upon him on his failure to exercise miraculous power. No cannibal propensities are recorded of the tribe.

Ugogo is the land of terror to all the professional itinerants of Africa, and the utmost eloquence of the sable orators is spent in dissuading them from the transit. The phrases which Captain Burton quotes from these startling orations are not quite refined, but they are certainly vigorous. The valiant Kidogo charges his followers somewhat in the style, now becoming familiar, of the Southern disunionists, — "Speak not to those pagans; enter not into their houses; have no dealings with them; show no cloth, wire, nor beads; eat not with them, drink not with them, and make not love to their women." And the party found reason to approve Kidogo's system of non-intercourse. The custom of black-mail is here as thoroughly organized as in Southern Italy, and the daily trial is the payment of bribes and "duties." The toll on an English turnpike could not be more regularly exacted than this annoying Ugogo "kuhonga." To this leading grief of the road some minor griefs were added. Bloody strifes arose, and the commander was forced to "cool the bile" of his lieutenants with a "long pole." The caravans which they met suspected them, and were ready for fight; fires broke out in the grass; old women, calling themselves princesses, were to be entertained and supplied with new raiment; the Sultan Magomba, a drivelling graybeard, inquisitive, tedious, and as skilful in expectoration as a Yankee, was to be satisfied in his rapacious claims; deserters were to be punished; and forced marches had to supply the loss of time in the constant forced halts, which were anything but seasons of rest. The passage of the Fiery

Field, an awful desert of sand, rock, and thorny jungle, was made more fatiguing by the ever-deceiving mirage, and the days were as interminable as the nights were miserable. Encamping under the Jiwe la Mkoa, a huge sienite mass, rising to the height of two or three hundred feet above the plain, Captain Burton was enabled to deny for the night-season what Scripture asserts of the refreshing "shadow of a great rock in a weary land," at noontide. He found the stone too warm for comfort. It was like choosing an oven for a bed-chamber. All through the region these stone-hills abound, rising in the form of "lumpy domes." The normal state of the sultans of this region, who are as numerous as the princes of Germany, seems to be intoxication. It is a daily duty to get drunk, or, in the more polished court language, "to sit upon pombe." With such a condition, as might be presumed, it is not easy to persuade their lordships to attend to business.

From Tura to the Malagarazi River, the fourth stage of the journey, Captain Burton spent in the transit, including detentions, more than three months, leaving the eastern frontier in the last week of October and reaching the western in the first week of February. This region of Unyamwezi, by far the most interesting and important of those which the volume describes, has a diagonal breadth of 155 miles, and a nearly equal length from north to south. The name "Unyamwezi" means "Land of the Moon," though not a little controversy has arisen concerning its derivation. The general aspect of the region is that of a rolling table-land, without mountains, but dotted over with conical hills, huge boulders, and symmetrical mounds, made by the mould of decayed forests and insect-works. A fertile soil yields harvest sixty-fold to an easy culture. Villages cover the plains, and the flocks and herds scattered everywhere sustain a picture of perfect pastoral beauty. The contrast of this region to the "Fiery Field" of Ugogo is complete and reviving. The colors of the earth blend with the colors of the air to give contentment and repose; the shallow wells and pools contain water at once sufficient and healthy; rain, with terrific lightning and thunder, falls in torrents in the season of the monsoon; and sometimes even in the dry season there are showers from a clear sky. Though the gen-

eral climate is warm, so as to make much clothing by day unnecessary, yet in the summer nights a blanket is needed toward the break of day. East winds here, as in our New England, are the principal atmospheric plague, and are reckoned to be dangerous. Earthquakes often occur; and if the people interpret the weather by halos around the sun or moon, or hairy clouds or "sun-dogs," they must be weather-wise beyond all other prophets. The Unyamwezi boast of good air and good appetite is, nevertheless, somewhat lowered by the local fever which largely prevails. If the people get "fat," it by no means follows that the flesh is solid, or that the vaunted corpulence is the sign of robust health. Unyamwezi has all the varieties of wild animals of the regions already described, with many more of its own. Among these are some remarkable dog-headed apes, who frighten the women, fight the leopard, and brave the lion; the *mbega* monkey, the dandy of that race, who spends all his time in polishing his black skin and his white mane; and great packs of wild dogs, which howl, but never bark. There is no end to the species of birds, as well of those which wear fine feathers as of those which make fine music, birds which migrate and birds which have a permanent domicile. Of frogs the supply is large, and an American missionary by one of these streams would be gladdened in his loneliness by the "sounds from home" of these innumerable croakers. Locusts are here a plague, and leeches apply themselves without warning to imprudent bathers. No St. Patrick has cleared the land of serpents; but the few kinds that are met with are not dangerous except to rats. That species of insect which the Rev. Homer Wilbur would style a "Cimex lectularius" is highly prized in Unyamwezi. Its bite is a pleasant tickling, its odor a perfume, and the fracture of any bed-pole will cause showers of this insect-blessing to descend and swarm.

Two races of men inhabit this region, the Wakimbu and the Wanyamwezi. The first of these races are interlopers, who have come in and wrested or bought the soil from the original owners. They are good farmers, cunning traders, wear a cowskin fillet on the forehead, and are accustomed to tattoo the side of the face. The other race are the *autochthones*,

and are regarded by Captain Burton as, on the whole, the best race of all the East-African tribes. Their color is dark-brown, their hair long and curled, beard thin, stature tall, and corpulence is their normal condition. Julius Cæsar would have been satisfied with the round bodies of the Wanyamwezi. Both sexes dress somewhat sparingly, but greatly affect showy ornaments. With her huge wrist-rings, and her jingling ankle-bells, the Mnyamwezi matron comes near the joy of the good woman in the song, and can "have music wherever she goes." The man carries his goat's-horn bugle, like a Tyrolese hunter. The weapons of the people are numerous and ingenious,—barbed arrows, dwarf battle-axes, and a kind of double-edged knife, called *sime*, which rhymes easily with the *kime* of the India missionaries, on which Sydney Smith expended such a store of fun. The theory of Wanyamwezi education is summed up in the use of the bow and arrow, and children begin to learn this art when they are four years old.

Some customs of the Wanyamwezi are curious. When twins are born, one of them is invariably murdered. A man dying leaves his property, not to his lawful children, but to his illegitimate offspring, on the ground that, having fewer friends, these need it more. When girls get old enough to be married, they leave their father's houses, and go off into a separate community, where they can lead an independent life. This union of spinsters, however, do not observe all the vows of Christian convents, and the results of their seclusion are too often those which Rabelais discovered in cenobite life. When a corpse is buried, the head is turned toward the mother's village; this is the Mnyamwezi's Mecca and Jerusalem. The round huts of the people are rudely painted, and the door-posts sometimes queerly carved; and the cross appears here and there, though not as a religious symbol. Every village has its *Iwanza*, or public house, which is the chief national institution. In this the sexes do not mingle, but there is one building for the men and another for the women. The architecture of this hotel is less elaborate, and the furniture less gorgeous, than in similar establishments in New York or Boston; but the amount of comfort is quite as great, and there is, what these Christian hotels do not always have, an ample ventilation. A foot of

space is left all round beneath the eaves of the roof. The ornaments consist of hares' tails, goats' horns, and zebras' manes. The single bed occupies half the floor of the room, and is made by beams laid across forked trunks of trees. The guests sleep thereon, as Captain Burton phrases it, "like a litter of puppies," in the most promiscuous manner. The business here, as at Baden-Baden, is gambling, eating, drinking beer, smoking, gossiping, and sleeping. Everybody takes meals in the Iwanza, and comparatively few trouble themselves to cook at home. The dining-hour is three P. M. The bill of fare includes some dreadful dainties, to which even the *cuisine* of the Palais Royal has not yet arrived, and a Mnyamwezi epicure may call for a lion-steak, an elephant hash, a wild-cat cutlet, a spareribb of donkey, or some of the beetle stew. Eggs and poultry, however, are eschewed. Chewers, nevertheless, the Wanyamwezi certainly are, and when they cannot get tobacco, their favorite quid is a mouthful of *anthill clay*.

The Wanyamwezi are an undemonstrative race. Their words are interjections; their songs are monotonous; they make few pretensions; and they do not care to learn. They are indifferent farmers, respectable weavers, and most excellent porters. Indeed, the carrying-trade of this part of Africa is mainly in their hands. Each village is ruled by its sultan, whose power is absolute, and who claims the monopoly of several branches of industry. Slave-dealing is generally carried on, though only want induces them to sell members of their own households. The principal town in the region is Kazeh, which is to the "Land of the Moon" what Agades, Katsena, Kano, and Timbuktu are to the regions which Dr. Barth describes, a place of infinite noise, intolerable dust, and vexatious delays. Every traveller who has any self-respect will remain at least six weeks in this home of rest and commercial emporium. Captain Burton was constrained to follow that custom of the caravans; and he found more to endure than to see. His descriptions of aristocratic city life in this Moon Land are not fascinating. The richest classes have "nothing to wear," and the "diamond wedding" is simply a display of blue beads and brass wire. A "Prince's Ball" there would be a trying dispensation. The prices current of

the market exceed even those of State or Wall Streets. Trade, in its higher branches, is in the hands of the Arabs, who dwell at Kazeh in considerable numbers, and are decidedly the "Upper Ten" of the city. Some of these Arabs are accomplished gentlemen as well as wealthy merchants; and the "Shaykh Snay bin Amir," Captain Burton's gifted friend, might pass for the Roscoe of Eastern Africa. His knowledge of history and geography was equal to his skill in barter; and he could relate a legend, draw out a map, or complete a bargain, with charming facility. We regret that want of space compels us to pass over Captain Burton's most graphic description of a Wanyamwezi caravan on its march and in its haltings, by night and by day. A few things, however, are too good to be lost. What Dogberry wished to be written down, the Mnyamwezi porter boasts of himself, and starts on his day's tramp with shouts of "Phunda," *I am an ass*. The guide of the caravan wears a poncho of scarlet broadcloth, and arranges the beast's tail, which serves for a fly-flapper, so that it shall seem to perform for him the same office, and hold the same position, as when appended to its original wearer. The "parson" of the caravan is privileged to have most to eat, and to carry the lightest load. A favorite exclamation on approaching a village, even before the mince-pie comes on, is, "We see our mothers, we go to eat!" As Southern schoolboys begin their acquaintance by a pitched battle, so two caravans meeting salute by "pitching in" to one another, and butting their heads together like rams. When the porters of a caravan sleep, they cover their *heads* under the matting, and leave their legs and feet exposed to the weather. *Eating* is the first, constant, and final subject of conversation, before politics, business, or personal scandal. "How and how long to dine," is the great and absorbing East-African question.

On the 4th of February, 1858, Captain Burton's party crossed the Malagarazi River, and entered upon the last stage of their journey, and on the 14th reached the shore of the Tanganyika Lake at Ujiji. The dimensions of this fifth region are about seventy miles from east to west, and one hundred and eight miles from north to south. The journey across this region usually occupies eight days, and is comparatively easy,

following, as it does, the valley and course of the river. This natural road, resembling in some respects the valley of the Nile, has a varying breadth of from one to five miles. The walls of the valley are either irregular ranges of hills, or perpendicular rock. The soil is exceedingly rich; the growth of vegetation is rank; copious rains fall for a third of the year; and the climate, though considered healthy by the natives, is one which a foreigner finds very uncomfortable. There are no less than six principal tribes inhabiting this region. The Wajiji are remarkable for their large stature, their hoarse voices, their cloth made of macerated tree-bark, in which the human mouth does the grinding, and which is more durable than one would suppose from such a style of fabric, and the very moderate raiment of the gentler sex, closely approaching the costume of Eve after the Temptation. One is struck, too, by the singular Wajiji custom of wearing pincers of iron or wood hanging from the neck. The use of these pincers is to close up the nostrils while the tobacco-juice is undergoing absorption in them. The Wajiji do not chew, or smoke, or take snuff, but carry a pot full of tobacco-juice, which they sniff upward as civilized men sniff *eau de Cologne*. Drunkenness among the people is a virtue. A father and son express their mutual affection by "scratching and picking each other," and when two men meet, instead of shaking hands, they *rub arms*. The people are fond of fighting, and their play is a sort of combat. They swim like fishes; paddle their hollow logs with marvellous dexterity; fish with drag-nets, hand-nets, hoop-nets, purse-nets, and hooks; and prefer to all other food the fish of the lake, waiting until it has become stale and rancid. The government is that of a sultan, under whom is the council of the elders. Captain Burton was not impressed with the dignity of this honorable board, and he stigmatizes them as a stupid, boisterous, and drunken set, greedy of presents and false to promises.

The bazaar of Ujiji seems to be more various in wares than any of the inland marts which Burton visited. Slaves and ivory are the chief of its merchandise. Intoxicating drinks have an important place. A string of beads six inches long buys half a dozen tea-cups of sour toddy. Blue glass beads

are the favorite currency, though pink porcelains, to use Burton's phrase, are "at par." Ujiji is comparatively an expensive place to live in, and the *mode* is very arbitrary and exacting. Unlike the growing Christian fashion, beard-wearing is out of favor there, and every trace of hair upon the lip or chin is carefully extracted.

Ujiji is the principal port of the Tanganyika Lake, one of the three great inland seas in this part of Africa. It is to be regretted that the ill health of Captain Burton, and the nearly total failure of his resources of travel, prevented the circumnavigation of this lake, or anything like a thorough exploration of its shores. He was unable to reach either end of the lake, and was forced to rely for much of his knowledge upon the conflicting and not always trustworthy native authorities. A preliminary excursion to the group of Kivira islands on the western side of the lake was made by Captain Speke, who furnished to Blackwood's Magazine for September, 1859, a lively account of his adventures. Subsequently, both the voyagers visited the large island of Ubwari, and the town of Uvira, a few miles from the northern outlet. The time occupied by these voyagers was nearly three months; and it was not until the 13th of May that the returning party reached Kawele, their place of embarkation, and could rejoice in their providential deliverance from shipwreck, famine, and the jaws of the anthropophagi. Navigation on the Tanganyika Lake, though simple enough in its means and appliances, is by no means safe; and the travellers seem to have reached, in this aquatic expedition, the climax of their experience of native dishonesty and inexpressible discomfort. Their ears were deafened by the sounds of constant strife, their eyes were blinded by the excessive glare, they were drenched by rains, soaked in leaking logs, beached on inhospitable shores, bumped against friendly boats, and cheated majestically by the mighty Sultan Kannena.

The details, nevertheless, which the travellers furnish concerning Lake Tanganyika are quite full and interesting. In shape it is a long oval, broadest at the southern extremity, and in dimensions about midway between Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. Its length is about 250 geographical miles, its

mean breadth about 20 miles, and its area about 5,000 square miles. The coast, for the whole distance of the circumference, about 550 miles, is deeply indented, and makes a serrated line of capes and bays, deeper or shallower as the case may be. Its elevation above the sea is 1,850 feet, and its depression below the surrounding table-land about 2,000. It is really a great trough in the mountains, and it drains a very wide extent of country. The water is pure, sweet to the taste, and but little adulterated by the sediment of the streams which empty into it. Its color is green around the shores, but blue at a little distance, which seems to confirm the Arab assertion of its great depth. The margin is lined with reeds, thick as those on the margin of the Mincio. Between this margin and the surrounding hills is a fertile plain, tolerably well cultivated, and rich in vegetation. The winds on the lake are regular; land and sea breezes alternate as on the Indian Ocean; and gales as violent frequently here occur. The waters abound in fish, and the capture of these is the principal branch of native industry. The boats are all canoes, hollowed from the trunks of trees, none very large, and are propelled by paddles, having neither masts nor sails. The style of paddling would hardly be approved by the judges of American regattas; and the paddles throw into the boat a large proportion of the water that they displace, so that bailing is as much a part of the waterman's duty as rowing, and the company huddled in the hollow are profusely and perpetually sprinkled. Rudder there is none, nor ornament of any kind, except black triangles upon the oars, which, it may be added, are constantly breaking. The vessels hug the shore, and few dare to venture out to sea except in the calmest of weather. Every inch of room is occupied, and the crowding exceeds even that of a California steamer. Even Arab traders, greedy of gain, dread the voyage in these crank and leaky vessels. The terrors of a voyage on the Tanganyika Lake are increased by the bad reputation of the tribes that inhabit its border. We may not here even catalogue the names of these mighty and terrible nations: Urundi, where lions roar, and the houses are built of rattan, and the monstrous negroes sculpture their faces in *alto rilievo*, and the priests wear long hoods of white grass;

Marungu, where the upper lip is trained to project from the face like the bill of a duck; Ugoma, where the great trees grow which the little axes cut into canoes; Uruwwa, with its august Sultan Kiyombo; Uvira, the great slave-mart, where children alone are sold, and adults have no price; Ubembe, where the natives are not particular about their food, eating all kinds of carrion, worms, grubs, insects, and men, but preferring the last dish raw, unlike most cannibals; Ubwari, on the island, where the women tie down their breasts with cords, and the men wear black stripes to imitate the tiger; — these are only a few of the euphonious titles of the border nations on the great African sea. The wood-cuts of Captain Burton's volume help the reader to appreciate the style of beauty of these races, as well as the conveniences of navigation on this important watercourse.

On the 26th of May Captain Burton set out on his return march to the coast, which was more rapid, more cheerful, and less encumbered than the upward journey. In twenty-six days the party reached Kazeh, having averaged more than ten miles of daily march. There were few incidents on the route, and the most remarkable sight was the burning of the grass on the hill-sides, which suggests a poetical quotation from a Sanscrit bard. At Kazeh, another halt was made, to allow a journey northward to explore the great Lake Nyanza, one of the main objects of the expedition. Captain Burton found it impossible to go upon this second expedition, worn down as he was by his manifold hardships, and the complication of diseases under which he had long been laboring. He determined, therefore, to intrust this enterprise to his companion, and to remain in the African capital with his Arab host until his health should be at least partially restored. Slightingly as he treats his companion's labors in this journey, we take leave to say that the narrative of Captain Speke, as published in Blackwood's Magazine for October and November, 1859, is a noble record of courage, perseverance, ability, and success, and is fully worthy to be joined to the narrative of the voyage on the Lake Tanganyika.

Captain Speke left Kazeh on his northward journey on the 10th of July, and reached it on his return on the 25th of

August, having in six weeks marched with his company 452 miles. The incidents of his journey might be condensed into an entertaining article, but we have room only for a brief statement of its results. The Lake Nyanza, which he patriotically christened "Victoria," lies between the first degree of north latitude and the third degree of south latitude, about 450 miles inland from the African coast. In shape it is a long oval, and its estimated length is about 250 miles, with a breadth of 80 miles. It is a high reservoir, being no less than 3,750 feet above the sea-level. The shores of the lake are low and flat, and the surrounding hills rise hardly high enough to claim the name of mountains. There are many islands in the lake, which are conjectured to be the tops of submerged hills. The water is very sweet and pure, varying in color from blue to white according to atmospheric reflection, but never becoming red or green. Numerous creeks and small streams empty into the lake, and from the south it receives the flow of one considerable river. The northern outlet is as yet unknown. Captain Speke believes it to be the primitive stream of the Nile, and makes out a fair *prima facie* conjectural case, which Captain Burton ridicules. The controversy can be settled only by further discoveries. But one thing is certain, that, if this lake be not the original Nile fountain, it cannot be far away from it, and that the beginnings of the mystic river, father of waters, must be found somewhere in this region. Neither Captain Burton nor Mr. Macqueen has prevailed, as it seems to us, to set aside all Captain Speke's arguments.

The races around the Lake Nyanza are savage and turbulent, poorly clad, very rapacious, and very deceitful. The Washaki, Warudi, Wasukuma, Wakerewe, and Wahumba, are all characterized by these epithets. Of the Wataturu even stronger language might be used. No African tribe seems to be nearer than this to the primitive wild state, where the men are always fighting and the women go wholly unclothed. The exceptional tribe of the region is the Wahinda, who are supposed to be descendants of foreign conquerors. This tribe is a sort of hereditary aristocracy. The sultans of the other tribes are taken from it. The physical development of its men, the color, the customs, and the character, are far superior to those

of the plebeian races. Whatever lack of polish there may be in their manners is made up by the shining glow which is given forth from their smooth and anointed skins.

Though there are several large islands in the Lake Nyanza, the amount of traffic upon it is far less than on the Lake Tanganyika, and the few canoes are small and of wretched construction. Many fish are taken, only two kinds of which, however, Captain Speke was able to see. Crocodiles are not rare, mosquitoes fill the air and cover every green thing with their swarms, and the elephants are finer than in any part of the world. Captain Speke, notwithstanding, skilful and experienced in sport as he was, was mortified at the small quantity of game he was able to secure. He saw all around signs that zebras, quaggas, ostriches, and rhinoceroses might be "bagged," but none of them crossed his path.

One or two features of Captain Speke's return journey to Kazeh were remarkable. At Mgogwa, the half-way station, he saw a brilliant military review of all the troops of the Sultan Kurna, in which, if less powder was burned than in a field-day on the Paris *Champ de Mars*, there was far more animation, shouting, and amazing agility, and more grotesque uniform than any colors of the Zouaves. In the evening here, he saw processions of men and women possessed by the Devil, who have a habit of visiting all the houses, and summoning the owners to join them. The Sultan was constrained to fall in with the madness, and to follow the company, going through with its frantic gestures. He describes the process of brewing pombe, as he saw it going on in the open street; but the liquor itself is not to his taste, and he speaks of it as a kind of *pig-wash*. All along his way he found a dense population and great herds of cattle, a very agreeable climate, cool nights, few insects, plenty to eat, and plenty to drink. In one place, he heard an old man speak of a region where the coffee-plant grows, and where they make coffee-cakes and coffee-porridge; and he thinks that the region is well adapted to the culture of cotton. The parting suggestions to the missionaries are judicious.

We must pass over the details of the journey down from Kazeh to the coast, which occupied somewhat more than four

months. In the latter part of the way, the route was varied from the ascending route, and the party struck across from the Kingani River directly to Konduchi on the coast, a point some fifty miles farther south than Kaole, the starting-point. The party started in excellent health and spirits, which the fatigues of journeying, however, soon reduced. The only new tribe described on this route is the Warori, a small, shrivelled black race, who feed on dog's flesh, and have such power of abstinence that they can go without food for six days and without drink for twenty-four hours. The business of this tribe is plundering their neighbors and selling slaves. They take black-mail from all caravans which pass through their territory.

Captain Burton's narrative is supplemented by two comprehensive and remarkable chapters, one on the "Village Life in East Africa," the statements of which have to some extent been anticipated in the *journal de voyage*, and the other on the "Character and Religion of the East Africans; their Government, and Slavery." A few facts taken from this chapter shall close our rambling review.

The character of the East African appears to be an embryo of the two superior races, with the defects of both races and the excellences of neither. He is selfish, sensual, improvident, without confidence, without gratitude, and with no desire for improvement. He cheats, and he expects to be cheated. He is hard-hearted, vindictive, impatient, and fickle. He cries and laughs with equal fury, and does everything in extremes. He is at once pugnacious and cowardly, fond of excitement, and moved by the most trifling terrors. Though he is afraid to die, he will not think of death. He has little real affection, values his wife and children as marketable commodities, and casts off his relations without compunction. Woman he regards as hopelessly inferior. The great end of his life is eating; and his highest joy is in intoxication. While he is a slave to tradition, routine, and habit, he has no reverence for law and no respect for truth. He is shamelessly indifferent to the first principles of courtesy, insults his guests without scruple, and treats friend and foe with the same rudeness. He is a keen observer, but a bad contriver; with a quick ear for

musical sounds, but no capacity for harmonious combinations. He is lithe and yet awkward, active and yet indolent, with great power of endurance and yet easily exhausted. His language is highly artificial, yet has no fulness, nor even the rudiments of a literature; and with all his loquacity, he has no legends to relate, no eloquence in discoursing, and no metrical songs. With abundance of laughter, he has no humor; and all his monotonous wailing is without any sign of genuine grief.

The religion of the East African is *fetichism*. He worships the objects of nature, not as symbols of an idea, but from superstitious fear of these objects themselves. Though he has no faith in God, or in heaven, or in hell, he believes in spectres, trembles before disembodied spirits, carries food to the graveyards for the *manes* of the departed, and dreads the influence of the moon and the sun. His only temples are the dwarf huts which he builds for the ghosts. His only worship is the practice of magic. He has no sacred day, and no sacred feast. His sacred man is the Mganga, — the doctor, the rain-maker, the prophet, — who ranks in honor with the sultan, and has over the minds of the common people almost unlimited power. In the healing art, most of the practices of the Mganga are barefaced impostures, yet in some instances he knows how to employ efficient and ingenious remedies. As a detector of magic, his methods are even worse than the ordeals of Christian feudalism. His predictions of weather are not without shrewdness, and frequent successes establish his universal reputation. He uses in his divinations the rattle, the tripod, the bunch of gourds, and the vessel of water. He has the best place at feasts, his mark secures ivory for its owner, he protects by his charm the leader of the caravan, and he throws the first spear in the elephant hunt. He is the centre of all the knowledge and all the authority which the people can conceive as belonging to spiritual rank.

The government of the East-African tribes is either despotic or semi-monarchical. In the despotisms, all except the magicians are slaves to the sultan. The men are his soldiers, and the women are for his unlimited use. He must be approached with the most abject reverence, and no objection may

be taken to his decrees. He can sell his subjects, command at any time their labor, refuse all payment, and make his will their law. His rule is from inheritance, and the master of the tribe is usually the scion of its ancient kings. The despot keeps a proud and haughty bearing, and disdains to render a reason for his acts. He remembers, however, his dignity in his profligacy, and in drunkenness makes still evident his royal right. No subject may take the king's name, under penalty of death.

The semi-monarchical tribes have a sultan, whose power is limited by the elders and chiefs who form his council. Sometimes he is but little more than a cipher, and often he has no more independent influence than the royal family of England. The aristocracy of these states is not, it may be said, well organized, and is perpetually shifting; and yet there are no republican elements or tendencies. The Lords and Commons are strangely confused, and no popular leader brings a Reform Bill into the councils. The legal code is simple, and requires no class to interpret it. Murder must be atoned for by blood or blood-money; slavery is the penalty for unpaid debt; and the thief risks only the pursuit and vengeance of the man he has robbed. Society does not care for individual wrong, and there are no well-recognized social duties. The revenues of the state are raised by black-mail, fines, plunder of other tribes, and the sale of slaves.

The great fact and the great moral, social, and political feature of East-African life is the *slave-trade*. All the tribes practise it, and none have any sense that it is an evil or a sin. There is no distinction of persons, ages, or sexes in this traffic, and no regard for human rights. The tribes sell to each other, and they sell to foreigners. Every caravan to the coast carries this merchandise along with its ivory, and leaves much of it with the tribes through which it passes. This is the main object of the wars, and this is the sure result of the treaties. The strong make slaves of the weak, the victor makes slaves of the vanquished, and, in case of need, the father makes slaves of his children or the husband of his wives. Emancipation is obtained in one of two ways, either by the flight of the slave, or by the neglect of the master. The fidelity of the slave popu-

lation cannot be counted upon, and their morals are frightful. They are exported from the coast to the island of Zanzibar at the rate of fourteen thousand annually, whence they are shipped to foreign ports. The price of slaves in the markets of Zanzibar might excite the cupidity of our Western slave-traders. Prime boys sell for from fifteen to thirty dollars; prime men for from thirteen to twenty dollars; and young women realize to their owners from twenty-five to forty dollars. They pay a dollar a head of duty when brought from the interior, and two dollars a head when taken from the coast region. In Captain Burton's forthcoming work on Zanzibar we may expect more ample information concerning this revolting traffic; but he has given enough already to show his estimate of its moral tendency. It is the fixed curse, which has thus far defied all the efforts of Christian teachers and all the precautions of blockading squadrons. Only distance from the slave-consuming nations of the Western world prevents it from being tenfold increased. More than anything else, it fastens the tribes of East Africa in their degradation.

We have no room even for a notice of Captain Speke's sketches of his adventures in the Somali Land, that portion of African territory which lies south of Abyssinia and Soudan, and opposite to the Arabian coast of Aden. This has not as yet been satisfactorily explored. Only "first footsteps" have been taken in Harar, and we yet wait for more thorough revelations of the interior of this region. Much may be hoped from the expedition recently organized to search for the sources of the Nile; and if the next five years are as fruitful in results as the last five years have been, the African continent will be as well known as the Asiatic or the American. Such works as those of Livingstone and Burton are an immense and an invaluable addition to the stock of human knowledge, and not only make science glad, but modify the vague and unprofitable zeal which would send the Gospel of Heaven and salvation to those who are ignorant of the beginnings of comfort, order, and decency on earth. The inevitable conclusion from all these works on Africa is, — first civilization, and then conversion.

ART. IV. — *Diary of the American Revolution, from Newspapers and original Documents.* By FRANK MOORE. New York: Charles Scribner. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1860. 2 vols. 8vo.

"DON'T talk to me about history," cried the disappointed Walpole, "for I know that to be false." Yet history continues to be written, read, and studied; and is more elaborately written, more eagerly read, and more thoughtfully studied, in this restless, progressive age of ours than it ever was before. Social science goes to it for her facts; philosophy invokes its aid to confirm and illustrate her principles; poets draw from it their most touching images and noblest inspirations; and the common voice of mankind bears unconscious witness to its power in the daily exclamation, — "Truth is stranger than fiction." The men of our own times, like the men who have gone before us, reason and act as if history were true; discuss the questions of to-day by the same principles that they apply to the past; and, guided by the same laws of evidence by which they judge a Cæsar or a Napoleon, a Plassey or a Waterloo, stretch forth an unshrinking hand to the goods, the liberty, and even the life of their fellow-man.

When Reid undertook to reclaim for the human mind its birthright of belief, he appealed to common sense and the common reason of mankind, thus beginning that great movement which has restored philosophy to her true place, as the exponent and legislatrix of human knowledge. We may safely apply the same principle to history; and, instead of descending to a subtile investigation of contradictions, may calmly remind the sceptic, that, if he would live in harmony with his own teachings, he must close the halls of justice and the temples of the Christian's God, which found, like history, their claims to our confidence and our veneration upon the common ground of the credibility of human testimony.

But while we would assume the possible truth of history as a principle equally evident with the phenomena revealed by the senses, or with the general laws revealed by reason, we would by no means pretend to deny that there are difficulties peculiar to the inquiry, — difficulties which may account, in-

deed, for the distrust which many great men have harbored, although they cannot justify it.* History is founded in part upon individual testimony, and the testimony of each individual is more or less affected by circumstances peculiar to his education, habit, party alliances, preconceived opinions, and even his point of view and his mood of body or mind on the particular occasion. It is founded in part upon documents, the written records of the actors and their agents, but not always preserved in their original form, or even in any form, and, when preserved and unchanged, not always accessible. And then, when the ground has been cleared up and the facts are set forth in fulness of authentic detail, comes the ever-vexed question of principles and causes, of relative and absolute right; for, while we judge the act by its wisdom, we judge the actor by his motives.

The only just conclusion that we can draw from these considerations is the undeniable one, that the task of the historian is a task of peculiar difficulty, requiring a rare combination of moral and intellectual qualities, — patience, assiduity, discrimination, the power of dwelling thoughtfully upon simple facts, the power of rising from simple facts to general laws. He must partake freely of the poet's imagination, that he may form vivid conceptions ; and of the shaping faculty of the painter, that he may give them form, life, and harmonious movement. He must share with the student of nature the capacity of calm and patient observation, and with the student of mind the habit of sober thought and rigid introspection. He must possess the faculty of detecting the relations of things by analysis, as the statesman detects them by forecast ; of laying bare the secret springs of moral action, as the anatomist lays bare those of physical action. He must love Truth for her loveliness, humanity as an inheritance in which he shares. He must temper the consciousness of strength by a candid recognition of the weakness with which it is so closely allied ; and must embrace in his expansive and genial sympathies the rights and claims of all whom it has pleased an all-wise and beneficent Creator to make in his own image.

* "It is not history which is treacherous, but hasty writers who are credulous and careless." — Bancroft, Hist. U. S., Vol. II. p. 162, note 4.

It is equally evident that, however complete the qualifications of the historian, he will still be dependent upon the completeness of his materials for the means of displaying them. The time has gone by when the history of a nation was supposed to be confined to the lives of its kings, and when he passed for the best historian who could best paint a battle-piece or a campaign, or unravel with most skill the crooks and tangles of a tortuous policy. When the life of the state is likened to the life of the individual, it is impossible to carry out the comparison without perceiving that all the elements which enter into the study of the one are equally essential to a just comprehension of the other. As in the one we go back to the birthplace, and try to discover what influences surrounded the cradle and the nursery; to the school-room and playground, where original impulses first appear in their native colors; to early friendships and associations; to the books which were read oftenest, and the amusements that were followed up most eagerly: and then, when the life which has made him the fit subject of history has begun, as we collect every record of it, that we may study him in his letters and his sayings, in his thoughts as in his actions, till we have formed for ourselves such an image of him that we feel as if we had known him and lived with him; — so, in the other case, if we would enter into the character of an age or a nation, we must study it in all its manifestations; in the official documents which contain the record of its public life, and in the private correspondence which contains the record of the passions and opinions by which that life was fashioned and directed; in the literature which sprang from it and remains as its characteristic expression through all time, and in the literature which its daily wants called forth, and which passed away with the wants which gave it birth; in the lives and words of its great men, the representatives of its higher aims and conceptions, and in the lives and words of its little men, the representatives of its bustling activity and material inclinations, — thus leaving in our inquiries no nook or corner unsearched, lest some link should fail us in the subtile chain of cause and effect, and doing our utmost to see things as the

actors saw them, and feel as they felt, without suffering ourselves to be misled by their errors or blinded by their passions.

We have long been of the opinion, therefore, that the man who brings together and illustrates the greatest number of the materials of history is one of the most valuable contributors to a sound and healthy literature. Modest and unpretending as his labors are, they require an earnestness of purpose, a strength of will, and a patience of investigation, which, when combined with sound judgment and the power of continuous attention, may justly be considered as among the characteristics of a high order of mind. How long and earnestly must he labor in collecting his materials! How much must he read merely to find that it is not worth reading! How carefully must he distinguish between what is really trivial, and what, under its apparent triviality, contains facts or indications which, in skilful hands, may become the clew to important investigations! How cautiously must he guard himself against those false witnesses whose forgeries have so often perplexed the most skilful! How many errors of date must he rectify, and how many unacknowledged documents must he trace home to their authors! How strong must be his conviction of the importance of his labors, how warm his sympathies with humanity, and how noble the spirit which, knowing full well how little the present reward will be, finds abundant recompense in this serene intercourse with earlier days, and in the consciousness that he has left nothing undone to pay his portion of the vast debt which we all owe to the past and the future.

It was thus that Muratori built up for himself that enduring reputation which, even now, after the lapse of more than a hundred years of unexampled activity in every department of historical research, warms with filial reverence and grateful emulation the heart of every student of Italian history. It is by labors like these that the Benedictines of St. Maur have connected the name of their convent indissolubly with the history of France, and compelled the bitterest enemies of their order to regret that, in the war of extermination, a protecting hand could not have been extended to the scene of such generous and ennobling pursuits.

In our own literature two names will readily occur to every

mind as worthy to be placed at the side of those of Muratori and Dom Bouquet, — we mean, of course, Jared Sparks and Peter Force. Few men possess in an equal degree with Mr. Sparks the industry, candor, love of truth, discrimination, and sound judgment required for so difficult an undertaking as the selection and illustration of the letters and despatches of Washington. It was not the least among the traits of that wonderful man, that he seems, from the beginning of his career, which, indeed, was the beginning of his manhood, to have looked with confidence to history for the explanation and justification of his actions. He knew that his own motives would always bear the most searching scrutiny; and yet circumstances often compelled him to submit to unfounded suspicion and unmerited reproach. When assailed with a bitterness which to his high spirit must have been intensely galling, he waited in dignified silence for the justification of history. No form of slander, no virulence of vituperation, — not even that sickness of the soul which the strongest must feel, when the hand that once was clasped in friendship has been turned against him, — could draw from him a premature explanation, or induce him to engage in discussions inconsistent with the duties and the dignity of his position. But, meanwhile, all his public papers were accurately copied and filed, and the draft of every letter that went forth with his name was preserved with scrupulous care. In the first interval of repose from the absorbing duties of his military command, he suggested to Congress the propriety of having parts of his official correspondence copied for the public archives, and he superintended the execution of this work with characteristic diligence. Once only, and not till his long career was drawing to a close, did he condescend to select from the various calumnies which had been heaped upon him that which seemed to him the most difficult for any person but himself to refute, and to meet it by a clear and explicit contradiction, in a letter, not to the editor of a newspaper, but to the Secretary of State, "to be deposited in the office of the Department of State, as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity." *

* Sparks's Washington, Vol. XI. p. 192. Among many other passages showing

A careful perusal of the Introductions of the second and third volumes of Mr. Sparks's collection will show how well he entered into Washington's views, and how admirably he was qualified for the difficult task of selection. And a more difficult task it is hard to conceive. Two hundred volumes of manuscript were to be read, and every letter carefully considered in its relations to the whole, so as to make sure that nothing should be omitted, consistently with the limits of the work, which might be needed for a thorough comprehension of the subject. Like Muratori, and the other eminent men of the class to which he belongs, he has found among his contemporaries critics as well as admirers. Some would have preferred greater fulness in parts more particularly interesting to themselves, without considering that this could be obtained only by the sacrifice of matter equally interesting to men of different tastes. Others have complained of trifling verbal alterations as bitterly as if there had been a uniform text to follow; or as if an occasional transposition, or the change of an insignificant word, amounted, at the utmost, to anything more than an error of judgment. But the far greater proportion of candid readers have recognized him as a trustworthy guide, a faithful expositor of opinions, an impartial narrator of facts, and the first to give, in the awakening of our historical studies, that direction to the public taste which has led to a juster estimate of the greatest of our great men, and a livelier interest in the most important period of our national history. If Washington is no longer spoken of as an honest man of fair talents, covering the deficiency of genius by soundness of judgment, and making up for the lack of those qualities which astonish and amaze by pre-eminence in that goodness which inspires confidence and respect; if the generalship which preserved our half-armed and half-disciplined troops through the first three perilous campaigns of an eight years' war, and

---

the importance Washington attached to this subject, the following is one of the most striking: "Without which" (the aid of a secretary) "the moments employed in my usual avocations, and which I have been at all leisure hours devoting to the arrangement of my voluminous public papers, civil and military, that they may go into secure deposits, and hereafter into hands that may be able to separate the grain from the chaff," &c. — Vol. XI. p. 277.

closed that war by one of the most brilliant combinations, is no longer regarded as a consequence of the happier inspirations of subordinate counsellors; if the statesmanship which formed the complicated elements of our political organization into a firm and harmonious system — meeting, not only the questions which embarrass the initial steps of every new government, but the far more perplexing questions which arose from the unsettled state of Europe, with a clearness of perception and strength of will which preserved us from fatal entanglements, and became our guide in all our subsequent intercourse with foreign nations — is acknowledged to have derived its energy, its unity, and its efficiency from the controlling influence of a vigorous and enlightened intellect; if, in short, the moral and intellectual character of Washington is more generally appreciated, more thoroughly understood, more truly the object of our veneration and pride, more constantly the ideal to whose colossal proportions we lift our eyes with grateful admiration; — it is owing, in a great measure, to the sound judgment, conscientious research, and unaffected reverence with which Mr. Sparks has selected, annotated, and expounded his writings.

Peter Force is one of those rare and happy natures that seem especially formed for the work they do, and that fill their place in life so well as to make it impossible to conceive of them in any other position than that which they occupy. Obstacles that would have damped the ardor of other men give new vigor to theirs. Incidents that would have passed unheeded in common lives become for them the occasions of decisive action. Circumstances under which the greater part of mankind would have been contented to wear their time away in a narrow round of common duties, have no power over the deep convictions of men who feel what a privilege it is to plant the seed, although they may never live to see the increase.

Peter Force was born near the Little Falls of the Passaic, in Essex County, New Jersey, on the 26th of November, 1790, the second of six children. His father, William Force, had been a soldier in the army of the Revolution, and, marrying after the close of the war, found, like too many of his com-

panions, that the return of peace brought with it a change in the form, rather than in the degree, of his exertions. The name of his mother — for we regard it as unjust to omit in the life of an eminent man the name of her to whose early care he is indebted for precious influences which time can never efface — was Sarah Ferguson. Neither of his parents lived long enough to see how closely their son was to be identified with the purest records of national glory. While he was yet an infant, his family moved to New Paltz, in Ulster County; and before he had completed his fourth year, to the city of New York. New York, although already a large and thriving city, was far from possessing the facilities which it now affords to children of every class for the acquisition of a thorough education; and a private school, of no great pretensions, was the only place where the young historian could lay the foundation of those studies which were to be the charm and solace of his life. Unfortunately, the teacher failed to discern the richness of the material that had been intrusted to his care; and the discontented pupil, taking his destiny into his own hands, quitted the school, and engaged himself to learn the art of printing in the office of W. A. Davis. Before he was sixteen, he was sole director of the office. Here, in the midst of Dutch associations, — for the office was situated in Bloomingdale, — he worked with great zest upon the second edition of Knickerbocker's New York. In one of the chapters Irving had inserted, somewhat perhaps at a venture, a few family names of genuine Dutch euphony, to fill up his picture, — very much, indeed, as a painter throws in an additional figure, or a tree or two, to complete the harmony of his composition. The young printer, whose historical instincts were already working within him, thought that the verisimilitude might be heightened by adding one or two local names; and accordingly, inserting them in the text, he sent the proof to the author. Mr. Irving, upon whom a good thing was never lost, wrote his approval on the margin, and they all have in every subsequent edition kept their place in sonorous dignity. It was not till many years afterward, and when far advanced in his Life of Washington, that Mr. Irving learnt that the guide on whom he had reposed so

confidently during a portion of his labors in real history was the journeyman printer who had entered so heartily into the humor of his imaginary annals.

Meanwhile the direction which his teacher had failed to give to his studies was given to them by the evening circle that collected around his father's fireside. His father, as we have already said, had been a soldier of the Revolution; and when he established himself in New York, his house became a favorite gathering-place for his former companions in arms. The conversation of these old soldiers naturally turned upon the scenes in which they had been so long engaged; and many a striking incident, many a characteristic deed, many an adventure unknown to the professed historian, was repeated with all the minuteness of personal recollection, in the long winter evenings, and while the memory of the actors was still fresh. "Why," said the thoughtful boy, as he listened to the thrilling narrative, "why should things like these be forgotten?" And he resolved to write them in a book, and call it the "Unwritten History of the War in New Jersey." It was a labor of love, filling up every leisure hour, and training him for those habits of personal investigation and cautious study of tradition which have proved so useful to him in his subsequent career. But this mental discipline and this gratification of his taste were the only fruit that he reaped from his labors; for the manuscript was lost when the work was nearly completed.

The war of 1812 found him advanced in his profession, President of the Typographical Society, and more interested than ever in his historical studies. Still he did not forget that he was the son of a soldier; and entering, as a volunteer, General Ebenezer Stevens's division of detached militia, he served through two campaigns of three months each, first as a private, then, from the 6th of May, 1812, as sergeant, and in the following year as sergeant-major. The service, it is true, was not severe, the first three months' duty having been passed at the Narrows, and the second in the city; but if "the campaign of the Hampshire grenadiers was not useless to the historian of the Roman Empire," neither were the practical lessons of the hundred and fifteenth regiment of the tenth brigade of in-

fantry lost upon the future author of the American Archives. One of the greatest difficulties of the mere author lies in forming, not lively, — for imagination will give that, — but accurate conceptions of things he has never seen; and there are few historians who would not write a better narrative of a campaign after a month in the field, or see more clearly into the workings of political machinery after an active participation in Parliament or Congress. The forms of office are a burden, and routine weakens the mind and contracts it; but there is a certain knowledge of them which is essential in order to enable us to give them their due place; and hardly preferable to the ignorance which despises any of the elements of social organization, is that undue reverence which the most candid are the most apt to feel for whatever comes to them with the indistinctness of mystery.

It would be an error, however, to attribute Mr. Force's entrance into active life solely to his desire of fitting himself for the interpretation of history. A vigorous frame, an active temperament, a quick perception of character, a keen appreciation of humor, and a rare strength of purpose and energy of will, made the study of human nature, and that kind of excitement which is found in acting with men and upon them, a pleasure in itself. And the same inward admonition that led him when a boy of ten to abandon the school at which he was not learning what he knew he wanted, for a printing-office in which labor was to lead to independence, kept him through all his active years, and in the midst of engrossing cares, keenly alive to the duties of an American citizen. In 1815 he received from the Governor of the State an appointment as ensign, and in 1816 as lieutenant. Here ends his career as a citizen of New York; for in 1816 he removed to Washington, under an arrangement with Mr. Davis, who had obtained the contract for the printing of Congress.

In this new field he soon became known as a public-spirited, just-minded, industrious citizen, who had the welfare of the community at heart, and the honest ambition to do his duty as a member of a commonwealth fully entitled to the best services of all her children. Continuing his military career, he was commissioned by the President of the United States

on the 21st of September, 1824, as Captain of Artillery in the Washington Militia; on the 26th of February, 1830, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia of the District of Columbia; on the 23d of December, 1840, as Colonel of Artillery, and in May, 1860, as Major-General in the same body;—offices of which he scrupulously fulfilled the duties, setting an example, during a life filled with other labors and checkered by many cares, of what the American citizen owes to the military system of his country.

In civil life his services were more laborious. In June, 1822, he entered the City Council as Councilman, was soon chosen President, and, when his term of service expired, was re-elected during his absence. After several years' service in the Council, he was raised to the second branch of the municipal assembly, as Alderman; was President of this board also; and closed his municipal career by presiding over the city government as Mayor from 1836 to 1840. Unwilling to withhold the services due from a good citizen, he has since accepted a place not free from a labor and responsibility severe for a man of his years, as one of the Inspectors of the Penitentiary; and he still continues to perform the duties of that office with punctual assiduity.

We have entered into these details of his official career, not merely because they serve to illustrate his character, but because we love, as citizens of a republic, to dwell upon this picture of a life in which public and private duties are so harmoniously blended; and we feel that if all, and more especially those of us who make the engrossing nature of our individual pursuits a pretext for refusing to bear a part of the responsibilities of freemen, were to ponder it well, we should become better citizens, and should render our country itself still more deserving of our love.

More directly in harmony with his historical pursuits was the publication of the National Calendar and Annals of the United States, a work full of important material for the history of the organization of the central government, and of the material progress of the country year by year, and which was continued annually from 1820 through 1836. In 1823 he established the National Journal, in which he advocated the

election, and subsequently supported the administration of Mr. Adams, but in a style partaking rather of the candor of the historian than of the injustice of the political partisan. Indeed, we have heard it said, that on one occasion his party were so dissatisfied with the manner in which he had narrated an incident that told somewhat more favorably than they would have wished, for the opposite side, that some of the leading members met and resolved to propose to him to accept the assistance of a committee for the political columns of his paper. Not willing, however, to express their wishes openly, they sent a member to him beforehand to sound him about it. "I do not suppose any gentleman would make such a proposition to me," was the answer; and the upright man, who could not see why the truth should be concealed because it did honor to an adversary, was left to pursue his own way.

Meanwhile his great conception — the American Archives — was growing and maturing in his mind, gradually assuming form and substance and definite proportions. The germ lay in his "Unwritten History of the War in New Jersey"; for, as in all vigorous and original minds, the seed bore but a faint proportion to the fruit; and it is only when we look up to the broad branches of the oak that we can realize what a gigantic growth lay hidden in the tiny shell of the acorn. Revolving in his thought the legendary history of the Revolution, as he had received it from the lips of subordinate actors, he felt that the story as told thus far had lost half of its power by losing half of its reality. While listening to a narrative of what the narrator himself had seen and done, and what most of the listeners had seen and done with him, he felt that in history there is a kind of knowledge which can be obtained only by looking, as it were, with the eyes of contemporaries, seeing things as they saw them while the result was still uncertain, and feeling as they felt while the decision was still to be made. The truest history, therefore, would be a literal reproduction of the past discussions, doubts, resolves, the acts of assemblies, the movements of the people, rumors gradually settling into facts, characters unfolding and taking their definite form, and events shaping themselves by degrees in accordance with that universal law which, from the most varied and apparently

disconnected elements, evolves an all-pervading unity of growth and design. To obtain this, he felt that it was necessary to let the past tell its own story, and, as far as those ideas which underlie all great events had been definitely expressed, to give them in the words in which they were first uttered. Three elements appear in the history of the Revolution, or rather three classes of actors, — sometimes distinct, sometimes acting in unison, but always moving from the same point, and intending to move in the same direction, — public assemblies, the army, and the people. The public assemblies were, in England, the two Houses of Parliament; in America, Congress, and the Provincial Assemblies, under their various names; and the record of their discussions and acts forms a vital portion of the history of the period. The story of the army is contained in the reports and correspondence of the officers, and in the private letters both of officers and privates. The people expressed a part of their opinions at the polls, a part in occasional letters, a part by the greater or less readiness with which they complied with the requisitions of their representatives; and the residue is to be derived from pamphlets and the public press. Going back, therefore, and arranging these various materials, each in its proper order and place, day by day, month by month, year by year, we should truly reproduce the past, and put it in the power of every reader to live through these events as if he had been an actor in them.

It was in 1820 that the outlines of this plan first occurred to his mind, and two years of meditation and study were devoted to them before he could bring them into a satisfactory shape. A specimen of the work — the History of the Stamp Act — was published in the Calendar for 1832, for the purpose of explaining the plan of the proposed publication; and in the same year the subject was brought before Congress. We do not propose to enter into the history of the discussion to which it gave rise, the opposition it encountered, or the arguments that were employed to render it acceptable. For our present purpose it is sufficient to say that a majority was found of men who looked upon the history of their country as a solemn trust, the actions of her great men as a precious legacy, and

the duty of legislators as extending to everything that can elevate a nation's character, and secure for it the pride, the respect, and the affection of its citizens. The Secretary of State was Mr. Livingston, a man who had borne too large a part in the making of history not to feel its value. Still, when the plan was first laid before him, he received it coldly, simply promising to take it into consideration. Confident that if examined it could not but commend itself to the approval of so intelligent a man, Mr. Force let a whole fortnight pass before he returned to the Department. The moment that he entered, he was told that the Secretary wished to see him; and after a conversation of two hours, in which the subject was discussed in all its bearings and from every point of view, he had the satisfaction to be assured of the full approval and hearty concurrence of that eminent statesman.

Before the publication began, Mr. Livingston was sent to France, and the Department of State passed into the hands of Mr. Forsyth, who, in the Senate, had been one of the warmest opponents of the work, going so far, even, as to propose stopping it, though in favor of making a compensation for the expenses already incurred in its preparation. "I opposed you in the Senate, sir," he said on his first official interview, "and I still think you would have done best to accept my proposition." "I think not," answered the author, with that firm tone of conviction which shakes the faith even of the most persistent. "Well, sir," resumed the new Secretary, "it is now my duty, as head of this Department, to examine the subject anew. Have the goodness to leave me your papers." "I have examined them," was his salutation at their next meeting; "it is a noble enterprise. What can I do to help you? Would you not like to have copies from the English archives? If you would, I will request our Minister to apply for them immediately." And so he did; and although the application was unsuccessful, (for the English government had not yet thrown open its documentary treasures as liberally as it has since done to every candid inquirer,) he continued to the last to give all the weight of his official and personal influence to what he had learned to look upon as one of the noblest monuments of the administration with whose history his own name was to be connected.

No sooner was his contract with government completed, than Mr. Force commenced his studies in the public offices of the original thirteen States, from New Hampshire to Georgia. He had desired to begin with the fourth series, or the history of the Revolution, as that for which he was best prepared. Examining the files and letter-books, he had copies made of everything that bore upon his subject, reserving the decision as to what should be left out to the time when he could make it with all his documents before him. "But do you want all this?" he was frequently asked at the different State Capitols, when he had laid out to be copied some large pile, with papers in it of apparently little interest. "Yes, all, — for if I omit any, when I get home the paper that I omit may be the very one that I need to fix a date or decide upon a name. Copy all." At Washington a room was assigned him in the Department of State, in which his copyists could work without fear of interruption or delay. Private collections were thrown open to his inspection, and as he became known as a collector, books and manuscripts were sent to him from all parts of the country. And soon he had spread a net-work from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence, correspondents in every town, agents in every State, copyists in every office, all receiving their impulse from his will, and guided by his instructions. His copyists were required to follow their text literally, preserving not only the errors of orthography and grammar, but even those slips of the pen which the most careful cannot always guard against. Aiming thus, throughout, at completeness and accuracy, sparing no pains, hesitating at no expense, and shrinking from no labor, he formed for himself a collection of materials that went as nigh as documents can go to making him a contemporary of the events he had undertaken to record.

Mr. Force still preserves unchanged, in the smallest room of his library, the little recess which first served him for a book-case, — a narrow opening in the wall, in which some fifty volumes or more might be pressed together, but which, as it slowly filled up, seemed to him like the gradual fulfilment of long-cherished hopes. It would be pleasant and instructive to tell how those few volumes grew up into a vast collection of

forty thousand books and manuscripts, covering the whole field of American history. But this would be foreign to our present purpose. One of the incidental consequences of this library has been the republication — at intervals — of four volumes of tracts and pamphlets relative to American history, which had become so rare as to put them out of the reach of a great proportion of those most interested in them.

At length, in December, 1838, appeared the first volume of the Archives, beginning with the debates in Parliament upon the King's message of the 7th of March, 1774, and coming down to the prorogation of the 26th of May, 1775. A second volume followed in October, 1839; a third, in December, 1840; and by January, 1853, he had covered the whole period from 1774 to the end of 1776 in nine closely printed folios. The materials of the tenth volume were selected and arranged seven years ago; but owing to the neglect or refusal of the present Secretary of State and his predecessor (to which officer a right of supervision is reserved by the contract) to authorize the continuance of the work, no further progress has been made in the publication. Why the student of our history should have been thus deprived of his best guide, and our literature of such a monument as was never before raised by one man to the glory of his country, we shall not now inquire. But, as Americans, proud of our birthright, taught to look upon it as the greatest of privileges to call ourselves the fellow-citizens of Washington, trained in grateful reverence for the men whose genius, whose fortitude, whose self-denial, and whose blood, freely spilt on many fields, won for us the blessings of independence, and made us an example and a watchword to the nations, we feel that in the arbitrary interruption of the American Archives a great wrong has been done to us, to our children, and to the memory of our fathers.

The "Diary of the Revolution" belongs to the same class with the works of which we have been speaking, and it is not saying too much of it to say that the editor has proved himself worthy to walk in the footsteps of his illustrious guides. Mr. Moore began his labors as an illustrator of history by a publication entitled "Ballads of the Revolution"; a volume

of much curious research, displaying sagacity and industry in rare degree, and adding largely to our knowledge of this characteristic portion of our history. Encouraged by the success of his first attempt, he published in 1857 a work of greater compass and difficulty, entitled "American Eloquence, a Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the most eminent Orators of America, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Notes," — not a mere repetition of other compilations, but a work of original research, containing much rare matter, selected, arranged, and illustrated with industry and judgment. The biographical sketches are in themselves an important contribution to this interesting department of our literature, and with the notes, drawn from a wide range of reading and inquiry, they afford abundant means for a correct understanding of the text.

The line of research in which he had thus become engaged carried him deeper than any one but Mr. Force had ever gone into the newspaper literature of the Revolution, — a field so rich, so characteristic, and so little known, that he resolved to make it the subject of a special study. The result is now before us, in two octavo volumes. The chief sources from which he has drawn are the newspapers of both sides, Tory as well as Whig, from the 1st of January, 1775, to the 31st of December, 1781, illustrated by extracts from private letters and diaries. The difficulty lay in making such a selection as to give the true spirit and character of the daily press as the expression of public opinion and belief; for it is less as a record of what was true, than as a record of what men believed, or knew that they could make others believe, that we go back to the papers of an historical age. The rumor of to-day may be contradicted by the rumor of to-morrow, and both may prove in the end to have been equally false. But the invention will always be adapted to the expectations of the reader; and the coloring will be borrowed from the prevailing passions and prejudices of the epoch. Like memoirs, newspapers present opinions in their reality, even where they err in giving facts; and they thus contain in their grossest distortions a description of truth, without which we can no more paint an age, than we can paint a landscape without atmosphere, or a portrait without shade.

Mr. Moore's selections, if we consider them from this point of view, are eminently judicious. We find elaborate essays, — the *leaders* of our modern journals; letters, — brief it is true, when compared with the "correspondence" of the present day, but fresh with the life and spirit of the times; news, with its characteristic coloring; reports, characters, satires, squibs, and every now and then a stirring appeal upon some topic of especial interest; and the whole so characteristic, and so full of the peculiar spirit of the age, that you feel on reading them as if you had obtained a new view of it, and had been admitted to a more familiar intercourse with the great body of the people.

The newspaper of the Revolution bears very much the same relation to the newspaper of the present day, that the thirteen States which declared themselves independent of Great Britain bear to the thirty-three States which look upon Great Britain as a storehouse and market. Let us take for example a journal of the great city, the seat of Congress, the centre of the political struggles and intrigues, toward which all eyes were turned from every corner of the Confederation, — "The Pennsylvania Evening Post," printed on very brown paper, with very indifferent ink, for three dollars a month. The number upon our table is No. 649, Saturday, February 12, 1780. It is a single sheet, thirteen inches and a half long, with three inches and a quarter of lower and two inches of upper margin. Its width is eight inches and a half, two of which are margin. The printed matter is arranged in two columns of about sixty lines each, averaging perhaps nine and a half words to a line. The first column contains a copy of a remarkable inscription. The next four and a quarter are a continuation of a reprint from the Parliamentary Register of the correspondence between "the *infatuated* ministry of the king of Great Britain and the commanders-in-chief in America," from the siege of Boston to the evacuation of Philadelphia. The remainder is devoted to news, partly in the form of extracts from letters from Fishkill, Philadelphia, Charleston, Baltimore, Boston, and Poughkeepsie. The "General Advertiser" of the same city comes somewhat nearer the proportions of our smaller country papers, being two inches longer, three wider, with less margin, and

containing three columns to a page, five columns being filled with advertisements.

Still, if you look closely, you will find the spirit of their age in these papers, — that firm, manly, energetic spirit which we love to call the spirit of seventy-six. Read that little paragraph under the date of "Fishkill, Feb. 3. — The sound between Connecticut and Long Island is almost froze over in the widest parts, and some persons have passed over from Long Island to Norwalk and other parts of Connecticut upon the ice. Wood is brought from Long Island to New York on sleighs. It is also passable from Paulus Hook to New York." Now remember who held New York and Long Island; remember the sack of New Haven, the burning of Fairfield, Greenwich, and Norwalk but six months before; remember, too, how gallantly "Light-horse Harry" had avenged them, dashing into Paulus Hook on the night of the 19th of July and carrying off 159 prisoners "within cannon-shot of the enemy." Then fancy yourself an inhabitant of some distant village, where the mail comes but once a week, and out of the line of expressmen. How eagerly you will read that paragraph! what a knot of anxious listeners will gather round you! what speculations, what fears, what hopes will be awakened by the little dingy sheet, which tells of this firm pathway of ice, and winter but two thirds over, between the authors and the sufferers of such bitter wrongs, — so many spirits thirsting for glory, so many hearts burning for revenge!

It must, however, be borne in mind, that a part, and indeed a large part, of what is now done by the press was done, in the time of the Revolution, by the pulpit. When it took a party of officers, anxious to reach their journey's end, three weeks to go four hundred and ten miles,* it was hardly possible for a daily paper to make its way far into the interior. Events, of course, were known through the papers, or private letters, or special messengers; but opinions came from those weekly monitors to whom a devout and church-going people looked up with traditional reverence. They were the initiators and guides of thought, moulding the opinions of their flock by vigorous logic and fervent exhortation, and boldly applying the lessons of Scripture to the events of the day. They never

* Duponceau's Memoirs, in Kapp's Steuben, Chap. V.

doubted their obligation to tell all that they felt as patriots, as much as all that they felt as Christians. Duty to their country seemed to them a part of their duty to the God who had given them their country; and in their love of liberty, they never doubted that the possession of it in spiritual things imposed upon them the duty of preserving it in temporal things. They resisted every encroachment upon their political rights, as but the forerunner of an encroachment upon their religious rights; and they studied their Bible for their lessons of civil wisdom, as well as for their lessons in theology. The village church was a school of deep and earnest thought, where men met to hear what concerned them most in this life and in the next, and grew strong in purpose and in will as they listened to teachings that they revered from a voice that they loved.

But the great occasions were the thanksgiving-days and the fast-days proclaimed by public authority and reverently observed. For these the preacher prepared himself with more than usual care, and his people listened to him with more than their wonted devotion. The text was selected from some passage of Scripture easily applied to the circumstances which had called forth this solemn expression of public feeling, and the analogies were brought out in their most striking colors. "Our soul is escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken and we are escaped; our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth,"—was the text with which Jonathan Mayhew opened his Thanksgiving sermon upon the repeal of the Stamp Act. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy,"—furnished John Hurt with the starting-point for a fervid appeal to the "love of country"; and, dedicating his sermon to the soldiers before whom it was preached, he says: "For after all the definitions of patriotism that ever were or ever will be given, this is the quintessence of it, 'The opposing ourselves foremost in the field of battle against the enemies of our country.'"*

* We would, in this connection, commend to our readers a volume recently published in New York, under the title of "Patriot Preachers of the American Revolution," containing thirteen sermons;—a work of much interest to every one who would enter into the real spirit of those days.

When the service was over, the people would linger in groups around the church door, or under the shade of the trees which stretched their broad arms over the graves of kindred and friends in the churchyard, and talk over what they had heard. Here is a group of elders, men who remember the "old French war," and Indian frays, and how the Colonists had fought where the "regulars" ran. There is a band of young men, who feel their blood running warmer in their veins for the words they have been listening to, and are right glad to be assured, by one to whom they have been taught to look up with confidence, that their longing to fight for their country is a righteous longing, and acceptable in the sight of God. And the women look earnestly on and listen; — mothers, who remember with heavy hearts why some of the graves around them were prematurely opened; wives, who read a fearful warning of long days and nights of anxious separation in the contracted brows and firm-set lips of those who never seemed so dear or so necessary to them before; and maidens, too full of life and hope to think that anything but triumph and glory can be in store for the champions of a cause which God himself has blessed by the mouth of his faithful minister. Here, too, the latest news from the army was told, — a letter from camp, perhaps, filled with familiar names, drawn forth from the pocket of some exulting father, and passed from hand to hand. It was in scenes like these that the story of Trenton found new recruits for the camp of Morristown, and that imaginations kindled by the desperate daring of Stony Point gave new impulse to that last great movement which filled up the ranks for Eutaw and Yorktown. Then, as friend exchanged thoughts with friend, and found his own sentiments reflected in those of one whom he had been accustomed to trust, and as doubts, too, were uttered, and vanished in the uttering, the preacher — the man who had received them when, in infancy, their parents gave them up to the Lord, who had prayed with them at the death-bed, and spoken words of soothing trust when the grave was closed over their dear ones — would pass from group to group, with cordial clasp-

ings of hand, and seek in their approving faces the confirmation of what he had said to them from the pulpit. And the elders, standing apart in authoritative council, would say that the truths spoken that morning must not be lost to the world, but must go forth in print to inspire and strengthen others, as they had inspired and strengthened them. Thus sermons became the text-books of popular discussion, and pamphlets for the teaching of thousands beyond the reach of the voice that had first pronounced them.

Among the editors of those days there are several of whom we would gladly speak more fully, if Mr. Moore had not given us, in his Preface, something like a promise of a "history of the periodical press of the last century,"—a promise which we trust he will promptly fulfil, and which will afford us an opportunity of returning again to this fruitful subject. Meanwhile, we feel that nothing which we can say can give so lively an impression of the value and importance of these volumes as the following extracts, taken almost at a venture from their pages: —

1775. "A letter in Messrs. Mill's and Hick's paper,* signed, 'A Son of New England,' appears to be the produce of a distempered brain, which, like many others in Boston and the neighboring towns, are raving after liberty; a word they have got by rote like a parrot, without knowing the meaning of it; and when Massachusettensis,† or any other unprejudiced writer, endeavors to make them sensible of their error, and clearly prove it is not liberty but licentiousness they are running after, they immediately fly into abuse, calling them the enemies of their country, not considering that they themselves, the imaginary supporters of liberty, are the real enemies of this country, by spiriting up the people, by every delusive method, to forfeit everything that is dear to them in this world, and to merit the curses of their children from generation to generation. New England.

"It is to be hoped that there are very few who think that the fate of Britain depends on the liberties of America, or that the mother country will ever suffer the Colonies to dictate to her. She has been long tender of the rod, but be assured the time approaches when she will exercise it with severity, and show the stubborn sons of New England

* The Boston Weekly Advertiser of Jan. 30.

† Daniel Leonard, of Taunton, Mass., author of a series of articles under that signature.

that she will not any longer bear with their degenerate behavior. If every man had thought for himself, and not been led by the nose by a Cooper * or an Adams, † all might have been happy; but these inconsiderate people have made themselves idols, viz. liberty trees, newspapers, and congresses, which by blindly worshipping have so engrossed their minds, that they give not the least attention to their several occupations, but attend at taverns, where they talk politics, get drunk, damn king, ministers, and taxes, and vow they will follow any measures proposed to them by their demagogues, however repugnant to religion, reason, and common sense.

"It is a remark that the high sons of liberty consist but of two sorts of men. The first are those who by their debaucheries and ill conduct in life are reduced almost to poverty, and are happy in finding a subsistence, though it is even on the destruction of their country; for on the turbulence of the times, and the heated imaginations of the populace, depends their existence. The latter are the ministers of the gospel, who, instead of preaching to their flocks meekness, sobriety, attention to their different employments, and a steady obedience to the laws of Britain, belch from the pulpit liberty, independence, and a steady perseverance in endeavoring to shake off their allegiance to the mother country. The independent ministers have ever been, since the first settling of this Colony, the instigators and abettors of every persecution and conspiracy. ‡"

New England Clergy.

1775. "Yesterday morning, according to orders issued the day before by Major-General Putnam, all the Continental troops under his immediate command assembled on Prospect Hill, when the declaration of the Continental Congress was read, after which an animated and pathetic address to the army was made by the Reverend Mr. Leonard, chaplain to General Putnam's regiment, and succeeded by a pertinent prayer; when General Putnam gave the signal, and the whole army shouted their loud amen by three cheers; upon which a cannon was fired from the fort, and the standard lately sent to General Putnam was exhibited, flourishing in the air, bearing on one side this motto, An Appeal to Heaven, and on the other side, Qui Transtulit Sustinet. The whole was conducted with the utmost decency, good order, and regularity, and to the universal acceptance of all present. And

---

* William Cooper, town-clerk of Boston. † Samuel Adams.

‡ Rivington's Gazette, March 9. — This piece was published with the following note: "Mr. Rivington: Sir, — By inserting the following letter in your paper, which was refused admittance in a paper in Boston, you will much oblige your humble servant, *Belisarius*."

the PHILISTINES on Bunker's Hill heard the shout of the ISRAELITES, and, being very fearful, paraded themselves in battle array."

1775. "This evening was married, at the seat of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., at Fairfield, Connecticut, by the Reverend Mr. Elliot, the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., President of the Continental Congress, to Miss Dorothy Quincy, daughter of Edmund Quincy, Esq., of Boston. Florus informs us, that 'in the second Punic war, when Hannibal besieged Rome and was very near making himself master of it, a field upon which part of his army lay was offered for sale, and was immediately purchased by a Roman, in a strong assurance that the Roman valor and courage would soon raise the siege.' Equal to the conduct of that illustrious citizen was the marriage of the Honorable John Hancock, Esq., who, with his amiable lady, has paid as great a compliment to *American* valor, and discovered equal patriotism, by marrying now while all the Colonies are as much convulsed as Rome when Hannibal was at her gates.* "

1776. "Mr. Washington is just such another character as my Lord Essex, the Parliament's general in King Charles the First's time. Putnam may very well be compared to Ireton. Hancock is one of the greatest desperadoes living. Adams generally sleeps with the memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz under his pillow. The slow and lenient measures of the British Government have been interpreted by our rulers into fear. We poor, distressed Americans make a fine joke of your pity. Do not imagine we desire peace, even upon those terms we seem to solicit it. Were you to agree to those terms, behold some new demands, without satisfaction for which we cannot think of laying down our arms. The king must dismiss and punish those servants who have so highly offended us. After King Charles had granted the Rebel Parliament all they could ask, for want of a better pretence, they declared they could not trust him, and so began the Civil War. Let somebody remember, that the Congress has amused you with proposals of accommodation, merely to gain time; it has answered their end, and they were tolerably well prepared by the latter end of the summer. This winter some of their grand schemes are to be put in execution. They have had amazing success; for all Canada is in their hands already. The Canadians have used General Carleton extremely ill. Montreal was taken almost without a blow. Troops are now marching for Nova Scotia, and you may expect to hear of the surrender of Halifax some time in February. The Amer-

Letter of a Virginian.

---

* New York Gazette, September 4.

ican cruisers have had as good luck with your transports; indeed, the country is so well provided for defence, that every town looks like a storehouse, filled with all kinds of warlike necessaries. All people, both high and low, seem as unanimous, as easy, and composed, as if engaged in the most safe and justifiable undertaking in the world.* "

1777. "JANUARY 25. — THE following Proclamation was this day published by the Lord Protector, Mr. George Washington: —

"'Whereas several persons, inhabitants of the United States of America, influenced by inimical motives, intimidated by the threats of the enemy, or deluded by a proclamation issued the 30th of November last, by Lord and General Howe, styled the King's Commissioners for granting pardons, &c., (now at open war, and invading these States,) have been so lost to the interest and welfare of their country as to repair to the enemy, sign a declaration of fidelity, and in some instances have been compelled to take the oaths of allegiance, and engage not to take up arms, or encourage others so to do, against the King of Great Britain: And whereas it has become necessary to distinguish between the friends of America and those of Great Britain, inhabitants of these States, and that every man who receives protection from, and is a subject of any State, (not being conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms,) should stand ready to defend the same against hostile invasion: I do, therefore, in behalf of the United States, by virtue of the powers committed to me by Congress, hereby strictly command and require every person, having subscribed such declaration, taken such oaths, and accepted such protection and certificate, to repair to head-quarters, or to the quarters of the nearest general officer of the Continental army or militia, (until further provision can be made by civil authority,) and there deliver up such protection, certificate, and passports, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America; nevertheless, hereby granting full liberty to all such as prefer the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines. And I do hereby declare, that all and every person who may neglect or refuse to comply with this order, within thirty days from the date hereof, will be deemed adherents to the King of Great Britain, and treated as common enemies of these American States.'

Washington's Proclamation.

"'T is hardly possible to read over this miserable Proclamation without pity and astonishment. That Mr. Washington, who *once* was

* Letter from "A Virginian," to the editor of the Middlesex Journal, published in that paper, January 23.

esteemed a gentleman, should forfeit that character by becoming the tool of an impracticable ambition, is a matter of commiseration; but, that he should be so contaminated by the vice of his associates as to lose all regard to the common forms of morality, all dignity of sentiment, and decency of conduct, was not to have been expected from a man who owned the least pride, or felt the least consciousness of virtue. His desperate situation may be his apology, but it cannot be his excuse. He might have been mistaken in respect to his notions of civil polity; but he could not have been deceived in those actions and ideas of moral turpitude, which is the disgrace of human nature. 'T is an old and true observation, *Magistratus indicat Virum*, 'the Ruler shows the Man'; and we have now nothing more to learn of this famous Mr. Washington. Loyal Criticism.

"He has the boldness to declare, that there are 'some instances' of persons who 'have been compelled to take the oath of allegiance.' This is an absolute falsehood in fact, and he knew it was a falsehood; he knew such conduct was repugnant to the genius and spirit of the British nation, or he would have produced one instance to confirm his assertion. The bravery of Britons, which sooner or later will make him tremble, disdains any but voluntary professions of allegiance, and, above all things, despises the dastardly subterfuges of falsehood and slander.

"The next material circumstance in this Proclamation is sufficient to make an honest man shudder. It may be styled, a Proclamation for the encouragement of Perjury. Mr. Washington 'strictly commands and requires every person,' who has taken a solemn oath of Allegiance to the King, and called God to witness the truth and sincerity of it, to repair to him or his officers, and take another solemn oath, and call God to witness the sincerity and truth of his adherence to the cause of rebellion. Such an impious disregard, such a flagrant violation of all that is serious and sacred among men, has rarely been seen in any age, country, or profession.

"For the honor of human nature, it may be said, that it was left for rebels to their King and destroyers of their country, to give a public sanction to *Wilful Perjury*.

"'T is no wonder that a principle of this kind should be attended with a suitable practice. Mr. Washington grants by this proclamation 'full liberty' to all such as prefer the protection of Great Britain to his own, 'forthwith to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines.' This is only a trap to discover those who are not affected to the rebellion; and even this mean idea has been followed by a conduct of which a common Turk would have been ashamed.

Doctor Brown, of Newark, in the Jerseys, relying not merely upon Mr. Washington's word as a gentleman, but upon his public faith pledged in the foregoing paper as a public man, immediately wrote to him, desiring leave to withdraw himself and family to New York, pursuant to his proclamation. Instead of complying with the Doctor's wishes, he sent a party of his rebels to drag him away to Morristown. He is now confined there in jail, his family is almost distracted, and all his property seized. So much for the public faith of Mr. Washington!

"He seems indebted for the last cruel idea of his proclamation to the worthy author of 'Common Sense,' and the 'American Crisis.' This gentleman is for seizing all the property of people who refuse to join in his measures, for the sake of the spoil; and has the confidence to declare, that such a seizure would enable his rebellious adherents to carry on the war for two years longer. 'T is to be hoped, for the honor and safety of America, that the good people of this country will give an exact account of him and some of his associates in half the time. It is every man's interest, who has anything to lose, to take care of a person who has the impudence to profess himself a public robber and destroyer, and then can call this unheard of cruelty and devastation by the name of 'soft resentment.' However, if men who can encourage perjury by proclamation, and plunge thousands of families into irretrievable ruin, only for the purpose of answering dark ambition; if men who can have the consummate boldness to break their public faith, and, calling the gentle government of Britain tyranny, can become the most insolent and outrageous tyrants themselves; if such can possibly arrive at the rule of this once happy country, it will be the interest of every one who loves the enjoyment of liberty more than the sound, to retire from America as speedily as he can. In such an event, (which, however, is not likely to happen,) he would escape the anarchy, riot, and bloodshed, which these 'unprincipled impostors' sooner or later would spread over the land, and which would then become the vengeance of Providence itself on this most ungrateful and unnatural rebellion.*"

* New York Gazette, February 10.

ART. V.—1. *Self-Education, or the Means and Method of Moral Culture.* Translated from the French of BARON DE GERANDO, by ELIZABETH P. PEABODY. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860.

2. *Essai sur la Vie et les Travaux de Baron de Gerando.* Par MLLE. OCTAVIA MOREL. Paris. 1846.

3. *Notice Historique de Baron de Gerando.* Par M. MIGNET, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, lue à la Séance Publique Annuelle du 16 Décembre, 1853.

IT is a good sign of the times, when so shrewd a publisher as Mr. Burnham spontaneously reprints a work like Baron de Gerando's Self-Education; for we understand that the translator, whose copyright has expired, did not even suggest the republication, and this is a third edition. It is the best manual of moral culture extant; the only one indeed which enters into the minutiæ of the method by which self-government may make religion and the love of virtue subserve to human perfection. We gladly take the occasion to give to our readers a general account of the author and of his numerous works. As one of his biographers has remarked, every book of his was an expression, not of his intellect alone, but of his whole being. Not only must we include an analysis of his books in any adequate memoir of him, but his life is a commentary and illustration of his works, redoubling their value and significance.

Joseph Marie de Gerando was born at Lyons, February 25th, 1772. His father was an architect of great talent and taste; his mother was distinguished alike for her intellect, her energy, and her goodness. Their son owed them much; but a certain severity of character and discipline perhaps operated to produce in him a precocious gravity and timidity and reserve. His parents thought him dull, and his earlier instructors misunderstood him in the same way; but as soon as he entered the Collége des Oratoriennes of Lyons, this judgment was reversed. His success was brilliant in all serious studies, and sometimes he was obliged to take a carriage to carry home the prizes he bore away.

A dangerous illness, at the age of sixteen, developed the dominant idea of his life. He then prayed God to continue his existence, that he might devote it to the good of others. On his recovery, he signified his desire to enter into one of the religious orders whose worship of God takes the form of services rendered to men. For this end he went to the seminary of St. Irenæus, to pursue his studies; and having finished a course of philosophy there, he was about to be transferred to St. Magloire at Paris, just at the portentous moment when the French Revolution was overturning France, and the Constituent Assembly closed the religious congregations. Not in ecclesiastical forms was he to serve his Maker; but his subsequent life proved that the vocation of serving humanity, when it is heard in the earnest heart, may not be set aside by the combinations of men; for God makes the wrath of men to praise him and all things to work together to give opportunity for the good.

The troops of the Convention descended upon Lyons from the heights of Auvergne on the 28th of September, charged with the commission of besieging and subduing the city. At the first news of this coming invasion Lyons had risen, and De Gerando had become a grenadier in the company of *La Rue de Brisson.* This company, being sent out to obtain provisions in the mountains of Forez, met the invaders, and had a sharp engagement, in which most of them fell, — De Gerando also being left for dead. But the victorious chief, going over the field of battle to gather up his prisoners, found him, not dead, but wounded, and arrested the sword of one of his followers as it was about to despatch him. Something in the noble form of the youth touched his imagination; and he exclaimed, as he covered him with his body, "His life shall go only with mine!" He could not, however, hinder his being made a prisoner, and De Gerando suffered for three months in a pestilential dungeon, before being brought to the tribunal for trial. This tribunal limited itself to proving active rebellion, and condemning the rebels, and he bravely resigned himself to die; but to his astonishment, when the question was asked, "Was the prisoner taken with arms in his hands?" the same captain who had saved his life replied, "No." It was a

generous and beneficent prevarication, for it rescued De Gerando for the world, and set him at liberty.

While he had been imprisoned, Lyons had submitted, and crowds of its inhabitants had perished by the hands of the executioner. His relatives, believing him dead, had celebrated his funeral. To take service in the victorious army was his only safety; and having become convinced that thus he might serve the cause of liberty and his country, without partaking in any of the crimes that sullied the Revolution, he enrolled himself in the regiment of *Les Chasseurs de la République*, which he expected would be immediately ordered to the frontiers. It was, on the contrary, ordered into Lyons itself; where the belief of his death and the disguise of his new uniform might have protected him, had he not rendered himself suspected by having fainted in the ranks at the sight of some of his late comrades led out to execution, and betrayed himself further by going to visit his mother. Then death or flight became his only alternative, and his commandant facilitated the latter by sending him into Savoy to be cured of his wound, which had never been thoroughly healed.

He escaped from Savoy into Switzerland, where he found his college friend, Camille Jordan, who, after the siege of Lyons, had taken refuge there. This friend had different characteristics and talents from De Gerando's, but kindred sentiments and ideas; and trials undergone in the same cause cemented, with mutual devotions and confidence, an attachment that was unalterable. They now studied and traversed the beautiful country together, gathering the traditions of liberty, and observing its social fruits. On one occasion, when caught in a storm of snow on the mountains, De Gerando sank down helpless and insensible, and Camille Jordan carried him in his arms to the next village. But they were finally compelled to separate from utter lack of the means of living, Camille Jordan going to England, where he studied the representative government which he afterward defended in France, and De Gerando to Naples, where he became an accountant clerk in the banking-house of a rich relative, and worked daily, from dawn to twilight, to earn his bread.

But though the day belonged to his employer, eight hours of

the night were his own; and he gave the largest part of these to study. Being without books, he meditated and wrote books himself. His "Nights at Naples" is still preserved in manuscript by his friends, and evinces a fact which was a great source of satisfaction to himself when he afterward had the opportunity of extensive reading; namely, that he had anticipated the conclusions of the best authors on all the subjects upon which he had reflected. He lived at a time when everything was questioned; and even an ordinary mind would have been quickened into originality. He proposed problems, traced out methods, observed nature unhampered by masters and by books. During his vacations he retired to a hermitage near the crater of Mount Vesuvius, on an island formed by two streams of lava, which unite in a burning river at the foot of the wood-covered hillock. Of this retreat De Gerando subsequently said, "Rarely have I been so happy. A small library was within my reach, but a sublimer book was before my eyes, suggesting inexhaustible reflections." One of his biographers extracts from the "Nights in Naples" expressions of devotional transport and of self-dedication to the cause of humanity, which prove that at least one soldier of the Revolution was a devout Christian, and one philosopher of the eighteenth century studied upon his knees.

"O God!" he exclaims, at the close of one of these meditations, "it is good for the upright man to raise himself to thee! Happy is he who, beholding thee with clearness, fully submissive to thy order, repenting the faults of his infirmity without being discouraged by them, and inspired by love of the good, constantly seeks from thee consolation and repose, and draws from thee strength against danger, and love for his brethren. I come to thee to repair my soul, after the dry and sterile labors and insignificant conversations which are inevitable to my actual relations, and the mechanical occupations which fill up my days. Thou pourest upon me science, thou replenishest my faith, thou calmest my imagination. I know that I wish to enter into the order of thy Providence; and I rest my fate upon thy wisdom and bounty. As I sincerely seek to fulfil in everything thy will, and to confirm myself in thy order, I hope in thy mercy, — and this is my confidence and my joy. Beautiful night, I quit thee, with thy delights of devotion and meditation. One day I shall quit the light; but glory to the Supreme Ordainer that it is my happiness to say, Blessed be his will!"

The amnesty pronounced on the 9th Thermidor gave liberty to De Gerando and Camille Jordan to return to France. In the year 1797 the latter was elected, by the city of Lyons, to the Council of Five Hundred; and De Gerando accompanied his friend to Paris, and by his counsel and sympathy supported him in his views, when he became a leader in the Constitutional party, which opposed the excesses of 1793 without yielding the principles of 1787. It is well known that this was a position of great danger; and Camille Jordan's courage, as reporter of the commission regulating public worship, exposed him to suspicion. The *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor would have banished him, with so many others, to Sinnimari, but for the watchful friendship of De Gerando, who dragged him from his bed on the night of the 17th, and concealed him in the house of Madame de Grimaldi, in the Rue de Planche. From this retreat the two friends soon afterward escaped into Germany, and found refuge in the city of Tübingen, where, instead of entering on a new career, in which their abilities would have insured them personal success, they aided each other in completing their education in philosophy and the science of government, with the ultimate purpose of serving their country. De Gerando, who knew the German tongue, taught it to his friend; Camille Jordan taught De Gerando English, and their mutual studies in these two noble literatures had a marked effect in giving a cast to their minds, which thus were enabled to combine with the brilliancy of their Celtic genius the profound wisdom of the Germanic intellect, as exhibited at the opposite poles of English experiment and German synthesis.

De Gerando made the acquaintance, during this year, of the lady whom he subsequently married. Mademoiselle Annette de Rathsamhausen was of a noble house of Alsace, who frequented, with other young persons, the literary circle of the poet Pfeffel at Colmar, where Camille Jordan and De Gerando were most hospitably received. She had been a model of filial piety during the storms of the Revolution, which had ruined her family. She became the best of wives to De Gerando, whose natural modesty and reserve put him in need of the inspiration derived from her ardor and energy of character.

Gifted in intellect, and richly cultivated, her conversation had a singular charm, from her originality of thought, and vivacity of conception; and her letters were models of elegance. Madame de Stael, in speaking of them, said that she knew but two women whose style of writing was superior to her own,—Madame de Gerando and Madame Necker de Saussure. One of De Gerando's biographers has appealed to his sons to give some of their mother's letters to the public.

In 1798, when Camille Jordan went a second time to England, De Gerando returned to France. He was not compromised, and was able to re-enter the army. It was his good fortune to be sent back in garrison to Colmar. It was at this moment that a programme of the French Institute fell into his hands, in which he found that the Class of Moral and Political Sciences had offered a prize of five hectogrammes of gold to whoever would best treat the following question: "What has been the influence of signs on the formation of ideas?" This vast and delicate problem the intellectual young soldier undertook to solve, though the time for competition was so near, that, but for the enthusiastic sympathy of Mademoiselle Rathsamhausen and two of her intimate friends, who assisted her in copying it, he could not have finished the work in season.

In this, his first work, De Gerando exhibited all the advantages of his independent self-culture. The philosophic school of *transformed sensation* was reigning in France. That school considered science to be formula; ideas, words; the occasions of phenomena, their principles; the sign of an object, its nature. Condillac, its accredited founder, had maintained that all the art of thinking was in the instruments which thought creates; that the laws of things could not be known, but only the processes that transmit them. His school maintained that the sciences were brought to perfection by perfecting the terms by which science is expressed; that the art of expressing could add something to the art of thinking.

De Gerando burst the trammels of this dry nominalism. He said, "Condillac partly tells us what signs are to the mind; but he has not told us what the mind is to signs, and how it acts upon them." He thought it necessary to give an account of the faculty of conceiving, before he should con-

sider the faculty of expressing conceptions. He recognized in the soul, not only the passive power of sensation, but active faculties, from whose exercise result the ideas that precede the invention of signs. His analysis of the human understanding affirmed a spiritual being. He made thinking a function of the mind, as motion is a function of the body. As our bodies feel matter without our will, so our minds feel spirit without our will; but action, whether of body or mind, is another thing; and action of mind is necessary to the production of language. In following out languages into their formations, he demonstrated that they were not merely mirror-like reflections of things in a passive medium, but representations of our ideas of things, — ideas in their turn being *not* passions, but actions of the internal principle. He concluded that the perfection of language does not produce the perfection of science, but results from perfect science, and adds to it its last finish. In fine, words do not discover truth, but proclaim it.

The French Academy crowned this memoir, and were astonished to learn that it was written by a soldier. Two members of the Institute — Garat, who sat in the Council of Five Hundred, and Francis de Neufchateau, who was Minister of the Interior — immediately demanded his discharge of the Minister of War (Scherer), which was the more easily obtained, as the army was now resting on its laurels, after having enlarged the borders of France. De Gerando went to Paris to receive the prize, and there he was especially exempted from military service that he might have leisure for thinking; the Minister of the Interior making him Secretary of the Bureau of Arts and Commerce on a modest salary, while the Academy elected him a corresponding member, and its members introduced him to the brilliant society of Auteuil. Many other learned societies forthwith made him their associate, and it was not long before he was teaching moral philosophy at the Lyceum, where La Harpe occupied the chair of Literature. M. Necker and Madame de Stael put the beautiful residence of St. Ouen at his disposal, and there, in the early days of his happy married life, he expanded his Academical memoir into a work of four volumes, which he published in

1800, under the title of "The Signs of the Art of Thinking, considered in their mutual Relations."

This work was written in a vigorous style, and the chapters which show the influence of language upon the development of the faculties — especially the one headed *De la Parole et du Chant* — are models of eloquence. As a natural sequence to this, in 1801 he published, at the instigation of the Institute, a letter which he had addressed to Captain Baudin and his companions, upon *La Méthode à suivre dans l' Observation des Peuples sauvages.* In showing how the traveller was to study the languages of savages, he traces an analytic picture of languages, showing how to follow up their natural formations to the primitive elements; and in his *résumé* he lays the basis of a general grammar. He counsels the traveller to enter into complete communication with the savage, — to study all the means by which he manifests his thought, considering him in his moral and physical individuality, as well as his social relations, which involve his industrial and political life. Nor is this all. True to the ruling principle of his soul, he labors to make his traveller become a missionary of civilization and religion.

In 1802, the Institute named De Gerando a Corresponding Member of the Class of Moral and Political Sciences, in the place of General Caffarelli du Falga, who fell at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre; and he pronounced the funeral eulogy on this brave soldier, who united so much learning and virtue in his short and glorious career. During this same year he founded the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Industry, and pronounced the discourse at its opening. He was elected the first President of this Society, and to the end of his life fulfilled the duties of its Secretary-General. Every year he made a report on its labors, and on the prizes decreed for discoveries and improvements. These reports, which are models of precision, fill several volumes of the Bulletins of the Society. It was also in 1802 that De Gerando composed his treatise upon the "Genesis of Human Knowledge," and carried away the prize of the Academy of Berlin, which crowned it and ordered its publication. In this essay, he takes neither the ground of the pure idealist, nor that of the

mere sensationalist, but explains the development of all our ideas by the concert of reason and the senses, whether those ideas are particulars or universals, simple facts or complicated laws, perceptions of the physical universe or abstract contemplations of God. In this treatise De Gerando continues his refutation of Condillac, begun in his essay upon signs, and, like all his other works, it associates moral ideas with the most abstract questions of metaphysics; for with him thought was never separated from moral sentiment.

These two works gave him a European reputation. The last was written in seventeen days, and in less than two years afterward his renown was extended by his "Comparative History of Philosophic Systems." Francis Bacon had in his day suggested the idea of a history of what human intelligence had achieved. De Gerando was the first to attempt anything of the kind; and if it has been followed by other works more profound in plan, and less diffuse in style, yet he has the merit of being a pioneer who did not lead his followers astray. It is what the first History of Philosophy ought to have been, a comparative anatomy of systems. Having surveyed philosophy in its purely theosophic forms, in its Oriental cradle, he goes to Greece, and gives the psychological biography of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; analyzes their teachings, and the schools of Athens and Alexandria, which grew out of them; proceeds through the Middle Age and the Arabic schools; follows out the revival of learning with the analysis of Bacon, the creator of modern science, Descartes, the liberator of reason, Leibnitz, the harmonizer of spirit and matter, the circumspect Gassendi, the wise Locke, the exclusive Condillac, the idealist Malebranche, the pantheist Spinoza, the laborious Wolf, the great transcendentalist Kant, and his two chief disciples, Fichte and Schelling, who divided their master's doctrine, — the one effecting the apotheosis of thought, the other the idealization of nature. He sets over against each other the two orders of systems, the one resting on the direct action of reason, the other on the external power of observation; the first keeping in view the instrument, the second the object of knowledge; the former leading to the laws of intelligence, the latter to the laws of things; the one launching man

into the beauties and grandeurs of the spiritual, and the other assuring him of a continually better comprehension and enjoyment of the material world. He analyzes all the facts he encounters in this broad survey, determining the general causes of progress, and drawing out a practical code for the administration and application of science for its own advancement, and the better ordering of the individual mind. He classifies and judges all systems according to the manner in which they answer the question of the origin of knowledge; for the answers to that question involve all the rest of a system by necessary consequence. He also undertakes to signalize the vice and insufficiency of each system, and to show, on the other hand, what may be usefully retained in each, coming to the conclusion that error is never absolute, but only a partial and exclusive view of truth. He aspires to bring about a treaty of peace between all lovers of truth, whatever opinion they hold. In short, he aims to unite the interests of morality and reason, whose strict association is, in his eyes, the true end of philosophy. His principal end in publishing this work was to guide young people in the study of philosophy, by giving them the right points of view for their search after truth. There cannot be found a philosophical work more desirable to put into the hands of the higher classes of American schools; for the best introduction to philosophic studies is a just estimate of what has already been accomplished by past ages. The eloquence of the book would facilitate the acquisition of its contents. His parallel between Aristotle and Plato; his picture of the age of Pericles; of the age when Greek literature and philosophy were carried to Rome; of the introduction of philosophy among the Arabs; of the establishment of Christianity, and its influence upon science, civilization, and morals, — are specimens of admirable writing. The pages consecrated to Gerson, the reputed author of the "Imitation of Christ," breathe a piety as tender as that of Fénelon. One great excellence of the book is the scrupulous care with which the author always indicates the sources whence he has drawn his numerous quotations, and the elements which serve as the basis of his judgments.

In 1805, De Gerando was elected Titulary Member of the

Institute by the Class of History and Literature, in the place left vacant by the death of the historian Garnier. This Class afterward changed its name to that of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

It was in this year, also, that he was called into the Superior Administration of the State. M. de Champagny, who succeeded Chaptal as Minister of the Interior, accepted the appointment on the condition that De Gerando should be joined as Secretary-General, who, though preferring a retired and scientific life, could not refuse the occasion of being useful to a friend and of serving his country at the same time. The Minister of the Interior at that time presided over Public Instruction, and over Public Works and Agriculture; and De Gerando, by his indefatigable activity and genius, met all the requisitions of the place, at the period when the French Empire had its widest extent. Administration was everything, now that the Assembly was no more; and in his arduous office De Gerando exhibited the rare talent of conciliating the exigencies of the public service with perfect benevolence to its agents. With the method he had acquired as a philosopher, he drew up projects, wrote reports, penetrated to the bottom of all the complicated business, decided and expedited everything, and yet avoided arbitrariness, and so tempered absolute authority, that his skilful and paternal administration left ineffaceable traces in the minds of those who were witnesses to it. He also prepared and wrote out all the details of the new organizations of the recently conquered states, which Champagny was charged with presenting to the Emperor at Milan. At this time he was so overloaded with work, that he was obliged to give two nights in the week to labor, besides every day, in order to accomplish what was necessary to be done; and it often happened that, while he was writing one despatch himself, he was dictating to three secretaries employed on three others. Napoleon required of his civil officers the same celerity and intelligence expected from his military commanders, valuing civil executive talent as highly as genius for war. In 1805, De Gerando also went with Champagny to Genoa, to assist in the reunion to France of the Ligurian Republic.

But in the midst of all these cares of state, he this year carried away the prize of the Institute by his essay on Dumarsais, the restorer of grammar, which included an account of all that philosopher's scattered productions, and a summary of all his articles in the Encyclopædia. He also pronounced at the Academy of Turin a discourse upon *L'Influence que l'Esprit de Méditation exerce sur les Lettres*, having been elected a member of the Academy as a testimony of its gratitude for the service rendered the city by the reorganization of its celebrated University.

In 1806, Napoleon demanded of his Minister of the Interior a general tableau of the situation of his vast empire, which was to be read to the Legislative Corps. This important labor was confided to De Gerando, and he accompanied the Minister to the Council of State, when the paper was submitted to the Emperor. Napoleon, who always required from those with whom he conversed brief, categorical answers, indicating a perfect knowledge of the matter in hand, pressed him, on this occasion, with questions upon all branches of the interior administration. De Gerando, with calmness, precision, and a skill which astonished the members of the Council, made entirely satisfactory replies. "Very well, sir, sit down," said the Emperor, pointing to a seat by the side of the Duc de Bassano. The next day he received the nomination of Master of Requests. In 1808, Napoleon evinced his estimate of the manner in which De Gerando fulfilled the duties of his place, by making him one of the Junto for the organization of Tuscany; on which occasion he introduced into public life Nau de Champlouis and Camille Périer, by appointing them his secretaries. To the end of his life, these distinguished men were his ardent friends, and always expressed with warmth how much they owed to the inspiration of his character.

In the same year the Emperor demanded of the Institute a report of the Progress of History and Literature since 1789, with their actual State. De Gerando was charged with making this report, and it made a felicitous appendix to his Comparative History of Philosophical Systems. The Institute caused it to be printed in 1810. In 1809, the States of the Church were united to France, and Napoleon named a Coun-

cil, composed of five members, to take possession of the country, organize its administration, and establish the French law. De Gerando was one of this Council, though he would gladly have refused the office. Mignet says, "People might disapprove at that time, but could not resist." De Gerando went to Rome, determined to repair or diminish the evil already done, to prevent as much as possible future evil, and to take no part in acts purely political, but to reserve his action for the interior administration, — public instruction, commerce, the care of bridges and causeways, and the interest of the fine arts. He found means to retard the harsh secularization of convents, and to obtain from the Emperor a provision that every devotee to religion, who was restored to civil life, should recover his full liberty, and, if he wished, should continue in his monastic relations. He was the supporter of all legitimate claims, made by any individual; and found means to succor the exiled Charles Emmanuel, in the poverty and destitution to which his charities had reduced him. All the hospitals and establishments of beneficence owed also to De Gerando's enlightened philanthropy the preservation of their property, and the amelioration of their interior administration. He even suppressed beggary; an immense result in a country deprived of industry, with a population naturally indolent, with whom *to do nothing* is the supreme enjoyment, notwithstanding their great brilliancy of natural gifts. He organized at Rome home-succors for the poor, a thing unknown before. He encouraged public education, from the departments of elementary instruction to the heights of science. At Perugia he organized a university, and the grateful inhabitants made a present to him of a magnificent picture by Perugino, which now adorns the Italian Gallery in the Louvre. Under his administration agriculture was improved, commerce extended, and industry developed. The fine arts found in him a sure and intelligent protection. The son of an artist himself, he had a very delicate and just feeling for the art; and his eminently poetic soul knew how to seize and appreciate the beautiful under all its forms. He submitted to the Emperor a plan for restoring the ancient monuments of Rome. Napoleon asked how much money he needed to do all he pro-

posed. "Two or three millions," replied De Gerando. "I will give five millions," said the Emperor. With this ample revenue, he cleared out the Coliseum, repaired the Appian Way, dug into the Capitoline Hill, and, surrounding himself with engineers, sat down in the Pontine Marshes to drain the land, cut canals to carry off the water, bring earth upon the boggy soil to make it firm, and render the Roman Campagna healthy. The remembrance of all his good works, which were interrupted before their completion, is still dear to Italians.

Having returned to France in 1811, he had the courage to unveil to the Emperor all the faults that had been committed in annexing the Roman States, and the insuperable difficulty of rectifying them. When he re-entered his own house that night, he said to Madame de Gerando, "We had best make ready for Vincennes," so persuaded was he that disgrace from the Emperor would follow his revelations. Madame de Gerando replied: "Whatever happens, my love, I am content since you have done your duty." But in the night a messenger arrived from the Minister of the Interior to say that Napoleon had named him Counsellor of State. The great man had understood the good man. De Gerando sat in this Council till his death — thirty-six years — through all the changes of government. In 1812 he was sent to Spain, to do in Catalonia what he had done three years before in Italy. But it was a more perilous office, Catalonia being in arms against the French invaders. Nevertheless, De Gerando did so much good, and made his beneficence so patent, that, while no other French official was able to move, unless surrounded by a military guard against the guerillas, he traversed the whole province, to examine into everything, and found the people always enthusiastically friendly. On this occasion, the military commander of the French said, "These devils of civilians; they *will* have more courage than we!" His influence was so great, that the Spanish military leaders, General Lacy and Baron d'Erolles, proposed a pacification, on condition of his being the mediator; but the Duc de Feltre, then Minister of War, defeated the project, out of private pique because he had been excluded from the negotiation. While De Gerando was in Catalonia, he made the only active personal enemy that he

seems ever to have had. It was a functionary whom he had displaced for fraud, but whom he reinstated on a promise of repentance, with an appeal to him "not to ruin the father of a family." But the beneficiary hated his benefactor; and his malignity pursued De Gerando for years with calumny, which produced some inconvenient effects during the *Restauration*. But De Gerando opposed to this enmity only silent contempt. It was not till 1813 that he returned to France, though he had long solicited a recall. He returned with health and fortune ruined. While others in similar situations accumulated riches from the spoils of the conquered, such was his severe probity and scrupulous delicacy, that he always came out from all his high positions with diminished revenues. No stolen works of art, or marvels of foreign industry, enriched his humble dwelling, with the two remarkable exceptions of the picture already mentioned, and of a work of a Spanish painter, Apparico, representing Socrates instructing a young man, and holding in his hand the dialogue which De Gerando had read in the Capitol. This picture was given as a testimony of gratitude for the care De Gerando had bestowed on the Spanish school at Rome, which he found languishing, and without resources.

De Gerando returned to Paris at the epoch of the first Restoration; and was continued on the list of Councillors of State in 1814, where Napoleon also found him on his escape from Elba. De Gerando declared to him that he had taken the oath to Louis XVIII., and had not signed the act of March 25th, which relieved the Emperor of his act of abdication. But Napoleon knew that he was not a politician, but a servant of his country, whose good he never postponed to that of a sovereign, and he not only retained him in the Council, but named him Imperial Commissary for the Departments of the East, to organize the defence of the territory.

At the second Restoration, De Gerando continued to sit in the Council, notwithstanding some efforts to exclude him; for the Duc Matthieu de Montmorency, his intimate friend, declared to the Court of Charles X, that it would disgrace the government to put him out of office. In the Committee of Legislation and of Litigation, whose Vice-President he became, he courageously defended acquired rights, and showed himself a

learned interpreter of the laws. The most thorny questions, and the most delicate contests between the delegates and administrators of the government, were judged by him. His reports remain in the archives as models. No detail escaped him. The superficial were sometimes impatient of his accuracy; but sincere men, who wished to do their duty, were glad to assist in his scrupulous investigations, and valued him as the guide of their judgment and an inspirer of their conscience.

In exercising his high functions in the state, De Gerando had long been struck with the want of special knowledge on the part of the agents of government, whenever there was a question of the interpretation and application of laws; and he conceived the project of creating in France a chair of Administrative Law. Having succeeded, he was himself called to the professorship. For his first course he prepared a comparative history of public law in France and in foreign countries. He then traced laws to their elements, and showed their inseparable relations with the moral sentiment, which alone could give them their sanction, before they can become a part of the progressive life of a people. He set forth with energy and with noble dignity the personal duties that the public functionary ought to fulfil toward society on the one hand, and government on the other; and his own consciousness furnished him with the best of examples.

In 1821, this chair of Administrative Law was suppressed by the ministry of Corbière, and not re-established till 1828, when the Minister of Public Instruction called De Gerando to it again. At this time, when all studious youth, and men desirous of his instruction, pressed around him, he would go into the lecture-room with the synopsis of his discourse in his hand, and would sometimes have a dozen volumes on his desk, from which to make his citations. Then, after his luminous prolegomena, he would open a conversation. Nor did he confine himself to this mode of instruction; but in his own saloon, at his own table, the young people whom he taught always found him ready to answer their questions, and direct their individual investigations. In 1829 he published in four volumes his Institutes of French Administrative Law, — the most methodical and best code of administrative law that exists.

But to go back to 1821. In that year *L'École des Chartes* was created, through the exertions of De Gerando. Its object was to rescue the old annals, and to teach the art of deciphering them to meritorious young persons, under the direction of skilful masters. This school has rendered already invaluable services to history and paleography.

But in dwelling so long upon De Gerando as a philosopher on the one hand, and as a statesman on the other, we have too long neglected the details of his life, considered in the more interesting relation of benefactor to the poor and suffering. Yet in this career he was pre-eminently great, and perhaps it will be of the highest benefit to our readers to make a portrait of him in all these particulars; for he did not confine himself to one department of beneficence. As early as during his residence in Germany with Camille Jordan, his private journals record his charitable actions. His observations in Germany upon the methods adopted by the governments for diffusing knowledge among the people had early caused him to work for the establishment of the Society for the Encouragement of Industry; and amidst all the political excitements of the Hundred Days he completed what that society began, by connecting with it another association for the elementary education of the laboring classes. We cannot but feel the grandeur of a soul thus engaged in patiently laying the deep foundations of freedom and social institutions amidst the general *bouleversement*. Struck with the marvellous results of the Lancasterian method in England, he opened a model school in Paris, and a rural primary school at Nogent-sur-Marne, on the plan of mutual instruction. He was the soul of the new society: presided over it; undertook its vast correspondence; drew up circulars, in which were rules for adopting the improved method, whose ingenious processes he explained, defending its merits without exaggerating its scope. But he was not satisfied with children's learning to read, write, and cipher in the shortest possible time. Instruction, with him, was only an instrument of education, and not its end. He saw that this instrument might become fatal in the hands of those destitute of moral principle. But he felt the value of the new method in the number of individuals whose in-

struction it could secure, not in the short time it would take to teach them; and all the time saved he wished to have appropriated to moral and religious education. Having seen in Germany the happy moral influence exercised by music in the primary schools, he wished to introduce it into the French schools, and found a coadjutor and instructor in this delightful art in M. Wilhelm, who founded and extended over the whole kingdom the Orphean Society.

In 1820 the Academy of Lyons offered a prize for the best essay upon the means of recognizing actual indigence, and rendering almsgiving mutually beneficial to giver and receiver. De Gerando then wrote the "Visitor of the Poor," and took the prize; and his essay was afterward crowned by the French Academy, and received the Montyon prize, which is given for works useful to morals. He consecrated the first prize to founding a savings-bank at Lyons, like the one already founded in Paris. This essay was afterward enlarged and published, went through many editions, and was translated into several foreign tongues. Miss Peabody translated it into English in 1832, and it was published in Boston, with a Preface by Dr. Tuckerman, and noticed in several of the periodicals. Matthew Carey republished the Preface, and had it thrown upon a thousand doorsteps in the city of Philadelphia. But a singular coincidence of circumstances caused the loss of nearly the whole edition. The work ought to be reprinted for the benefit of the provident societies of the American cities. As long as the pauperism of Europe is poured upon our shores, and while the functionaries of our government are more engaged in personal aggrandizement than in promoting the equalization of property to that degree which is compatible with the freedom of industry, a work like this is an important manual for every citizen who has a human heart. With a skill that could be obtained only by personal practice, he points out the signs of real poverty, and shows how false poverty simulates it. Charity worthy of the name, he says, does not merely or chiefly give gold, but moral amelioration. It substitutes habits of labor, order, and devotion, for laziness, vice, and irreligion, and this one can do only by becoming the personal friend of the poor man. Taking the visitor of

the poor by the hand, the author conducts him into the asylums of misery with which he was familiar, and shows him the virtues and sacrifices which are often hidden in these obscure retreats, as well as the afflicted hearts which need the voice of consolation and the light of hope even more than material aid. While he proposes to carry into the work of charity all the order and regularity of government action, he condemns the plan of a fixed and permanent tax, that assures to the indigent aid beforehand, and gives him a legal claim upon it. He thought that society should create every possible means of preventing poverty; but that charity should be free, though well ordered, and come in, like the grace of God, merely to help infirmity. The plan detailed in this manual, and carried into effect, at one time, in Paris, seems to offer every blessing both to the almoners and the beneficiaries. In 1822 he inserted in the Journal of the Society of Christian Morality an article upon the co-operation of young persons in charitable establishments, which serves as an admirable appendix to the "Visitor of the Poor." This eloquent appeal to the best sentiments of the young, to give worthy aliment to their craving for activity, proposes that they should associate themselves with the ministers of charity, to learn the art of beneficence as they would any other art, by experiment.

It was natural enough that De Gerando should go from teaching the art of doing good to that of moral self-culture. It was in 1824 that he published his work on Self-Education, whose title stands at the head of our article. We shall not analyze it, but refer our readers to its pages. While he was engaged upon it, Madame de Gerando died, as is indicated in the touching dedication of it to the memory of his best friend.

In 1827 he published a work upon the Education of the Deaf and Dumb. It was the development of a single chapter in his first work upon *Signes*. A Professor of the Royal Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Paris speaks of this work as the classic upon its subject, and the surest guide for the instructor. It was evidently written *con amore*. In one of his private journals he says, "May one day some deaf mute write upon my tomb, *He loved as a father*." It was the love which inspired his pen that makes all he has written so efficient.

Another blessed institution which De Gerando founded in Paris was the working asylum for young girls who had taken one false step, but who, not being wholly corrupted, might, as he thought, be snatched from a disorderly life by opening for them a place of refuge and repentance, where they could be accustomed to labor, and, after having been restored to the paths of honor, perhaps be reconciled to their families. This beneficent institution was pronounced of public utility by a formal ordinance of Louis Philippe in 1843, the year after De Gerando's death, and named the Working Asylum of De Gerando.

The course of the Polignac ministry in 1830 had excited his mind to the greatest degree. He said to his friends, "Nothing arrests these men, and I presage the worst of misfortunes." On the day when the fatal ordinances appeared, he went to his usual Lecture on Administrative Law, but found it impossible to master his emotion, and fainted in the arms of one of his pupils. The exquisite sensibility of the young soldier of Lyons reappeared unchilled in the statesman and philosopher. It was still his regard for others, not for himself, that controlled the pulses of his life. Everything about him was consistent.

When the new monarchy was constituted, though De Gerando was made peer of the realm, he was little engaged in the active administration, and thus had the more leisure to devote himself to the fundamental interests of his country. In 1832 he published his "Normal Course for Primary Instructors," which he had delivered at the opening of the Normal School established at the epoch of the Restoration, by M. de Chabrol, the Prefect of the Seine. Three times had he repeated this course *viva voce*. He did not consider it beneath his dignity to hold conversations with candidates for the primary schools. The lectures not delivered from notes at first had to be written from his memory to answer the urgent requests of those who were destined to the office of teaching. In this work he begins with saying that he prefers the term *primary teaching* to *popular education*. The people, he says, are not a caste apart in society, but society itself. There is no special education for the people, as there is no special

morality for the people. Reason and virtue are the patrimony of all. But there is a special education for every successive age of the individual. He devotes his attention, first, to physical education, whose importance he considered fundamental. He then gives a short philosophic sketch of the faculties of the human mind, in language clear and precise, analyzing the peculiarities, the laws, and the mutual relations of each. He then examines different methods of training these faculties; the value of each of them; the defects incident to each. He shows that it is moral education which crowns the man, and puts him in possession of all his powers; and that moral development involves religious training. Every page of this precious volume exhales the perfume of virtue and goodness.

As a member of the House of Peers under Louis Philippe, De Gerando occupied himself exclusively with moral questions. He led the debates upon the question of the labor of children in the manufactories. He wrote the report upon the project of an act for borrowing money for the installation of M. de Borald, the Archbishop of Lyons, in which he defined the reciprocal relations of the state and the clergy.

For many years De Gerando exercised the functions of Administrator of the Bureau of Beneficence in the Eleventh Arrondissement of Paris; and always himself presented its moral and administrative accounts, pointing out any improvements that might be made in the methods of procedure. Nor did he limit himself to directing what should be carried by the almoner to the houses of the poor; he often went himself to visit those sad dwellings, and he gave the poor audience once a week at his own house, when his cabinet, antechamber, staircase, and all the halls would be crowded. He listened and talked to them like a father, and accompanied all the material aid he dispensed with counsels, exhortations, and encouragements. No poor creature worthy of aid, or whom aid could benefit, implored his inexhaustible bounty in vain. He exercised abundantly that charity of soul, described so vividly in the "Visitor of the Poor," which addresses the heart of the unhappy, raises them in their own eyes, and inspires energy to endure misfortunes that cannot be averted.

Admitted into the General Council of Hospitals in Paris,

in 1834, De Gerando was obliged to resign this bureau for more extended labors. He was charged especially with the care of the Hospital of the Maternity, where our Elizabeth Blackwell received so important a part of her education; also, with that of the Foundling Hospital. And who could better comprehend and perfect the work of Vincent de Paul? Every week he gave audience to the director of that hospital, examined its registers, and went to inspect the establishment with his own eyes. He visited its schools every year, presided in person over the distribution of the prizes, and addressed paternal counsel to the children of both sexes. He also created a Sunday school, where the orphans who were apprenticed in Paris could come and continue their education. He took an exact account of everything concerning the orphans placed in the country, and did not content himself with mere statistics of admission, mortality, and statements by their employers. He required an account of the moral condition of each one of them; of their individual dispositions and conduct, and the conduct of their adopted parents. He took measures to form a committee of patronage in each locality, to watch over their education and their future. He also established a service of inspection in the departments; and every year one of the superior officers of the Paris Hospital was sent to inquire after each individual child, and to learn its position and physical and moral state. In the vacations of the Council of State and School of Law, he went himself to visit these objects of his benevolent attention, going into the humblest cottages to see and judge for himself. His carriage, on this occasion, was filled with books, and with chocolate and sugar, which he distributed according to the ages of the poor children. It was a touching spectacle to see this peer of France, this learned philosopher, in the midst of the country people, and of orphans from their birth, giving to one a caress, to another a reward, to all encouragement. At his approach the children would run to meet him, and press around him, placing their little hands in his, and calling him their dear papa from Paris.

No person possessed documents so rich and complete upon all the establishments for beneficence in Europe as did De Gerando. In 1831, the French Academy offered a prize for an essay on

Charity, considered in its principles, in its applications, and in its influence upon morals and social organization. De Gerando, on this occasion, at the instance of his friends, composed his treatise upon Public Beneficence; and his work divided the prize with two other persons. The same year the Academy of Bourdeaux proposed as a question the Means of Preventing Poverty. The chapters on this subject from his essay crowned at Paris were sent to Bourdeaux, and carried off the prize. His manuscript, doubly crowned, was revised, completed, and published in four volumes, in 1839. The work is a comparative history of charity in all times and in all nations, containing accounts of the heroes of beneficence and their methods, made with immense and generous labor, involving journeys into other countries, and examination of their institutions. It is an exposition also of the doctrine, that society, as such, must combine all efforts for the profit of its indigent classes. It is a record of the good works of men, which, as St. James has said, prove the purity of faith, which more or less have ever mingled with and softened the sad annals of human crime, and which, making a science of beneficence, promise a fairer future.

Without making personal happiness his aim, De Gerando enjoyed more than is common. Honored in the Republic, the Empire, and under the Charter, and made by Louis Philippe peer of the realm, public esteem surrounded him. The most celebrated scientific societies of Europe sought him as an associate. But, more blessed still, he enjoyed the sweets of the tenderest friendship, and the most delicious joys of domestic life. He had two sons of his own, who were the happiness and consolation of his old age; and twelve adopted children, — five orphan children of his own brother, and seven of his wife's sister, — most of whom still live to bless his memory.

But the felicities of life expose us to its griefs. As early as 1821, he lost his beloved friend Camille Jordan. He had hardly recovered from the sadness of this bereavement, when, in 1824, his beloved wife was torn from him. The death of this noble woman threw him into the most profound affliction, and for a time paralyzed all his energies. His health was seriously affected, and for a season he lost the taste for labor

and the impulse to do good. Recovering from this dejection, he wrote in his journal, "Henceforth there are for me no pleasures, but there still remain duties."

We have already indicated how he fulfilled these duties, even to the age of seventy. But his incessant activity at length produced a decline of strength. A disease of the heart brought on accesses of the most painful depression, which for another would have been insurmountable, but which did not check his manifold labors. When he was counselled to take rest, he replied, like the great Arnauld, "I will rest in eternity." His nature at length was exhausted; the flame which animated his life consumed it. Intolerable anguish drove him, in the autumn of 1842, to the baths of Néris. They did him no good, and his end was presaged by sufferings which yet could not destroy the serenity of his spirit. He declared that his malady was a blessing, inasmuch as it was an occasion of patience, and brought him nearer to God. "In the bosom of the thick and sombre cloud," he said, "a ray of light appears, to penetrate, rejoice, and fortify my soul. It directs my thought to God, whose will I accept with filial confidence. Whatever he ordains for me will be a good." He noted in his journal of the 9th of November the occupations of the previous night. He rose early on the 10th, after a night of cruel suffering, and, still meditating a benevolent project, made a note of a charitable resolution in his journal. Then, fatigued and as if exhausted, he sat down in a great arm-chair by the fireside, and expired without a struggle.

To seek truth, to do good, was the device of De Gerando, and he was faithful to it. He was one of the few who find the ends of life in the inclinations of the heart, their felicities in their duties. He lived to demonstrate salutary ideas, and to sustain suffering humanity. We have seen that, as a philosopher, he defended the activity of the spiritual nature, while the cold doctrine of sensation reigned over the mind of his time. As an historian he brought a glorious and fruitful past of the human mind before an age which the brilliancy of new discoveries had left too ignorant of the thoughts of other ages. As a publicist, after having borne part in the administration of a vast empire, he made a regular scientific digest of the

laws of this administration. As a philanthropist, after having diffused instruction under all its forms, and applied charity to all miseries, he drew up a methodical code of beneficence, in order to teach others to do what he did so perfectly himself. Twenty-five volumes of judicious and useful rules for thinking rightly and acting well, and more than fifty years consecrated to the uninterrupted work of doing good, entitle De Gerando to the most careful attention, when he proposes to teach the means of self-education and moral perfection; and this remark brings us back to the work whose title we have placed at the head of our article, and which our narrative cannot but recommend. As a text-book in the higher seminaries of youth, as a manual of life to lie by the side of the Bible in our private chamber, we do not know what can take its place.

ART. VI. — *History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes, to the Pontificate of Nicholas V.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's. In Eight Volumes. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860–61. Vols. II.–V. Small 8vo. pp. 551, 525, 555, 530.

IN our last number we gave a rapid sketch of the temporal relations of the Christian Church during its chrysalis period, extending from its organization under Constantine to its preparations for independence and conquest on the partition of the Carlovingian empire. We there stated that the fictitious Canons of Ingilram, and the forgeries of the Pseudo-Isidor, were the efficient instruments in bringing about the revolution which in the middle of the ninth century reversed, in many important particulars, the relative positions of the secular and ecclesiastical powers. The lapse of a thousand years has wellnigh obliterated the history of that revolution. The principles it established became, in the new order of things, the especial prerogatives of the class which controlled all learning and education; and as those principles commanded obedience only as they were believed to draw their origin from primitive and

apostolic ages, evidence of their novelty is not to be found on the surface of monkish chronicle or papal decretal. It is only by a somewhat minute investigation of laws and canons, and a comparison of individually trivial details, that we can roughly trace the outlines of the struggle, and see the origin of those theories of ecclesiastical superiority which left so profound an impress on the Middle Age, and which have in no slight degree moulded our modern civilization. To accomplish this thoroughly is impossible in the limits assigned to us; a few points, however, will be amply sufficient to show the nature of the conflict and the extent of the victory.

It has already been stated that the Carlovingian polity, inheriting the traditions of the elder Empire, rendered the Church completely subordinate to the state; and when the Emperor regulated the internal affairs of the ecclesiastical establishment, he was only exercising his undoubted prerogative as a sovereign. The kingly office conferred this authority even upon the fresh Christianity of Clovis. An address to him by the Council of Orleans, held in 511, shows that the regal power convoked the synod, presented to it the subjects for discussion, and confirmed the canons before they acquired binding force.* The Preface to the Canons of the Fifth Council of Orleans, held in 554, indicates in a similar manner the dependence of the Church on the legislative authority of the state.† A century later, an attempt to escape from this subjection was promptly repressed by Sigebert II., who laid down the rule, in express terms, that no council should be held without his permission; and he consequently forbade the assembling of one which had been called, for the reason that his consent had not been asked.‡ So little, indeed, did the Church imagine itself an independent power, that, long after the Iconoclastic schism

---

* "Quia . . . . sacerdotes de rebus necessariis tractaturos in unum colligi jusseritis, secundum voluntatis vestræ consultationem et titulos quos dedistis ea quæ nobis visum est definitione respondimus; ita ut si ea quæ nos statuimus etiam vestro recta esse judicio comprobantur, tanti consensus regis ac domini majori auctoritate servandam tantorum firmet sententiam sacerdotum." — Epist. Synod. Aurel. I., ann. 511.

† Concil. Aurel. V., Procem.

‡ "Ut sine nostra scientia synodale concilium in regno nostro non agatur." — Epist. Francor. No. 78 (Freher. Corp. Francic. Histor.).

had caused Gregory II. to throw off all real subjection to the heretic Leo the Isaurian, the acts of the Roman Church were still dated from the reigns of emperors whom it excluded from communion, and with whom it was in open conflict. When, on the death of Leo, the usurper Artavasdes obtained temporary possession of the throne, the Papal notaries joyfully used the name of an orthodox monarch; but this satisfaction was transitory, and when the son of Leo put down the insurrection, they dutifully adhered to the heretic family. Until after the middle of the eighth century, councils and decretals bore the year of the hated Constantine Copronymus, the vigorous upholder of Iconoclasticism.*

Charlemagne, concentrating in his own person both the Roman and the Frankish traditions, issued his rescripts in matters relating to ecclesiastical discipline with fully as much authority as when legislating for concerns purely secular. Adalhard of Corbie, one of the chosen counsellors of Louis-le-Débonnaire, has left us a description of the procedure customary at the assemblies of the Franks, by which we learn that the prelates and nobles sat separately to debate the matters appertaining specially to each class; that the capitularies, or laws, were submitted to them by the Emperor for debate, but that the Emperor finally decided according to the light thrown upon the subject. No difference is therefore perceptible between secular and ecclesiastical affairs, and as both the initiative and the decision thus belonged to the sovereign, he had powers limited only by the practical relations existing between him and his subjects at the moment.† Thus throughout the whole body of the Capitularies political and clerical regulations are so intimately mingled that separation is almost impossible, showing that no thought of distinguishing them existed at the time, and that no doubt was entertained as to the equal competency of the crown with regard to both. We have seen, on a previous occasion, that the Roman pontiffs were the subjects of Charlemagne, and submitted themselves without remonstrance to his

* For instance, the Epistles of Pope Zachary, in Epist. Bonifacii, No. 142, 143, etc.

† Hincmar, Instit. Reg. cap. 34, 35. Hincmar alludes to Adalhard as "inter primos consiliarios" of Louis.

jurisdiction; it will therefore readily be understood that the lower orders of the hierarchy were equally dependent. Paulinus, Archbishop of Aquileia, in an epistle to the Emperor, exhorts him to the due and vigorous administration of his authority over the internal affairs of the Church as well as of the state, pointing out certain matters in the former as especially requiring his attention.* Even points of faith and doctrine were also subject to his decision. The decisions of the Synod of Frankfort in 794 did not acquire legal force until a Capitulary, issued in the sole name of the monarch, designated the exact amount of veneration with which images were to be regarded.† In no less degree did Louis-le-Débonnaire consider himself the head and ruler of the Church. One of his edicts addressed to the bishops assumes him to be the source of their episcopal authority, for the proper exercise of which he held himself personally responsible.‡ When his pious zeal assembled the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, to reform the corruptions of the Church, the stringent canons drawn up to meet his wishes were promulgated under his authority; his commands enforced obedience to them, and any infraction of them was punishable by him.§ Indeed, an Imperial Diet boldly declared that the Emperor's power over the Church was superior to that of the Pope himself.‖ Even after the civil wars, as late as 845, the bishops of the Synod of Thionville addressed Lothair, Louis, and Charles, entreating them to remove the corruptions of the Church, for the governance of which they were responsible to God.¶ The tottering power of young Charles-

* "Ut admirabili in rerum ecclesiasticarum sive civilium administratione strenuus, et sapientiæ fonte redundes et virtutis exhibitione triumphes." — Baluz. et Mansi, Tom. II. p. 11.

† Car. Mag. Rescript. de non adorandis imaginibus (Goldast. Const. Imp. II. 2).

‡ "Ut unusquisque vestrum in suo loco et ordine partem nostri ministerii habere cognoscatur . . . . . nobis vero adjutores in administratione ministerii nobis commissi existatis, ut in judicio non condemnari pro nostra et vestra negligentia . . . . mereamur." — Capit. Ludov. Pii, ann. 823, c. 3, 4. Expressions equally strong are to be found in Capitul. Lib. VI. c. 432.

§ Miræi Cod. Donat. Piar. c. 13.

‖ "Imperialem majestatem plus posse in administranda ecclesia quam Pontificiam." — Goldast. I. 188.

¶ "Si . . . . ab hac eadem ecclesia, vobis ad gubernandam commissa, pro qua ex ministerio regali reddituri estis Regi Regum rationem in die judicii, tam multiplices ac perniciosas corruptionis pestilentias vultis amovere." — Capit. Carol. Cal., Tit. II. c. 1.

le-Chauve still required that the canons of synods, relating solely to Church affairs, should be submitted to him for confirmation, even as the *sanctio* of the Roman and Greek Emperors had been requisite to give effect to the *dispositio* of the earlier Councils. This was not an empty show of unmeaning deference, for on one occasion we find him annulling many of them with his simple veto,* and in 847 the Council of Maintz, in appealing to Louis-le-Germanique for the confirmation of its canons, employs terms which show that without it they had little chance of respect.† The Supreme Pontiff himself had not yet thought of escaping from temporal jurisdiction; for in the same year we find Leo IV. promising implicit obedience to the laws of the Emperor Lothair and of his predecessors.‡

Ingilram and Isidor, however, taught a doctrine very different from all this; and when the time was ripe, their canons were duly brought forward to prevent all further interference of royalty with sacerdotal legislation. As early as 833, when Gregory IV. was summoned from Italy by the sons of Louis to render their father's degradation complete, and the Pope could scarcely nerve himself to the awful task, Wala, the fierce promoter of the rebellion, endeavored to strengthen his confidence by producing a collection of canons proving that the successor of St. Peter was empowered to judge mankind and was not to be judged of men. Even in his fall, however, the son of Charlemagne was heir to too much traditional veneration for such doctrines to obtain currency, and they remained in abeyance until those who had evoked them were ready to be their victims. In 845 appeared the Capitularies of Benedict the Levite. This compilation purports to contain the Carlovingian laws in an accessible form, and was for the most part extracted from the collections of Riculfus of Maintz, the spon-

* Capit. Carol. Cal., Tit. VII. — The previous year the Synod of Vernon suggested various laws respecting ecclesiastical matters to Charles, entreating their enactment. (Baluz. II. 13–20.)

† "Hæc vero quæ vobis transmissa sunt, petimus ut vestra auctoritate firmentur, ut si quis adversarius illis existere voluerit, prævalere non permittatur." — Epist. Synod. ad Ludov. (Baronius, ann. 847, No. 29.)

‡ "De capitulis .... vestris .... irrefragabiliter custodiendis ac conservandis, quantum valuimus ac valemus, Christi propitio, et nunc et in ævum, nos conservaturos modis omnibus profitemur." — Gratian. Dist. X. can. 9.

sor for the Isidorian canons. The collection contains a large body of genuine laws, thickly interspersed with extracts from the new supposititious documents, — the canons of Ingilram being principally quoted, together with a considerable number from Isidor. The object of the whole is so evidently to give currency to the new doctrines, that some critics have been led to the belief that Benedict must also be the real author of the False Decretals.* These Capitularies were unquestionably received and used as authoritative, and such customs as they did not simply record they assuredly did much to create and introduce. In them the principle is distinctly and repeatedly declared, that the imperial legislation is subordinate to the sacerdotal, and that, in any conflict between the two, the former must give way ; † and that these doctrines were not merely theoretical speculations, but that they were practically enforced and generally admitted, will be manifest from various transactions to be alluded to hereafter.

A point of vital importance to the Church, in its efforts for independence, was the admission of the principle of ecclesiastical immunity from secular jurisdiction. For ages a persistent and resolute struggle had been maintained to acquire the recognition of this privilege. That quarrels between church-

* Knust is of this opinion, and Denziger labors hard to establish it. Of Benedict's Capitularies, fifty-seven, being about five per cent of the whole, are Isidorian.

† For example : " Constitutiones contra canones et decreta Præsulum Romanorum seu reliquorum pontificum, vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti." — Capitul. Lib. VII. c. 346. (Ingilram. c. 39 ; Gratian. Dist. IX. can. 4.)

" Ut execrandum anathema fiat . . . . quicunque Regum deinceps canonis hujus censuram in quocunque crediderit aut permiserit violandam." — Capitul. Lib. VI. c. 322. (Ingilram. c. 80 ; Gratian. Caus. 25, q. 1, can. 11.)

And Pius I., an humble Roman bishop of the second century, was made responsible for " Lex Imperatorum non est supra legem Dei sed subtus," — Capitul. Add. III. c. 17 (Gratian. Dist. X. can. 1,) — a text which might be made to cover the most extravagant pretensions.

The progress of these principles can be traced with great clearness in Iceland, which was converted after they had become firmly established. In 1053, within less than half a century after the establishment of Christianity, the sacerdotal power was already strong enough to procure an enactment that, whenever the popular laws conflicted with the ecclesiastical, the former must give way. (Schlegel, Comment. ad Grágás, p. xxiii.) This would seem to be even a superfluous precaution when we find that in the Lögretto, or central high court, when any difference was found to exist between the copies of the code in the hands of the judges, those in possession of the bishops were held to present the authentic text. (Grágàs, Sect. II.)

men, or aberrations of discipline or faith, should be adjudicated by the bishops was reasonable enough; but to ask that a monk or priest guilty of a crime should not be subject to the ordinary tribunals, and that civil suits between members of the clergy and the laity should be referred exclusively to a court composed of ecclesiastics, was to claim a prerogative of the highest value, not only in its practical daily results, but in the moral superiority which it conferred on the privileged order. Success in this was gradual, but it was complete. The respect due to the sanctity of the episcopal functions was the entering wedge, and for this an antiquity was claimed coeval with the revolution by which Christianity became the dominant religion. If the account given by Rufinus be correct, when the Nicene Council assembled for the condemnation of Arius, and the holy fathers, neglecting that duty, busied themselves only with mutual criminations and accusations, Constantine ordered them to hand him all their *libelli* of complaint, and then addressed them: "God has constituted you his priests, and has given you authority to judge us, but you are not to be judged of men. Wherefore await the decision of God alone between you, and keep your quarrels, whatsoever they be, for his judgment alone. For you are gods, given us by God, and it is not suitable that man should pronounce judgment on gods." Whereupon he ordered the accusations to be burned without examination, and commanded the bishops to proceed with the business of the Council.* It may well be assumed, however, that Rufinus has exaggerated what probably was only a polite form in which the shrewd and politic Emperor veiled the reproof which he administered, and the sarcasm which lurked in his deferential presumption that they were worthy of the tribute which he rendered to their office. It is true that in 355 Constantius embodied this principle in a law, enacting that bishops could be tried only by bishops;† but this shows that no such legal custom pre-existed, and even this

* Rufini Hist. Eccles. Lib. X. c. 2. This blasphemous expression was embodied literally in the Capitularies of Benedict (Lib. V. c. 315), and was made the basis of extravagant pretensions, without apparently observing that it destroyed ecclesiastical as fully as secular jurisdiction over prelates.

† Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 12.

was for a temporary purpose, arising, like the Sardican canon, from the Arian schism, and it was only of temporary authority. It can hardly have been more; for in 376 a Constitution of Gratian expressly reserves to the secular tribunals all cases concerning ecclesiastics, except in matters confined to religion and in those of trifling importance; * and a Novel of Valentinian III. asserts this to be the rule established by the Imperial laws.† In the East, a law of the Emperor Leo, in 468, shows that churchmen were still subject to the ordinary jurisdiction; ‡ while in the West, Theodoric proclaimed that the Bishop of Rome himself was not exempt from trial and condemnation at the command of the sovereign, § — the case of Pope Silverius, convicted by Belisarius on a fabricated charge of treason, showing that this was not an empty assertion.‖ A step, indeed, was gained when, according to an epistle of Athalaric the Ostrogoth, any suit or prosecution against an ecclesiastic of Rome had to be brought before the Pope; but it was

---

* Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 23. This shows that the law attributed to Constantine by Sozomen (Lib. I. c. 9), granting to clerical defendants the right to elect episcopal judges, either never existed, or was only of temporary authority.

† Nov. XII. Valent. de episc. judic. The Constitution of Honorius of 412, and that of the youthful Valentinian III. of 425, are of a different purport, and were strenuously alleged in the ninth century to support the pretensions of the Church; but the former may be safely assumed to refer to ecclesiastical matters alone, while the latter was probably extorted by the powerful Church party from the young Emperor and his mother Placidia immediately after the overthrow of the usurper John. That it was opposed to the received jurisprudence of the age is shown by Valentinian's subsequent declaration in the Novel cited above. We might also refer to Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. xii. l. 3, of similar tenor, but its authenticity is somewhat doubtful. The ninth canon of the Third Council of Carthage shows the jealous efforts of the Church to maintain jurisdiction over the affairs of its members, denouncing heavy penalties on the clergy who should seek the secular tribunals in either civil or criminal cases, on account of the disrespect thus manifested toward their own officials. At the same time, as it enumerates bishops among those who might justify themselves before lay judges, it shows that the exemption attributed to Constantine had probably never existed, and that the privilege granted by Constantius had either fallen into desuetude, or had been scorned on account of its heretical intent.

‡ Const. 33, C. I. 3.

§ "Justum est ut facti sui lege teneri debeat Romanus Pontifex obligatus . . . ipse etiam visitatorem et cognitorem suorum criminum a nobis accipere et subire debeat," (Goldast. III. 613,) — a principle which the Ostrogoth did not hesitate to put in force against both Symmachus and John I.

‖ Abbon. Floriac. Excerpt. ex Anastas. No. LX.

rendered almost nugatory by the permission granted to the plaintiff to appeal from his decision to the secular magistrates.* Justinian finally established the privilege credited to Constantine and attempted by Constantius, by conceding to the episcopal dignity the prerogative of having only episcopal judges; but as he carefully reserved the Imperial right to disregard the exemption, the principle of ecclesiastical subordination was preserved intact.† This privilege he extended in 539 by placing the monasteries under the sole control of the bishops, in order that their hallowed precincts should not be profaned by the sacrilegious intrusion of secular officials.‡ A few months later, at the solicitation of Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople, he ordered that all civil suits against ecclesiastics should be brought before their bishops, with recourse to the popular tribunals only when the prelate was unable to decide. Criminal prosecutions, however, were reserved for the civil magistrates, except in minor offences; § and nothing is said to warrant the belief that a clerical plaintiff could select a judge of his own order.‖ The result of this liberality was apparently not satisfactory in its practical working; for a few years later the privilege was virtually withdrawn, by allowing the largest liberty of appeal to the secular tribunals from such episcopal decisions.¶

While the learning and civilization of the East presented these obstacles to the progress of the Church, the careless barbarism of the West offered a much wider field for encroachment. The regions subject to the Burgundians and Wisigoths, indeed, adhered to the traditions of the Roman law; for the Council of Agde in 506, and that of Epaone in 517, while ordering the clergy not to seek the secular tribunals as

---

* Athalar. Const. XVI. (Goldast. III. 98.)

† "Nisi princeps jubeat." — Novel. 123, c. 8.

‡ Novel. 79.

§ Novel. 123, c. 20.

‖ Novel. 83. It is probable, however, that in Italy greater latitude was allowed to episcopal jurisdiction; for we find Theodoric sending for trial to Eustorgius, Bishop of Milan, "cujus est et æquitatem moribus talibus imponere," some priests charged with perjury and false witness of an aggravated character, (Goldast. III. 32,) — an offence which, in the legislation of Justinian, was specially reserved for the secular courts.

¶ Novel. 123, c. 21.

plaintiffs, directs them to make no resistance when summoned as defendants, showing that they had endeavored unsuccessfully to obtain that privilege.* A law of the Wisigoth Chindaswind, about the middle of the seventh century, also reveals the same struggle, and the triumph of the secular power, as it imposes a heavy fine on bishops who should refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and inflicts on the lower orders of the clergy the same penalty to which the laity were liable for such contempt of court.†

The zealous fervor of the newly converted Franks was less tenacious. As early as 538, even before the carefully guarded grants of Justinian, the Third Council of Orleans was able to enact a canon rendering episcopal assent necessary before a clerk could appear in a secular court, either as plaintiff or defendant.‡ This virtually placed in the hands of the bishops the jurisdiction over all matters in which ecclesiastics were concerned; but possibly the good fathers were too hasty in their assumption of this power, for though it was more fully developed three years later, in the Fourth Council of Orleans,§ subsequent legislation and canons show that there was no definite system of procedure. The Council of Auxerre, in 578, devised an ingenious expedient by which a suit against a clerk was to be brought against a brother of the defendant,

* "Sed si pulsati fuerint, sequi ad sæculare judicium non morentur." — Concil. Epaon., can. 11; Concil. Agathens., can. 32. That the bishops did not find their clergy always willing suitors at their courts is shown by their bitter complaints in the Third Council of Toledo, in 589, of the "diuturna indisciplinatio et licentiæ inolita præsumptio," which led members of the Church constantly to seek the secular tribunals in their mutual quarrels. Concil. Toletan. III., can. 13.

† "Quod si quislibet episcopus admonitionem judicis, fretus honore sacerdotali, contempserit, et pro sua persona assertorem dare distulerit, confestim a judice negotii, seu a provinciæ suæ duce vel comite compulsus, L. solidorum dampnum excipiat." — L. Wisigoth. Lib. II. Tit. I. c. 18. This subjection of the clergy is the more remarkable, as Spain at this period was thoroughly Catholic, and the bishops enjoyed great power and influence. The *Fuero Juzgo*, or Romance version of the Gothic laws, in force until the thirteenth century, omits this provision concerning the bishops, but retains the liability of the inferior clergy, although they were, throughout the rest of Europe, by that time completely independent of the civil power. (Fuero Juzgo, Lib. II. Tit. I. ley 17.)

‡ "Clericus cujuslibet gradus, sine pontificis sui permissu, nullum ad sæculare judicium præsumat attrahere, neque laico, inconsulto sacerdote, clericum in sæculare judicium liceat exhibere." — Concil. Aurel. III., can. 32.

§ Concil. Aurel. IV., can. 20.

or some other layman.* That of Macon, in 581, conceded to the secular judges criminal jurisdiction over clerical offenders.† That of Paris, in 615, repeated the injunction of the Councils of Orleans, requiring the assent of the bishops in all cases;‡ but in the Edict of Clotair, which gave legal force to the proceedings of the Council, this provision is expressed in much more limited terms, and a mixed tribunal is ordered for all cases occurring between the clergy and the laity.§ Even this was probably a greater favor to the Church than could be secured in daily practice, for the Council of Chalons, in 649, complains of the civil magistrates as extending their power over the monasteries and parishes;‖ and, about the same period, the Bavarian laws, while exempting the episcopal order from the liability to private vengeance, treat it as in every respect amenable to the royal and popular tribunals.¶

Whatever was doubtful in the prevailing custom was, however, eventually construed in favor of sacerdotal immunity. In 755 the Acts of the Synod of Verneuil, issued with the authority of Pepin-le-Bref, contain the important privilege more distinctly enunciated,** while a Capitulary of Charlemagne, in 789, denounces heavy penalties against any ecclesiastic who should so far disregard the rights of his order as to obey a summons to a secular court as defendant in either a civil or a criminal action.†† Theoretically, the point was thus gained; but its practical enforcement was reserved for a later period, and we may safely assume that little respect was paid to the prerogatives of the Church by the warrior-judges who thought that her safety was amply provided for by investing her children with a double or triple wehr-gild for life and limb.‡‡ Ample evidences remain of this. We have already

---

* Concil. Antissiodor., can. 41.

† Concil. Matiscon. I., can. 7.

‡ Concil. Paris. V., can. 4.

§ Edict. Chlotar. II., ann. 615, c. 4, 5.

‖ Concil. Cabillon., can. 11.

¶ L. Baioar. Tit. I. cap. 11, § 2. The clergy, however, were under the jurisdiction of their bishops, except for incontinence. (Tit. I. cap. 13, § 3.)

** Capit. Pippini, ann. 755, § 18. About the same time a similar rule was enunciated in England. "Ut nulli sacerdotum liceat fidejussorem esse, neque derelicta propria lege ad sæcularia judicia accedere." — Ecgberti Excerpt. cap. xvi.

†† Capit. Car. Mag., ann. 789, § 37. Also, Capit., ann. 794, § 37.

‡‡ The Second Council of Macon, in 585, complains bitterly that the inviolability of episcopal dignity received little respect at the hands of irreligious judges. (Concil. Matiscon. II., can. 9.) This is not to be wondered at, when these privileges

seen that Charlemagne and Louis-le-Débonnaire held the Pope himself as subject to their jurisdiction; and the latter monarch even sent a layman as commissioner for the trial of Paschal I. A Capitulary of Charlemagne in 805 orders the public judges to expedite with diligence the suits of churches, widows, and orphans,* showing that the secular courts were open to ecclesiastical cases, and were habitually applied to for them, which is confirmed by an allusion in Flodoard to the custom of Wulfarius, Archbishop of Rheims, and of his successor, Ebbo, in conducting personally the causes of their Church before the civil judges.† A law of 794 shows that the monarch exercised the right of sitting in ultimate appeal in criminal cases involving churchmen, as freely as in those concerning the laity;‡ and another, in 805, directs the loftiest prelates to be brought to his tribunal for judgment.§ Even for certain violations of ecclesiastical discipline, we find Louis-le-Débonnaire, in 816, directing that clerical offenders shall be sent to him for punishment.‖ A law of 819 forbidding the duel when both parties to an action were ecclesiastics, but retaining it when one was a layman, and in the former case referring the matter to the Count of the province, shows how complete was the jurisdiction of the secular tribunals over the clergy.¶ Nor was the supremacy of the sovereign destroyed by the abasement of the kingly dignity consequent on the civil wars. In 845 the Synod of Thionville besought the assembled Carlovingian princes to employ their authority vigorously in bringing the Church back to its former purity,** and a few months later the Synod of Ver-

---

were disregarded by those who were most interested in maintaining them. The Fifth Council of Paris, in 615, found it necessary to forbid bishops from attacking each other in the secular courts. (Concil. Paris. V., can 11.)

* Capit. Car. Mag. II., ann. 805, § 2.

† Flodoard. Hist. Remens. Lib. II. c. 18, 19.

‡ "Veniant accusatores cum accusato, cum literis metropolitani, ut sciamus veritatem rei." — Capit. Car. Mag., ann. 794, § 4.

§ "Episcopi et Abbates et Comites pravi veniant ad curtem." — Capit. Car. Mag. III., ann. 805, § 14.

‖ Epist. ad Archiepisc. Salisburg. (Miræi Cod. Donat. Piar. cap. 13.)

¶ Capit. Ludov. Pii I., ann. 819, § 10. That the Church made no opposition to this is shown by its being included by Regino in his work, "De Discip. Eccles." Lib. II. c. 334.

** "Petimus tandem ut ordo ecclesiasticus . . . . . per potestatem vestram, et per

neuil made a special request to Charles-le-Chauve that he would delegate full powers to commissioners to examine into and punish the violations of ecclesiastical discipline everywhere rampant.* About the same time we find Modoin, Bishop of Autun, employing the secular courts in various quarrels with the clergy of Lyons, his metropolis, and maintaining the doctrine that only bishops and abbesses were exempt from secular jurisdiction ;† and this is confirmed by a passage in the Canons of St. Rodolf, Archbishop of Bourges, permitting the presence of priests in civil courts, with the permission of their bishop, when their own causes are to be heard.‡

All this proves irresistibly that ecclesiastics were amenable to civil jurisdiction, and that the king was recognized as the fountain of justice, from whom emanated the power of punishment and of vindicating the majesty of the law, even when the wrong-doer was a churchman. How great a change was wrought in a few years we may learn from a trifling incident at the Synod of Soissons in 853, where Charles is described as entering humbly,—"simpliciter cum Episcopis resedebat,"—and he, the King of the Franks and the grandson of Charlemagne, laid a complaint before the assembled prelates against a petty clerk, a mere deacon, Rainfroy of Rheims, whom he accused of forging royal precepts; and the bishops condescended to order the accused not to leave Rheims without justifying himself.§ Unimportant as is the occurrence, it

---

ministerium ministrorum dominationis vestræ, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, suum vigorem accipiat."—Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. II. § 4.

* "Ut . . . . . apostolicæ disciplinæ contemptores, missis a latere vestro probatæ fidei legatis, absque respectu personarum, et excæcatione munerum coerceantur."—Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. III. § 2.

† Much to the disgust of the Lyonese, who were deprived of their leader by the degradation of St. Agobard. Florus Diaconus vented his indignation in a long elegy, soothing in its monotonous objurgation. He describes the doctrine of Modoin :—

"Dicere nullus honos debetur (credite) sacris
Ordinibus : cunctos pulset ubique forum.
Nam nisi cœnobium mater muliebre gubernans
Et sacer antistes, cætera pulvis erunt."

‡ "Neque ad sæculare judicium pergant. . . . . Si vero eorum propria causa agenda est, cum licentia episcopi et cum advocato pergant."—Capit. Rodolf. Bituricens. c. 19.

§ Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. XI. act. 6.

registers a victory gained by the lowest of the clergy over the highest of the state, and it marks the obedience of the king to the doctrines promulgated in the most emphatic manner throughout the Capitularies of Benedict, which secure the Church from all interference on the part of secular tribunals.* We need not be surprised, therefore, that a few years later Nicholas I. was able to forbid any inquiry or examination on the part of the laity into priestly morals or conduct, the sacerdotal character being too sacred for discussion by those whose only duty it was to revere and obey.†

---

* The importance attached to this privilege is manifested by the careful iteration of the principle in various forms throughout the later books of the Capitularies. In the collection of Ansegise it receives little notice; but Benedict is never tired of repeating it. For instance, Lib. V. c. 70, 192, 378; Lib. VI. c. 111, 164, 434; Lib. VII. c. 139, 210, 438, 469, present it in different points of view. It was, however, by no means quietly admitted by the royal authority. Some ten years later, Charles, probably feeling himself stronger, adopted a very different course with Hincmar, Bishop of Laon. That restless prelate becoming involved in a dispute concerning a piece of land, Charles evoked the case to a secular court. Hincmar did not deny the jurisdiction, but sent an excuse in legal form for non-appearance at the first hearing. The angry monarch committed the high-handed act of sequestrating all the temporalities and revenues of the see, which drew upon him a long and earnest remonstrance from the sufferer's uncle, the all-powerful Hincmar of Rheims, who stigmatized the royal act as unexampled and unheard of, — "quod nec in legibus nec in libris ecclesiasticis quemquam christianorum principum fecisse legimus." (Hincm. pro Eccles. Libert. Defens. Expos. I.) The Bishop of Laon was finally reinstated, and afterward proved a thorn in his uncle's side.

† "Verum de presbyteris qualescunque sint, vobis, qui laici estis, nec judicandum est, nec de vita ipsorum quidpiam investigandum, sed episcoporum judicio quidquid est, per omnia reservandum." — Epist. 97, § 70, — and this was addressed to a king.

The practical immunity from punishment which ecclesiastical criminals thus enjoyed during the mediæval period, and the lasting impression which the privilege made on national institutions, are well exemplified by the *privilegium clericale*, or "benefit of clergy" of the English Common Law. That a clerk could be tried, convicted, and condemned by the Church alone, was a principle recognized, with some variations, by the jurisprudence of all Europe (Bracton, Lib. III. Tract ii. cap. 9; Legg. Eccles. Maccabæi R. Scotor; Beaumanoir, Cap. XI. § 40; Siete Partidas, Pt. I. Tit. VI. l. 61; Constit. Sicular. Lib. I. Tit. 42; Assises de Jerusalem, Baisse Court, cap. 14, 367; Specul. Suevic. cap. 77; Legg. S. Stephani Hungaror. R. cap. 3; Raguald. Ingemund. Leg. Suecor. Lib. I. cap. 20); and the judge who disregarded this prerogative incurred excommunication removable only by the Pope. ("Cil qui l'aroient justicié seroient escommenié griement, sans estre absols que par l'apostole." — Beaumanoir, Cap. XI. § 44.) Although in France the convicted clerk was liable to perpetual imprisonment (Ibid., § 45), in England his only punishment was degradation, irrespective of the number or degree of his crimes, ("Cum autem clericus sic de crimine convictus degradetur, non sequitur alia pœna pro uno

This Decretal of Pope Nicholas leads us to consider another mode by which the ecclesiastical body sought to establish its superiority. This was a claim to inviolable sanctity. Not content with immunity from secular jurisdiction, a determined effort was made to obtain immunity from secular accusation. The principle was too monstrous to be successfully introduced, and the canons which express it in the most unqualified manner are mingled with others whose careful enumeration of the causes of incompetency in witnesses shows that the more sweep-

---

delicto vel pluribus ante degradationem perpetratis," — (Bracton, Lib. III. Tract. II. cap. 9, § 2,) except for apostasy. When to this we add the enormous chances of escape afforded by the system of canonical compurgation, which rendered ecclesiastical trials almost a ludicrous mockery of justice, we can readily understand that the privilege came to be regarded as a practical exemption from punishment. Becoming gradually an integral portion of the Common Law, it thus extended itself into the substance of a pardon for a vast number of felonies, on the first conviction, to all offenders whose ability to read seemed to affiliate them to the ecclesiastical body; while a liberal construction of the test provided aliens with books in their native language from which to prove their "clergy," and blind men escaped the halter by speaking Latin "congruously." Even as of old, the convicted clerk was degraded, and thus on a subsequent accusation was exposed to the justice of the secular courts; so, after the privilege became general, the layman could plead his "clergy" but once, and was barred from any repetition of his escape. Long after it had thus lost all special reference to the Church, the ingenuity of lawyers was taxed to the utmost in distinguishing between the shades of crime entitled to the benefit of clergy and those for which the convict was ousted, rendering this, according to Sir Matthew Hale, "one of the most involved and troublesome titles in the law." (Hale, Placit. Coron. Chap. XLIV.-LIV.) Early in the reign of Queen Anne the privilege was extended to all malefactors, by removing the reading test, the unlettered felon being thus placed on a par with his more learned fellows; and it was not until the present century was well advanced that this remnant of mediæval veneration was abolished by 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 28.

That the English law was not the only one in which the difference of punishment meted out to clerk and layman amounted practically to almost an immunity for the former, is well exemplified in a Constitution of the Emperor Henry IV., in 1085, enforcing the Truce of God, under penalties of frightful severity, mutilation and death being unsparingly threatened for all infractions of it. A crime so unclerical would seem to claim especial punishment for malefactors whose profession would render it peculiarly odious, particularly when we reflect that simple degradation or suspension would be but a trifling infliction on those who were so lost to all sense of their sacred functions as to come within the provisions of the edict. "Unde laici decollentur, inde clerici degradentur; unde laici detruncentur, inde clerici ab officiis suspendantur; et cum consensu laicorum crebris jejuniis et verberibus usque ad satisfactionem affligantur." (Henrici IV. Constit. IV., Patrologiæ, T. 151, p. 1134.)

The only secular tribunal which dared to exercise jurisdiction over ecclesiastics was that of the terrible Free Judges of Westphalia, whose claims to this privilege

ing regulations were rejected by the common sense of mankind. Bishops were especially the objects of this tender precaution. As early as the fourth century a Council of Carthage had forbidden the reception of accusations against bishops on the part of disreputable persons, and the Council of Chalcedon had repeated the prohibition. At that period such regulations only affected the internal affairs of the Church; but when the principle was adopted in the legislation of Charlemagne it assumed a wider significance, and became applicable to temporal as well as to spiritual matters.* It is true that the episcopal dignity had been protected from false accusations by a Constitution of Valentinian III. in 439, imposing a fine of thirty pounds of gold as a penalty for such practices;† but this severity is mildness in comparison with the canons of Isidor, Ingilram, and their followers. It was asserted to have been an early doctrine of the Church that the bishop was not to be accused by any of his flock; for the sheep do not attack their pastor, neither is the scholar greater than his teacher, nor may the slave destroy his master;‡ — a principle repeated with a zeal which shows the importance attached to it and the persistent efforts made to establish its recognition. Had this dogma been successful it would soon have been applied to the whole eccle-

---

are proved by the occasional exemptions granted to particular churches. (Senckenberg, De Judic. Westphal. Cap. XIX. § 7.) Even this, however, was not always submitted to; for when, in 1448, the Vehmgericht, at the complaint of two knights, cited Theodoric, Archbishop of Maintz, that prelate appealed for protection to the Papal Legate at the Imperial Court. The Cardinal of St. Angelo accordingly lost no time in denouncing the heaviest spiritual penalties against the audacity which set at naught the rights of the Church, — "licet juxta sacrorum canonum dispositionem laicis in personas ecclesiasticas . . . . . et bonis eorundem nulla prorsus competat jurisdictio sive potestas." (Gudeni Cod. Diplomat., Tom. IV. p. 306.)

* Capit. Car. Mag. I., ann. 789, §§ 29, 34. Capit., ann. 794, § 34.

† Const. 23, C. I. 3.

‡ Thus to Evaristus, a Pope of the first century, was attributed the canon, "Non est a plebe vel a vulgaribus hominibus arguendus vel accusandus episcopus, licet sit inordinatus" (Gratian. Caus. II. q. 7, can. 1, Pseudo-Evarist. Epist. 2); Pius I. was cited as authority for "Oves pastorem suum non reprehendant, plebs episcopum non accuset, nec vulgus eum arguat, quoniam non est discipulus super magistrum, neque servus supra dominum" (Ibid. Caus. VI. q. 1, can. 9, Pseudo-Pii Epist. 1); while Calixtus I. was made responsible for "Criminationes contra doctorem nemo suscipiat, quia non oportet filios patres reprehendere, nec servos dominos lacerare" (Ivon. Decret. P. V. c. 234, Pseudo-Calixt. Epist. 1), — which is almost literally identical with Capit. Lib. VI. cap. 357, while Lib. V. cap. 315 is equally strong.

siastical body; for clerical peccadilloes were declared to be objects of toleration, and not of punishment,* and a canon from Ingilram and Isidor was adopted, which shielded priests from all accusations made by those whose virtue and orthodoxy were not known and approved.† It was even proposed to forbid any layman to accuse an ecclesiastic,‡ and the inviolability of the higher clergy was secured by penalties of frightful severity denounced against those who should insult or injure prelates. To accuse them was declared to be an accusation of the ordinance of God, and a calumniator of his bishop was declared by law to be a homicide, who was to be dealt with accordingly.§ In addition to this, Charlemagne had been induced to adopt another of the forgeries, according to which a Roman Synod under Sylvester I. had decreed that for the conviction of a bishop the testimony of seventy-two witnesses was requisite, while forty-

* In a canon attributed by Isidor to Anaclet. "Pastor ecclesiæ . . . . pro reprobis moribus magis est tolerandus quam distringendus." — Remig. Curiens. Episc. can. 17 (Pseudo-Anaclet. Epist. 5).

† "Quorum fides, vita et libertas nescitur non possunt sacerdotes accusare." — Capit. Lib. VI. cap. 359 (Ingilram. c. 16, Pseudo-Calixt. Epist. 2, Pseudo-Fabian. Epist. 2).

‡ "Nullus laicus audeat clerico crimen inferre." (Gratian. Caus. II. q. 7, can. 2, Pseudo-Sylvester.) "Laico non licet quemlibet clericorum accusare." (Ibid. can. 3, Pseudo-Marcellin. Epist. 2.) There was a certain fairness in the forgeries when this rule was made to work both ways, and neither class was allowed to accuse the other: "Quoniam sicut sacerdotes vel reliqui clerici a sæcularium laicorum excluduntur accusatione, ita illi ab istorum sunt excludendi et alienandi criminatione" (Gratian. Caus. 2, q. 7, can. 6, Pseudo-Fabian. Epist. 2); but while the latter part of this precept was repeated and insisted on, the former was passed over. At the Council of Maintz, in 813, it was made the special duty of the priesthood to see that the misdeeds of their parishioners were punished, — "Si autem neglexerint sui gradus periculo subjacebunt" (Concil. Magunt. can. 7), — and that this was practically enforced will be evident when we come to consider the jurisdiction of the clergy. The doctrine of Isidor was in full vigor in the Scottish law of the fourteenth century: "Approbatione, acquietatione, et testimonio repelluntur . . . . clerici contra laicos et e converso." (Roberti I. Scot. Stat. II. cap. 34.)

§ Any one who should offer to a bishop "aliquam injuriam aut injustam dehonorationem" was to compound for his life; all his property was confiscated to the Church, and he was to pay to the king a triple "bannum," or sixty solidi, — an immense fine, — with the proviso that, if unable to make the payment, he became a slave of the fisc until he could do so, which was probably for life. Capit. Ingilenheim. Lud. Pii, § 3.

"Dei ordinationem accusat, in qua constituuntur, qui episcopos accusat aut condemnat." — Capit. Lib. VII. cap. 167.

"Si quis clericus vel laicus exprobrator vel calumniator suo episcopo extiterit, ut homicida habeatur." — Ibid. cap. 203.

four were necessary in the case of a priest, thirty-seven in that of a cardinal-deacon, and seven for a sub-deacon, — all to be men of family and professing Christians.* Had these efforts met with the success desired by their authors, it is not easy to follow out the results to their ultimate consequences. The sacerdotal body, thus elevated into a supreme and inaccessible caste, would probably have speedily become infected with the corruptions inseparable from irresponsible power and immunity ; and when Europe, unable to endure the existence of the pestilential mass, had at length arisen and destroyed it, religion itself, degraded by its ministers, might perhaps have perished with them.

While thus throwing off all subjection to the judicial authority of the state, the Church was making rapid progress in acquiring an important share in the general administration of justice. The functions of the judge are among the most potential sources of influence, and a class that can arrogate to itself, as a class-privilege, the right to dispense the law, has thereby secured no small share in the government of the body politic, while its authority over all ranks of society tacitly becomes almost unlimited. To combine this source of power with the ministrations of religion was to control the life, here and hereafter, of every man, — a prize worth striving for, and for which the ecclesiastics possessed a favorable base of operations. In the early days of Christianity, the Church formed a society of voluntary cohesion, kept by persecution constantly purified of all unruly and worldly elements. The law of Christian love would therefore naturally lead all members to refer questions arising among themselves to the friendly arbitration of the bishops, and there would be little risk that any one would incur the scandal of appealing from their decision. When, however, the despised and oppressed sect grew rich and powerful, and when at length, dominant in the Empire, it became the channel through which avarice and ambition might reach their desires, the necessity arose of either abandoning this custom or giving legal validity to the episcopal judgments. Accordingly a law of Arca-

* Capit. Car. Mag. VI., ann. 806, § 23. — A variation of this regulation occurs among the fragments attributed to Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, toward the close of the seventh century. (Thorpe, II. 73.)

dius and Honorius, in 398, declares that those who desire to refer civil suits to the arbitration of bishops shall not be prevented from doing so; and another, in 408, renders final the decisions in such cases, and directs the secular officials to carry them into execution.* It will be observed that these regulations refer exclusively to powers of arbitration conferred by the consent of both parties; and that bishops had no absolute jurisdiction is shown by another law of the same Emperor, declaring that they had cognizance only of matters relating to religion, all secular cases belonging to the ordinary tribunals.† The only traces of any other judicial functions are in cases referred to bishops for decision by special command of the ruler, the occasional occurrence of which is manifested in the rescripts of Theodoric and the legislation of Justinian.‡ The latter monarch, however, bestowed upon them, in addition, a very considerable supervisory power over the ordinary courts, with authority to refer all doubtful cases to the Emperor.§

The Western Barbarians, however, were more ready to foster the judicial functions of the Church. Transferring, with the zeal of imperfect Christianity, to their bishops the blind venera-

---

* Const. 7, 8, C. I. 4. — The extent to which this system of episcopal arbitration was carried is strikingly exemplified by the complaints of St. Augustine, who declares the occupation thus forced upon him to be a serious impediment to the performance of his religious duties.

† "Quotiens de religione agitur, episcopos convenit judicare; cæteras vero causas, quæ ad ordinarios cognitores vel ad usum publici juris pertinent, legibus oportet audiri." — Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. 11, l. 1. We may perhaps assume that such a declaration would scarcely have been thought necessary if the prelates had not been found trespassing on the ordinary functions of the courts.

‡ Theodor. Const. 67 (Goldast III. 49). Novel. 123, c. 21. — It is true that some supervisory power was conferred on the bishops, who were instructed to visit the prisons weekly, and to see that the prisoners were not unjustly treated; but the only remedy, when interference was necessary, was by complaint to the Emperor. Const. 22, C. I. 4.

§ Novell. 86, cap. 1, 2, 4. — When unreasonable delay occurred in a suit, the pleader could appeal to his bishop, who was to summon the judge to render justice, and if he was contumacious, was to report him to the Emperor for punishment. When partiality was feared, the pleader could demand that the bishop should have a seat on the bench. A suitor dissatisfied with a decision could appeal to the bishop, who then heard the case as between judge and plaintiff, and could condemn the former to make good any damage inflicted on the latter, subject to an appeal to the Emperor; and all this in both criminal and civil cases, — "sive de pecuniaria causa, sive de criminalibus."

tion felt toward the inspired ministers of their early mythology, they made it easy for the prelates to take advantage of the superiority which cultivated intelligence possesses over brute force. Besides, the rude and imperfect Barbarian codes, of course, rapidly became unsuited to the wants of the possessors of the fairest provinces of Rome, creating the desire for a more complex system of law; and as every man was entited to be judged by his ancestral code, there must have arisen a confusion of jurisprudence which an honest but untutored *rachinborg* was utterly unable to unravel. The impatient Frank, when engaged in litigation with a Roman, might disdain to submit to the jurisdiction of a judge of the conquered race, and might well prefer to lay his case before the bishop, whom he regarded with well-deserved respect; while, on the other hand, the Roman, in a quarrel with a Barbarian, would likewise desire the sentence of a judge whose decrees would command obedience when those of his compatriot might be received with undisguised contempt. We can thus readily understand the creation of an important voluntary jurisdiction, of which the extent can be gathered from a canon of the Council of Tarragona, as early as 516, forbidding the clergy to hear causes on Sundays, or to entertain criminal actions, while permitting them to dispense justice at other times, in civil cases, with the consent of parties;* while the Eleventh Council of Toledo, in 675, found it necessary to threaten deposition and perpetual excommunication against all ecclesiastics concerned in rendering sentences of death or mutilation.† The Wisigoths, indeed, were disposed to clothe their bishops with very extensive judicial functions, copied from the legislation of Justinian, without the check of Imperial supervision. The laws of Ricaswind, about this period, empower a plaintiff, who suspects his judge of partiality, to demand the association of the bishop with him on the bench; when bishops were selected as arbitrators by parties, their verdicts were rendered binding, and the court that

* Concil. Tarracon. can. 4.

† "His a quibus Domini sacramenta tractanda sunt, judicium sanguinis agitare non licet." — Concil. Tolet. XI. can. 6. So also in England in the eighth century: "Cavendum quoque est clericis ut non sint judices in condemnatione hominis." — Ecgberti Excerpt. cap. 156.

refused to execute them was visited with a heavy fine; and, finally, they were authorized to reverse all unjust decisions, either with or without the consent of the judge.* There is little evidence, however, that these vast prerogatives, which trenched so nearly on the royal power, had much practical effect in an age of turbulent anarchy, although the reverence of legislators might leave them a place on the statute-book. In France a provision somewhat similar is found in an edict of Clotair I., in 560, which directs that, in the absence of the king, the bishops shall correct the judges for any unjust sentences, in order that on further investigation the wrong may be set right.† This, if generally enforced, must have given to the Church a very extensive appellate jurisdiction, which could readily be made the instrument of immense influence; but that the exercise of judicial functions, although occasionally attempted by prelates, was not sanctioned by the canons, is shown by Gregory of Tours, who reproaches Badegisilus, the unclerical Bishop of Le Mans, with sitting as associate judge in secular tribunals, — evidently considering such proceedings to be as irregular as the military exploits of the rapacious prelate.‡

---

* L. Wisigoth. Lib. II. Tit. I. cap. 23, 29, 30. — The first and third of these laws, by far the most important in the power which they conferred, are retained in the Fuero Juzgo (Lib. II. Tit. 1, l. 22, 28), showing how thoroughly the influence of the bishops survived the wreck of the Gothic monarchy. It is curious, however, to observe that influence declining in Spain earlier than in the rest of Europe. The code known as *Las Siete Partidas* gives to bishops only an admonitory power over judges, and orders them to report unjust decisions to the king. (Part. I. Tit. 6, l. 48.) The same law forbids ecclesiastics to preside in secular cases "porque serie vergüenza de se entremeter del fuero de los legos los que señaladamiente son dados para servicio de Dios," — except in certain matters, the careful enumeration of which discovers considerable jealousy of clerical encroachments. This perhaps was essential when even monks assumed judicial functions, and it became necessary to prohibit such violations of their vows by another law of the same code. (Part. III. Tit. 4, l. 4.) That this was not uncalled for is shown by its retention in the Ordenamiento de Alcalá, a subsequent body of law, remaining in force until the latter half of the fifteenth century.

† "Si judex aliquem contra legem injuste damnaverit, in nostri absentia ab episcopis castigetur; ut quod perpere judicavit, versatim melius discussione habita, emendare procuret." — Const. Chloth., ann. 560, § 6.

‡ Greg. Turon. Hist. Lib. VIII. c. 39. — How completely the views of the Church were altered in time, and how thoroughly the opposite principle became ingrafted into the institutions of Christendom, is well illustrated by the long line of ecclesiastical Chancellors of England, extending from the Saxon period, beyond the Refor-

All this passed away with the Merovingians. It was essentially antagonistic to the system of government of the new dynasty, and the institution of the *Missi Dominici*, — the most powerful element in the polity of Charlemagne, rendering any episcopal appellate jurisdiction superfluous, — must soon have destroyed any lingering traces of it that remained. We may therefore assume, that in the first half of the ninth century the privilege of adjudicating secular causes on the part of the bishops must have been limited solely to friendly arbitration. Even this the intelligent jealousy of the Emperors was desirous of abolishing; for there is a Capitulary expressly forbidding any one to select ecclesiastical judges, where there was a secular tribunal accessible, even if both parties consented.* The only judicial power remaining was therefore confined to that often conferred in special cases over private possessions, by which the vassal, whether layman or ecclesiastic, had the privilege of administering justice within his own domains, — a species of grant which became almost universal, and to which is attributable the origin of the seignorial "droits de justice." † This, although it conferred the power of life and death, ‡ was exclusively a private right, and, however extensive the terri-

---

mation, and even into the seventeenth century in the person of Bishop Williams. A relic of it, indeed, is still seen in the strangely incongruous functions of the Anglican bishops as members of the House of Peers, the High Court of Justice of the realm. — We may add, that the earliest Icelandic code extant, compiled about 1118, nearly a century after the conversion of the island, shows the bishops as a portion, *ex officio*, of the Lögretto, or chief central court (Grágás, Sect. II.), besides which they had a limited jurisdiction in their respective districts (Ibid., Sect. V. Tit. 31).

* "Qui autem episcopum vel sacerdotes aut clericos judicare sibi maluerint, hoc quoque fieri non permittimus." — Capit. Lib. V. c. 387. It is evident from this that the clause "ut episcopi justitias faciant in suas parochias" (Capit. Car. Mag., ann. 794, § 4) refers only to ecclesiastical questions, which indeed may be gathered from the context of the law itself.

† The form of this privilege generally ran, "In integra emunitate, absque ullius introitu judicum, de quaslibet causas freda exigendum, perpetualiter habeat concessa." See Marculf. Lib. I. Formul. 3, 4, 14, 16, 17, etc., where the frequency of its occurrence shows its universality. Indeed, a charter of Chilperic II., in 717, declares that all donations from the royal fisc carry this immunity with them. It was of very ancient origin, being alluded to in an edict of Childebert I. in 595, and of Clotair II. in 615.

‡ "Ut habeant ecclesiæ earum justitias, tam in vita illorum qui habitant in ipsis ecclesiis quamque in pecuniis et substantiis eorum." — Capit. Car. Mag. IV., ann. 806, § 1.

torial possessions of the Church might be, it was far inferior to the public supremacy to which the efforts of the clergy were directed. The forged donation of the Western Empire by Constantine might seem to cover this among its broad prerogatives; but that document had thus far been treated with silent contempt, and recourse was had to another source of undisputed authority. The Theodosian Code was held in great respect throughout Western Europe, where the legislation of Justinian was little known. The Wisigoths had even abandoned their ancestral jurisprudence in its favor, and, as the basis of all law for the populations not strictly barbarian, it was the "Lex Romana, quæ est omnium humanarum mater legum." * In this august and authoritative code a bold interpolation was effected, by which, among laws directly opposite in their tenor, one was inserted authorizing either party in a suit, at any stage of the proceedings, from the first plea to the time of rendering a verdict, to take the affair out of court and place it in the hands of a bishop, even against the remonstrance of the adversary; and the decision of the holy prelate was to be without appeal, and to be held inviolate throughout all time. This monstrous perversion of justice was then transferred to the Capitularies, where it was prefaced in the most solemn manner as having been adopted by the Emperor, with the consent of his subjects, as part and parcel of the law, binding on all the nations which yielded obedience to the Carlovingian sceptre. †

When such doctrines were successfully advanced, it is no wonder that their advocates could condense them into a legal maxim at once terse and comprehensive, — "The ecclesiastic judges all; he is judged by none," ‡ — and that they were

* Capit. Add. IV. c. 160.

† Capit. Lib. VI. c. 366. — Historians have generally admitted that Charlemagne was induced to adopt and promulgate this regulation. No original Capitulary, however, has been found containing it, and as it is completely opposed to the leading principles of his policy, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the sanction is also a forgery, worthy of that which it introduces. The latter still occupies its place in the Theodosian Code, and it was reserved for the learned Godefroy in the seventeenth century to demonstrate its falsity. (Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. 12.)

‡ "Spiritalis judicat omnia; ipse autem a nemine judicatur." — Capit. Add. III. c. 20. This, which is merely 1 Corinth. ii. 15, is an interesting illustration of the manner in which Scriptural texts were construed and applied to subserve the purposes of the period.

successful is abundantly manifest. In 857 we find Charles-le-Chauve commanding that all malefactors throughout the kingdom — murderers, burglars, robbers, thieves, oppressors, etc. — shall be tried by the bishops, and then handed over to the counts for punishment; and to render this more efficacious, all priests are directed to make lists of the offenders in their parishes, who are to be brought before the bishops, if contumacious under the reformatory efforts of their pastors.* The Church thus absorbed the whole administration of criminal justice, with its overwhelming influence; and, as if this was not sufficient, the power of sitting in judgment on the king himself, and of deposing him, was not only arrogated, but admitted. The sons of Louis-le-Débonnaire had made use of the authority of the bishops as a stalking-horse in their parricidal chase, and with the increase of episcopal prerogative the invention returned to plague its creators. Charles, guiltless in this respect at least, is seen addressing his prelates in 859, even in his hour of triumph after the recovery of his kingdom, — "I should not be dethroned, at least without being heard and judged by the bishops, whose ministry consecrated me as king, who are styled the thrones of God, in whom God resides, and through whom he makes manifest his decrees. To their paternal admonitions and punishments I am ready to submit, and now do submit myself." † It was therefore only the legitimate result of these principles when, in the thirteenth century, the popular lawgivers of Germany, framing a code for the people, declared that the Pope is the fountain of

* "Ex his mandat senior noster ut primum episcopali auctoritate judicentur, et sic postea a comitibus legaliter constrigantur." — Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. XXIV. §§ 3, 8.

† Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. XXX. § 3. — This was the acknowledgment and legitimate application of the doctrine advanced in an epistle attributed to the humble Clement, disciple of St. Peter, commanding for priest and bishop the same obedience as that rendered to God, under the severest penalties in this world and the next. "Eorum vero est vobis obedire ut Deo. Si autem nobis episcopis non obedierint omnes presbyteri, diaconi, ac subdiaconi, et reliqui clerici, omnesque principes tam majoris ordinis quam et inferioris, ac reliqui populi, tribus et linguæ non obtemperaverint, non solum infames sed et extorres a regno Dei," etc. Nearly as extraordinary was the principle that the laity should do nothing without the consent of the bishop. Strangers were not to settle in the diocese, nor were the inhabitants to leave it without his permission. "Animæ vero eorum ei creditæ sunt; ideo omnia ejus consilio agere debent, et eo inconsulto nihil." (Remigii Curiens. Episc. can. 4, 5. — Pseudo-Clement. Epist. 3.)

justice, temporal as well as spiritual, and that from him is derived the jurisdiction of emperors and princes, who are bound to execute his decrees.*

In the comprehensive struggle for independence, of which we have thus followed the details, but one point was wanting to release the Church from all subjection to the secular authority. As long as the king exercised the power of appointing to high places in the hierarchy, his control could not be entirely shaken off, and the inferiority of the ecclesiastic was implied as well as expressed. From the origin of the episcopal office, the choice of its incumbents was made by popular election, the community as well as the clergy enjoying the right of suffrage; and as this general principle was everywhere established, it is hardly worth while to trace the vicissitudes and exceptions to which it was occasionally exposed by time or accident. Of course, while the Christians continued a poor and insignificant sect, unacknowledged by the law, or recognized only by persecution, no interference by the secular magistrates was to be expected in their choice of ecclesiastical superiors. As the Church became wealthy and powerful, however, common prudence would dictate to the sovereign the necessity of some control over the selection of those who were in reality high officers in the state as well as spiritual dignitaries, and we have seen that the Emperors of both the East and West exercised the right of confirming him who was highest of all.

* "Ensem judicii sæcularis concedit Papa Imperatori. Ensis ecclesiasticus Papæ ipsi est concessus, ut debito tempore judicet sedens super equum candidum, et Imperator debet Papæ stapiam tenere. . . . . Hoc ipso indicatur quod omnem eum quicunque Papæ resistit, quemque ipse judicio ecclesiastico cogere non valet, ad obediendum debet Imperator et alii sæculares Principes cogere per proscriptionem." — Spec. Suevic. Introit. §§ 22, 23, 24. This is the more curious when we consider that at the time when it was written the Digest and the Institutes were already the objects of intense study and almost superstitious veneration, and that they are even alluded to in the code which is prefaced by such a declaration. That it was extracted by the compiler of the code from the sermons of Berthold of Ratisbon (Alex. a Daniels de Saxon. Spec. Orig. p. 19) does not render it the less an expression of the recognized doctrine of the period, that the Pope is the source of all authority. In the fourteenth century, the legal author of the Richtstich Landrecht, while jealously defining the limits of Papal and secular legislation, says, "Amplius dicunt clerici Pontificem etiam Apostolorum regulas rejicere posse" (Lib. II. c. 24), which is the legitimate result of "Nescitis quoniam angelos judicabimus? quanto magis sæcularia" (Pseudo-Pii Epist. 2).

The Church thus paid the penalty of its worldly aspirations, and the temporalities to which it clung with such tenacity weighed it to the earth, and rendered it the subject of those whom it aspired to master. As its territorial possessions grew wider, so grew the necessity of royal supervision over those who controlled them.* The tribute of military service owed by the lands was in itself a sufficient reason for the king to have some part in the nomination of those who were to render it; and though Charlemagne forbade ecclesiastics from bearing arms personally, he took good care not to exempt them from furnishing their quota of well-appointed troops. The theory thus was election by the diocese in general, confirmation by the king, and ordination by the metropolitan and his suffragans; but the right of confirmation implies the right of rejection, and the latter, in the hands of energetic or unscrupulous sovereigns, practically amounts to the appointing power. Scarcely had the Franks assured to themselves their rapid conquest of Gaul, when even the zealous piety of recent conversion could not restrain them from arrogating this important privilege as a portion of the royal prerogative, and the repeated allusions of Gregory of Tours to its exercise as a matter of course, show us that this was the rule and not the exception.† This invasion of the traditional rights of the Church was not submitted to without a struggle. In 557 the Third Council of Paris protested against the abuse of royal power, in a canon which directs that any appointee not duly elected

* We have not space to enter upon the history of territorial aggrandizement, which rendered the ecclesiastical body so formidable a portion of the feudal republic. The general facts are well known, and a minute investigation would require a treatise by itself. A single instance will sufficiently illustrate the result, when we mention that in the eleventh century the Abbey of Fulda held fiefs which were bound to furnish to the Imperial service six thousand well-appointed fighting men. (Engelhus. Chron. ed. 1671, p. 199.)

† Thus, taking the important diocese of Tours alone, we find in 520 the singular spectacle of two bishops conjoined, Theodorus and Proculus, "jubente beata Chrodielde regina." In a little more than a year they are succeeded by Dinisius, "per electionem præfati regis." Two years afterward, the see is occupied by Ommatius, "ex jussu Chlodomeris regis." (Hist. Lib. X. cap. 31, Lib. III. cap. 17.) An instructive instance is that which occurred in 517 in the bishopric of Auvergne, where St. Quintin was elected by the people, but a certain Apollinaris hastened to King Thierry, and "oblatis multis muneribus" was created bishop. (Lib. III. cap. 2.) Further examples would be superfluous.

should be refused ordination by the metropolitan and his suffragans, and that any episcopal traitor not keeping the engagement should be cut off from all communion with the rest.* How little practical influence this provision enjoyed when brought into contact with the brute force of the Merovingian kings, is exemplified by an instance which occurred a few years later. A certain Emerius had been installed as Bishop of Saintes, by command of Clotair I., under circumstances of peculiar irregularity, the king having dispensed with the services of the metropolitan in the consecration. At the death of Clotair, the offended Archbishop Leontius, relying on the presumable weakness of a new king, and perhaps also on the canon of Paris, assembled a synod, deposed the intruder, and sent a new bishop elect to Charibert for confirmation. The blood of Clovis took fire; the unhappy expectant, Heraclius, was banished after undergoing a savage punishment; Emerius was reinstated, and the Archbishop and his suffragans were visited with ruinous fines.† The endless struggle, however, continued. In 615 the Fifth Council of Paris made another effort to achieve independence, by pronouncing null and void the consecration of any candidate not duly elected by the people and clergy, with the approbation of the provincial bishops; ‡ but the attempt was vain, for when Clotair II. published the canons of the Council in a royal edict, thus giving them legal authority, he introduced a clause excepting the royal courtiers from the effects of the prohibition. § That this left matters as before we learn from a precept of Dagobert I., in 630, conferring the see of Cahors on Didier, his treasurer, who was not even in orders at the time. It speaks, indeed, of the consent of the people having been given, but not of their having elected the candidate; and the terms of the act itself, and also of the order to the Archbishop to consecrate the nominee, are those of

* Concil. Paris. III., can. 8.

† "Exactis a Leontio episcopo mille aureis, reliquos juxta possibilitatem condemnarent episcopos, et sic patris est ultus injuriam." — Greg. Turon. Hist., Lib. IV. cap. 26.

‡ Concil. Paris. V., can. 1.

§ "Vel certe si de palatio eligitur, per meritum personæ et doctrinæ ordinetur." — Edict. Chloth. II. § 1.

a master exercising his pleasure without a doubt as to its legality.* Even Marculfus, in giving the formulæ for such documents, couches them in terms of absolute command, and inserts no allusion to any elective franchise as having been exercised in favor of the recipient; though another formula of petition from the people, asking the royal approval of their choice, shows that the right of election was occasionally admitted, in strict subordination to the will of the sovereign,† and a passage in the Bavarian Code would indicate that the practice was the same in the Christianized portions of Germany.‡ In Spain, at the same period, a canon of the Twelfth Council of Toledo, held in 681, allowing no right of suffrage whatever to either clergy or people, shows that the royal power of nomination was even recognized and admitted by the Church.§ Charlemagne, who, besides this traditional authority as king, perhaps held the right of investiture and the most absolute veto by direct concession from Adrian I.,‖ was not likely to allow his prerogative to become obsolete. When, therefore, in 803, he granted the privilege of electing their bishops to the people and clergy of the dioceses, he did it in terms which imply that it was a favor of the Imperial grace, and not a simple acknowledgment of a right. That it was so regarded is shown by its repetition being procured from Louis-

---

* Dagoberti Præceptum (Baluze). — Didier evidently considered himself as indebted for the bishopric to the king, and not to the people. He addresses Dagobert: "Cadurchæ Ecclesiæ cui (Deo auctore) ex jussu vestro præsideo." — Epist. Francor. 41. (Freher, Corpus Hist. Franc.)

† Marculf. Lib. 1. Form. 5, 6, 7. — That the absence of all allusion to popular election in these formulæ was not a mere oversight, but that they were intended for cases of absolute appointment, is shown by comparing them with the "Formulæ Promotionum Episcopalium" (Baluze, II. 591 et seq.), under the Second Race, in which the elective franchise is fully referred to.

‡ L. Baioar. Tit. I. Cap. 11, § 1.

§ Concil. Tolet. XII. can. 6. — The royal privileges appear to have been great at this time, and the subordination of the Church complete, when we see it admitted by another canon of this Council (can. 3) that excommunication was removable at the king's pleasure, and became null and void, *ipso facto*, in any one admitted to the royal table. This rule even found its way into the Carlovingian Capitularies (Baluze, II. 368), but does not seem to have been acted on.

‖ "Ut nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopus a nemine consecretur." — Gratian. Dist. 63, can. 22. The authenticity of this grant has already been discussed in this journal, No. 190, pp. 73, 74.

le-Débonnaire in 816, shortly after his accession.* That the unquestioned legal right of confirmation or rejection was rigidly enforced, we may readily believe; for, even after twenty years of civil war had reduced the royal power to comparative insignificance, the privilege of popular election hardly amounted to more than the *congé d'élire*, — that ingenious fiction by which the Anglican Church reconciles Apostolic tradition with the supremacy of the Defender of the Faith. Thus in 845 the Synod of Thionville requests the sons of Louis to nominate incumbents for the sees then vacant,† and soon afterward the Synod of Verneuil petitions Charles-le-Chauve not to allow the see of Rheims to remain longer without a bishop, and also not to withhold his consent to the installation of Agius, who had a year previous been elected to the diocese of Orleans, and had been consecrated by Wenilo, his Archbishop.‡ So when some irregularity prevented the installation of Wulfadus, bishop elect of Langres, the Synod of Chiersy applied to Charles to appoint another; the king graciously permitted the Synod to elect a bishop, but they considered it necessary to obtain the royal confirmation of their choice, and they applied for it through the Arch-chaplain Hilduin in terms which mark how absolute was the prerogative of the sovereign.§

The change in tone wrought by a few years, therefore, becomes peculiarly significant when we find in the bold epistle addressed by the Neustrian bishops, in 858, to Louis-le-Germanique, then in undisturbed usurpation of his brother's kingdom, a declaration of independence, to the effect that the

* Capit. Car. Mag. I., ann. 803, § 2. Capit. Ludov. Pii, ann. 816, § 2. — As there is nothing said in these Capitularies of the royal assent being requisite, it has been assumed that the right of confirmation was then formally abandoned; but this is entirely at variance with the whole history of the period. If other proof were wanting, the Imperial control over Papal elections would in itself be sufficient, and that this control was exercised over bishops in general is proved to a demonstration by the Formul. Promot. Episcopal. VI. (Baluze, II. 603, 604), as well as by canon 22 of Concil. Paris. VI., ann. 829.

† "Monemus ut sedes. . . . . Epîscopos a Deo datos et a vobis regulariter designatos et gratia Sancti Spiritus consecratos, accipiant." — Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. II. § 2.

‡ Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. III. §§ 9, 10.

§ "Unde suggesserat eadem Synodus regi ut alterum ad regendum præfatam constitueret ecclesiam . . . . . obsecrantis hujus in hoc Hilduini consensum et deprecationem ipsius pro eo apud regem." — Flodoard. Hist. Remens. Lib. III. c. 24.

churches which they held were not benefices to be bestowed by the king at his pleasure, or resumed; and when, in 880, the unquestionable right of the sovereign to put forward a candidate for election was stigmatized by Hincmar, in a letter to the king, as a doctrine belched forth by hell.* The contrast is even more striking between Leo IV., in 853, humbly asking the Emperors Lothair and Louis II. to permit the consecration of Colonus as Bishop of Rieti, or, if they preferred, to bestow on him the see of Tusculum, — and Nicholas I., in 863, reproving King Lothair for using his influence to sway the elections of bishops in Lotharingia, and forbidding him to allow certain sees to be filled, until the Papal pleasure should be consulted.†

This last instance shows us the Pope endeavoring to grasp at the power which appeared to be departing from the king; and his successors followed it up with an energy which filled Europe with confusion for centuries. Nicholas, however, was disinterestedly anxious to free the Church from subjection to the temporal power; and two years later he laid down the rule that bishops were to be elected by the clergy alone, thus excluding the laity from their immemorial right of suffrage.‡ There were other rivals, however, eager to clutch at the fragments of the royal authority; and various allusions, in the Epistles of Loup of Ferrières, show that the bishops were stren-

---

* "Ecclesiæ siquidem nobis a Deo commissæ non talia sunt beneficia et hujusmodi regis proprietas ut pro libitu suo inconsulte illas possit dare vel tollere." — Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. XXVII. § 15. "Talia dicta infernus evomuit." — Hincmar, Epist. XIX. cap. 3.

† Thus Leo, in 853: "Vestram mansuetudinem deprecamur . . . . . ut vestra licentia accepta, ibidem eum, Deo adjuvante, consecrare valeamus Episcopum. Sin autem in prædicta ecclesia nolueritis ut præficiatur episcopus, Tusculanam ecclesiam, quæ viduata existit, illi vestra serenitas dignetur concedere." — Gratian. Dist. 63, can. 16.

And Nicholas I., in 863: "Idcirco Apostolica auctoritate sub divini judicii obtestatione injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirensi urbe et in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro Apostolatui fiat." — Nicolai Epist. 58.

About the same period we find Florus Diaconus stoutly denying the right of the sovereign to grant such promotion, though he admits that the royal assent may be desirable, — "ad cumulum fraternitatis," — but no further (Lib. de Elect. Episc. cap 4); as he also denies the authority of the Emperor to supervise the Papal elections (Ibid. cap. 6). His statements are principally interesting as showing the progress of the new ideas.

‡ "Electio ejus non a sæcularibus quibusque, sed a clero ecclesiæ, cum consensu primorum civitatis." — Epist. 82, cap. 4.

uously endeavoring to convert the necessity of their services in consecration into the prerogative of nomination, as the monarchs had previously done.*

These efforts, however, were fruitless. The necessities of the times were peculiarly opposed to such pretensions, for the poorer and more powerless were the kings, the more pressing became their wants. Services which they could not command had to be bought; and as the royal fisc was exhausted, they could be liberal only with the property of others. In the dismal times which followed, the arbitrary acts which purchased the temporary fidelity of the powerful by spoiling the weak, grew more and more frequent, and rich bishoprics and fat abbeys were the readiest means at hand to silence the hungry horde of rebellious chieftains. Even in 856 we find Charles-le-Chauve guilty of an indefensible exercise of authority in appointing a successor to St. Folcuin, Bishop of Térouane, before that aged prelate was dead, — an indiscretion rendered the more conspicuous by the frightful effects of the malediction pronounced by the incensed saint on the interloper; † and in 866 the same monarch cut short the deliberations of a synod on a knotty point of canon law by appointing, on his sole authority, Wulfadus to the important archiepiscopal see of Bourges.‡ When, indeed, about the same time, he bestowed the wealthy abbacy of St. Martin of Tours on Robert-le-Fort, the head of the Capetians, he little thought that he was founding a line of royal hereditary abbots, who for eight centuries would wear the mitre under the crown. The quarrel, perpetuated for ages, seemed endless, until the happy thought of a concordat enabled king and pope to divide the spoils which belonged to neither; but the true remedy was that suggested by the Emperor Henry V., when he offered to

* Epist. 79, 81, 98, etc. This doctrine speedily became enunciated as a rule (Hincmar. Epist. XIX. cap. 4, 6), and with no little show of ancient authority, as is indicated to a greater or less extent by many of the early canons. (Concil. Nicæni, can. 4; Laodic. can. 12; Antioch. can. 16; Carthag. II. can. 12.) In the Spanish collection of Martinus Bracarensis, by an interpolation in the Laodicean canon, the people were specially excluded from all participation in elections (Martin. Bracar. can 1); but we have already seen that among the Wisigoths the kings had succeeded in having the appointing power transferred to themselves.

† Vit. Folcuin. cap. 13.

‡ Annal. Bertin., ann. 866.

surrender all the ecclesiastical rights demanded by the Pope, if the Church would abandon the temporalities which gave him a claim to the investitures. So thought Arnold of Brescia, who expiated at the stake his zealous efforts to purify the temple by divesting it of the worldly treasures which encumbered it. So, too, Dante thought, when he prophesied that the "Veltro" would reform the abuses which had so utterly perverted the designs and the principles of Christianity.*

Closely connected with the question of investitures was that of episcopal oaths of fidelity. The same reasons which enabled the sovereign to claim the right of confirmation warranted him also in demanding from the new incumbent the customary solemn promises that the powers intrusted to him should not be employed to the disadvantage of the monarch. We have seen that Charlemagne and Louis exacted this, even from the Head of the Church; that prelates of inferior grade were not exempted, becomes therefore a matter of course. When, in 802, the Emperor caused to be renewed the oaths which his subjects had previously given to him as king, he directed that it should be administered to all, laymen and ecclesiastics, without exception; † and though bishops are not specifically mentioned, the fact that they were included as a matter of course is shown by an allusion to them in a similar precept of Pepin, King of Italy, some years previously.‡ The form was in no way less stringent than that taken by laymen, being a comprehensive homage to the person of the monarch, secured by the customary oaths on the Gospels, or on relics of approved sanctity.§ That its binding force was admitted on all sides

---

* "Non fu la sposa di Christo allevata
Del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
Per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata: . . . . .
In vesta di pastor, lupi rapaci
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi, ...
Ma l' alta providenza . . . . .
Soccorrà tosto, sì com' io concipio." — Paradiso, XXVII.

† Capit. Car. Mag. I., ann. 802, § 2.

‡ "Quomodo istud sacramentum juratum esse debeat ab Episcopis et Abbatibus sive Comitibus vel Vassis regalibus, necnon Vicedominis," etc. — Capit. Pippini, ann. 793, § 36.

§ "Sic me Deus adjuvet et ista sancta patrocinia." See the oath forced upon Hincmar of Rheims. Hincmari Opera I. 1125 (Migne's Patrologia, T. 125).

is manifested by the mutual accusations of perjury interchanged by the bishops of the contending parties, in 833, each faction taunting the other with rebellion.* The Church itself even recognized the episcopal dignity as duly held in virtue of this homage; for we find the Second Council of Aix-la-Chapelle agreeing that its violation shall entail the degradation of the offender and the loss of his preferment;† and in this the fathers of the Council were merely recording the established usage. In 794 a certain Bishop Peter, accused of treason, purged himself by the ordeal; and on thus proving his innocence, Charlemagne restored to him the position of which he had been deprived.‡ Such being the recognized subjection of the prelates as vassals of the crown doing homage for their sees, and liable to their forfeiture for infidelity to the sovereign, we see the completeness of the revolution when we find the Neustrian bishops, in their address to Louis-le-Germanique, in 858, boldly declaring that, unlike laymen, they were not obliged to perform any act of homage or to take any oaths.§ This effort was temporarily successful; for though, some fifteen years later, Charles forced the reluctant Hincmar of Rheims to corroborate his suspected loyalty by the oath which had not been exacted at his installation, yet

* "Subjungitis, memorem me esse debere jurisjurandi causa fidei factum Imperatori. Quod si feci in hoc volo vitare perjurium. . . . . Vos tamen quia proculdubio jurastis et rejurastis; promittentes ei erga illum omnia fideliter vos agere . . . . . perjuri estis." — Agobardi de Comparat. utrius. Regim. The Imperial party enunciated the rule in the clearest manner, — "Episcopos in causa fidei jusjurandum præstare solitos Imperatori," (Goldast. I. 188,) — showing, perhaps, that the rebel princes were endeavoring to obtain ecclesiastical support by favoring the pretensions of the Church to independence.

† "Aut etiam sacramentum fidelitatis illi promissum violaverit proprium gradum canonica atque synodali sententia amittat." — Concil. Aquisgr. II., can. 12.

‡ "Clementia tamen regis nostri præfato episcopo gratiam suam contulit, et pristinis honoribus eum ditavit." — Capit. Car. Mag., ann. 794, § 7.

§ "Et nos episcopi, Domino consecrati, non sumus hujusmodi homines ut sicut homines sæculares, in vassallitico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare . . . . . aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica et apostolica atque canonica auctoritas vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere." — Capit. Car. Cal., Tit. XXVII. § 15. This was founded on the immunity from judicial and purgatorial oaths, which, on the authority of the False Decretals, ecclesiastics about this time endeavored to obtain. (Gratian. caus. II. q. 5, can. 1, 2, 3; Pseudo-Cornel. Epist. 2.) Promissory oaths, which the bishops thus denied, were nevertheless allowed. (Gratian. caus. 32, q. 1, can. 1.)

the humiliated prelate had his revenge. He takes especial care to chronicle how, at the coronation of Louis-le-Bègue in 877, the bishops merely performed commendation for the churches and promised fidelity, while the abbots and nobles commended themselves and took the oaths prescribed by ancestral custom.* This pretension, however, was too directly opposed to the tendencies of the age, which was rapidly resolving all institutions into the forms of the nascent feudal system, and, though long and hotly contested, it was never established. Yet the declaration of the bishops, in 858, was a correct index of their position at the time, and an example may serve to mark the contrast wrought by a few years. In 835, when Louis-le-Débonnaire was reinstated after the second rebellion of his sons, the bishops of the defeated party were put on trial. The primatial dignity of Lyons could not save St. Agobard from degradation; the traditional veneration for St. Remi did not preserve his unworthy successor Ebbo, while less distinguished prelates sought safety in flight.† When, in 859, Charles-le-Chauve demanded judgment against Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, who, under circumstances of peculiar treachery, had been a leading instrument in the usurpation which for a moment placed Louis-le-Germanique in possession of his brother's kingdom, the royal prosecutor could obtain no satisfactory action, and was obliged to receive the traitor again into favor.‡

While thus striking at all the institutions which subordinated the Church to the state, it must not be supposed that the sagacious originators of the movement had endeavored to create an irresponsible body of petty ecclesiastical despots, each supreme in his own diocese or province, to become eventually the priest-king of an insignificant territory. Even as the sacerdotal character was elevated above the laity, so was the power of the hierarchy, in its successive grades, developed in the comprehensive scheme of Isidor and Adrian. Transmitting step by step the new powers thus acquired to the supreme head at Rome, the whole body of the Church was

* "Episcopi . . . . . profitentes secundum suum scire et posse . . . . . illi fideles fore; abbates autem et regni primores ac vassalli regii se illi commendaverunt, et sacramentis secundum morem fidelitatem promiserunt." — Annal. Bertin., ann. 877.

† Astron. Vit. Ludov. Pii, ann. 835. ‡ Annal. Bertin., ann 859.

rendered compact and manageable, either for assault or defence; and it acquired the organization which enabled it not only to preserve the advantages gained, but to extend in all directions its influence and authority. Had the bishops maintained their individual independence, they could have accomplished nothing beyond the objects of personal ambition, as did the nobles who were then carving out their hereditary principalities; and even these would have been temporary, for they would, in their isolation, have succumbed one by one under the attacks of the rapacious barons who controlled the military power of their provinces. What the temporal sovereign lost, however, was transmitted through the hierarchy to the Pope, and the Church acquired the unity which was requisite to carry it through the stormy period of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Our rapidly narrowing space warns us to be brief; and the history of Papal encroachments on the independence of the priesthood and of the secular authorities is a subject too extended to be thoroughly discussed within the limits remaining to us. If, therefore, we dismiss these questions with a rapid glance at one or two of the points involved, it is not from a want of appreciation of the interest and importance of those which we must leave untouched.

The main source of the practical supremacy of the Pope over the Church arose from the universal jurisdiction assumed by the Roman Pontiff. When it was once fairly established that all sentences on ecclesiastical offenders were liable to revision and reversal at the hands of the Pope, he became the sole and irresponsible arbiter of all questions, with a corresponding right to interfere in every transaction affecting the internal government of any portion of the Church, — a power which in skilful hands was limited only by the moderation of the possessor. In early times, the dignity of Rome frequently caused its bishop to be chosen as judge in special cases, as when Constantine nominated Pope Melchiades as head of a tribunal for the trial of Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage;* but the special rescript of the Emperor shows that this was a power conferred by him in

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. X. c. 5.

a particular instance, and not an inherent prerogative of the Holy See. The canons of the Council of Antioch show that as late as 341 no such prerogative was thought of by any portion of the Church;* but we have seen that it took its origin a few years later in the fears of the Latin Church when persecuted by the Arianism of the East, and the modest decree of the Sardican Council eventually received an extension at which the heedless fathers who originated it would have stood aghast. As long as bishops were subject to the jurisdiction of the secular tribunals, this power of the Pope regarded only lapses of faith and breaches of ecclesiastical discipline, and the privileges of the Roman Pontiff as ultimate appellate judge were limited to religious matters alone. Even in this more limited sphere the custom was by no means established, for the Sardican canon, enacted for a temporary purpose, was soon forgotten or passed over in silent contempt, to be subsequently resuscitated. The Second Œcumenic Council, held at Constantinople in 381, recognized no appeal beyond the synod of the province, and commands that none shall be entertained.† So a law of Arcadius and Honorius, in 400, providing penalties for bishops who refused to submit to sentences of degradation pronounced "residentibus sacerdotibus," makes no allusion to any appeal or reference to Rome;‡ and even more instructive was the con-

* Concil. Antioch. can. 15 expressly declares that a bishop unanimously condemned in his provincial synod "ulterius judicari non poterit"; while the careful provision for the different cases which might arise (can. 4, 12, 14) shows that the customary appeal was to the Emperor, and that no ecclesiastical power superior to that of a synod existed. The authority of these canons is proved by their confirmation at the Council of Chalcedon.

† "Si quis autem, his . . . . contemptis, ausus fuerit vel imperatoris aures molestia afficere, vel sæcularium principum judicia, vel universalem synodum perturbare, neglectis diœcesis episcopis, eum nullo modo esse ad accusationem admittendum" (Concil. Constantinop. can. 6), — showing that the secular power was still invoked to decide upon church quarrels, and that no thought existed of referring such questions to the Bishop of Rome.

‡ Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. 2, l. 35. — It is true that Baronius (ann. 381, No. 2–7) produces, from the inexhaustible storehouse of the Vatican, a rescript of Gratian and Valentinian, dated 381, directing that the decisions of the Roman bishop, acting with seven others, shall be final, that metropolitans shall of necessity be judged by the Pope, and that, where the provincial judges were liable to suspicion, the accused might demand to be tried by the Pope, or by fifteen neighboring bishops; but this change of venue had to be made before the trial, as no revision of a sentence was allowed, — "modo ne post examen habitum quod definitum fuerit integretur."

troversy between Rome and Carthage on the subject of the appeal of Apiarius, in the first quarter of the fifth century. In this the effort of Zozimus to attribute the Sardican canon to the Council of Nicæa shows how little weight he felt belonged to the former; and as the whole question turned upon this point, and as, when the imposture was demonstrated, the African Church triumphed, the concurrent testimony of all parties stamped the Synod of Sardica as of no permanent authority. The victors signalized their success by a canon denouncing excommunication against all who should venture to appeal to Rome from a sentence regularly pronounced at home;* and the triumph was the more significant, as the African Church was at that time the stronghold of Orthodoxy, under the leadership of St. Augustine.

When Justinian, however, granted to bishops the right of exclusive trial by their peers, the importance of the prerogative increased immensely; and as the whole body of ecclesiastics gradually threw off their subjection to secular jurisdiction, the Popes exerted themselves to substantiate a claim which rendered the intimate dependence of the Church upon its head correspondingly strict. Accordingly, we find that the clear perceptions which planned and executed the forgeries laid especial stress upon this appellate power, and lost no opportunity to inculcate its necessity and to remove all obstacles to its exercise. The authority of the primitive Church was invoked for new rules by which bishops under examination could elect to appear at once before the Roman tribunal, and indeed were directed to do so if they thought their fellow-suffragans preju-

---

Even these restricted prerogatives, however, were merely granted as a temporary relief to themselves by princes wearied with the internecine strife between Damasus and his unsuccessful competitor Ursicinus, and bewildered with the ceaseless wranglings of the Arian controversy. That such a law could at most have possessed only temporary authority is shown by its omission from the Theodosian Code, and by the opposite tendency of that of Arcadius.

* "Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum a nullo intra Africam in communione suscipiatur." — Concil. Milevit., can. 22. The manner in which Zozimus had insisted on the binding force of the Nicæan canons, as quoted by him, shows that he keenly appreciated the importance of the substitution which he attempted, and that it could scarcely have been accidental. The labored arguments of Baronius (ann. 419, No. 65 - 71) to prove that it was of little moment, are their own best refutation.

diced against them, — allowing us to infer, from the warmth of the invitation, that they were at liberty to presume that such manifestation of preference for the Holy See might cover a multitude of sins.* Other canons were promulgated by which the trial of a bishop could be undertaken only by a synod called for that purpose by the special command of the Pope,† and a still further extension of power was assumed, by the production of a regulation under which no verdict could be rendered until it had been submitted to the Papal court and there approved.‡ In fact, the constant iteration of these points throughout the False Decretals, in every possible variation of language, shows the importance attached to them, and the magnitude of the change which they involved in the received canons of discipline. When innovations so bold and so subversive of the traditional doctrines of church government could be confidently put forward and arrogantly insisted on, we can readily account for the immense increase of Papal prerogative, which brought under its influence every part of the ecclesiastical body, even to its ultimate fibres.

A glance at two or three transactions of the period will show how little respect was paid to these canons until after the middle of the century, and how they were at length put in force by the vigorous action of Nicholas I. In 835 Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, was condemned by a synod for his active share in the rebellion against Louis-le-Débonnaire. Five years later he

---

* "Placuit ut si episcopus accusatus appelaverit Romanum pontificem, id statuendum quod ipse censuerit." — Capit. Lib. VII. cap. 315. (Ingilram. c. 23; Pseudo-Julii Epist. 3.)

"Nam si ipse metropolitanum aut judices suspectos habuerit, aut infestos senserit, apud primatem diœceseos aut apud Romanæ sedis pontificem judicetur." — Capit. Lib. VII. cap. 314 (Ingilram. c. 20; Pseudo-Julii Epist. 3).

"Libere apostolicam appellent sedem, atque ad eam quasi ad matrem confugiant, ut ab ea (sicut semper fuit) pie fulciantur, defendantur et liberentur." — Ivon. Decret. Pt. V. can. 257. (Pseudo-Julii Epist. 3.)

† "Nullus episcopus nisi canonice vocatus et in legitima synodo suo tempore apostolica auctoritate convocata . . . . super quibuslibet criminibus pulsetur, id est, judicetur, audiatur, vel impetatur. Sin aliter præsumptum a quibuslibet fuerit, in vanum deducatur quod egerint." — Capit. add. IV. cap. 24. (Ingilram. c. 3; Pseudo-Julii Epist. 2; Pseudo-Marcelli Epist. 1.)

‡ "Quamquam comprovincialibus episcopis accusati causam pontificis scrutari liceat, non tamen diffinire, inconsulto Romano pontifice, permissum est." — Remig. Curiens. Episc. can. 39. (Pseudo-Victor. Epist. 1.)

was forcibly reinstated by his patron, the Emperor Lothair; but on the defeat of the latter he was obliged to fly, after enjoying his recovered dignity for about a year. After some time he went to Rome and appealed to Sergius II., who only restored him to communion. Hincmar, who was installed in the see of Rheims in 845, of course applied for his pallium, which gave Lothair the opportunity of forcing Sergius to inquire into the previous proceedings. The investigation, however, was a mere farce. Sergius did not venture on the examination himself, and did not even attempt to send a legate, nor did Ebbo dare to appear before the synod which assembled for the purpose of verifying Hincmar's position; the assembled bishops contented themselves with forbidding Ebbo to assume the rank from which he had been degraded, and Sergius withdrew from the affair by sending his pallium to Hincmar.* Twenty years later Nicholas heard that Hincmar had degraded certain priests who owed their ordination to Ebbo, — probably during his term of reinstatement. This Pontiff's vigorous action contrasts strongly with his predecessor's hesitation, for he wrote at once to Hincmar asking him to restore them. If he could not conscientiously do so, he was commanded to summon a council, whose decision, with the testimony taken, was to be submitted to Nicholas for his final action, — and all this under threats of instant penalties for disobedience.† In 858, Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, was desirous of deposing Herman of Nevers, on the ground of insanity. The favor of Charles supported the threatened prelate, and the suffragan bishops hesitated to assist their metropolitan. Wenilo, to accomplish his purpose, therefore, on the authority of the False Decretals, referred the matter directly to Nicholas I., without preliminary trial; and the answer of the Pontiff, complimenting him on his reverence for the See of St. Peter, and contrasting it with the independence of those who were not ready to perform such acts of obedience, betrays in every line the joy of one who hopes to gain an unlooked-for victory, and who is receiving aid as welcome as it was unexpected.‡

---

* Flodoard. Hist. Remens. Lib. II. cap. 20.

† Nicolai I. Epist. 89.

‡ Lup. Ferrar. Epist. 130. Nicolai Epist. 1.

The battle between centralization and independence was, however, fought in the case of Rothadus, Bishop of Soissons. A regularly organized synod, under Hincmar, condemned and deposed Rothadus, without seeking from Rome a confirmation of the sentence, or heeding the appeal of the convicted bishop from the decision, which was put into execution after he had vainly demanded a reference to the Pope.* This was too flagrant a denial of the new doctrines, and too favorable an opportunity for their vindication, for the vigilant Nicholas to overlook. Branding the verdict with nullity, he accordingly evoked the case to Rome, but he met a stubborn resistance. Rothadus was not permitted to cross the mountains until after the most vigorous and repeated threats and appeals to the bishops of France, to the king, and even to the queen. Nicholas triumphed. Rothadus at last appeared in Rome, where for nine months he awaited his accusers. In sullen dignity they held themselves aloof, and the sentence was reversed. Another struggle ensued to procure his reinstatement; but in this also, by liberal threats of excommunication, Nicholas was successful, and the supreme jurisdiction of the Head of the Church was decisively vindicated.† The Gallican bishops had maintained that when in the trial of a bishop questions arose not provided for in the canons, then, and then only, the authority of the Holy See was to be invoked, — a reasonable interpretation, which moved the indignation of Nicholas to a high degree, — and Hincmar asserted to the last that the Pope had usurped a power to which he was not rightfully entitled.‡ Incidental to this discussion was one by which the authority of the False Decretals was affirmed and enforced. The bishops had cast some doubt, if not upon their authenticity, at least upon their valid-

* Annal. Bertin., ann. 862.

† Nicolai Epist. 33–38, 47–49, 60, 71–77. Anastas. sub. Nicol. Pap. I.

‡ Hincmar. Epist. 2. Annal. Bertin., ann. 865. His expression is "Rothadum a Nicolao Papa non regulariter sed potentialiter restitutum." — The doctrine that an appeal to Rome lay only in doubtful cases he adhered to, notwithstanding the indignation of Nicholas, and he again enunciated it in an epistle to Adrian II., concerning Hincmar of Laon, in 872. The universal right of appeal he stigmatizes as "nova lege, priscis tam publicis quam ecclesiasticis contraria, imo ordine novoque more habetur, ut nonnisi a vobis, et Romæ valeat judicari pro his excessibus de quibus habentur certa sacrorum canonum ac legum decreta." (Goldast. I. 206.)

ity, to which Nicholas angrily replied, that they might as well call in question the authority of the Old and New Testaments, because they were not to be found in the ancient collections of canons.* In this double victory we learn therefore both what the internal regulation of the Church had been, and what it was rapidly becoming under the influences which tended to subject it to the control of a single mind for good or for evil.

The evil inseparable from the new system was not long in making itself felt, and its more superficial effects became early the subject of complaint. The conviction was soon universal, that for whatever crimes an ecclesiastic might be condemned at home a valid reversal of sentence was readily procurable from Rome, which invited such applications so pressingly, and no doubt understood their pecuniary fruitfulness. The Transalpine Church grew restless under the insubordination and vice naturally resulting from this state of things, and in 878 Charles-le-Chauve addressed to John VIII. a long and earnest remonstrance, in which he describes the subversion of discipline which it entailed. He speaks of the bishops who, appealing from the just sentences of their metropolitans, felt secure that the distance and dangers of the journey would protect them against the production in Rome of the testimony which proved their guilt; of the priests who, after episcopal condemnation, disappeared, no one knew whither, until their return with a letter of acquittal showed that a voyage to Rome had not been fruitless; and he dwells especially upon the protection which this system gave to concubinage, then frightfully prevalent among the clergy.† The temporal power, however, was vanquished by this time, and Charles did not venture to put an end to the evils which he so correctly appreciated.

While the Pope was in this, as in many other particulars, acquiring almost unlimited control over his fellow-churchmen,

---

* Nicolai Epist. 75.

† Goldast. II. 34–40. We see by this that the appellate jurisdiction of Rome already extended over the lower orders of the priesthood. Comparing this with Capit. Carol. Mag., ann. 794, c. 4, in which the royal court is designated as the ultimate tribunal in all such cases, we perceive how rapidly the power and influence of the Holy See had grown.

he was likewise rapidly extending his power over secular potentates. In this, the most efficient instrument was perhaps the forged donation of Constantine to Sylvester I. In examining this remarkable document, one hardly knows which to admire most, the boldness that could expect belief in it, or the credulity that was ready to admit that the first Christian Emperor transferred the seat of empire and founded his new Rome for the sole purpose of establishing the Popes in undisputed and undivided possession of the West, and of rendering the successors of St. Peter inheritors of Augustus. We read, in the style of an eighth-century notary, a formal *donation-entre-vifs* of the Western Empire and its appurtenances, to be held and enjoyed with all the Imperial rights in independent sovereignty, as superior to that of the Emperors as spiritual things were superior to temporal, — and all this mingled with puerile directions as to the trappings and properties of the Pope and his spiritual court, crowns, white horses, linen garments, and felt shoes. Armed with such title-deeds and the Leonine Constitution, — which barred all alienation of Church property, — the Roman Pontiff was the rightful owner of Western Europe, and kings held their territories by his sufferance. The gratitude of Adrian I. for the comparatively insignificant beneficence of Charlemagne was too openly manifested for us to suppose that ideas of such magnificent acquisitiveness could then have been entertained; and, though appetite grows by what it feeds on, when, a few years later, in 776, the donation of Constantine was produced from the Papal manufactory, it was quoted timidly by Adrian to the Frank, as a hint that he might not improperly imitate a munificence which rendered his generosity absolute niggardness. To this the stern founder of the new empire turned a deaf ear, nor does his disregard of the claims thus put forth appear to have interfered with the good understanding between the respective heads of Church and state, whose mutual support was mutually necessary. His successor, Louis, with all his reverence for ecclesiastical authority, paid as little respect to the extravagant pretensions of the grant; and when he, too, in 817, made a donation to the Holy See, confirming those of Charlemagne and of Pepin, he took care to reserve to himself the sovereignty of the territories whose

usufruct he bestowed on St. Peter.* That this sovereignty was not merely nominal, but active, is sufficiently established by facts to which we have already alluded. If more be needed, it may be found in the edict of Lothair in 824, wherein, while enjoining on the inhabitants of the Roman territory the utmost respect and obedience toward the Pope, his instructions to the dukes, counts, and judges, with regard to the exercise of their functions, and his appointment of *Missi* to supervise their dispensing of justice, prove the complete jurisdiction which he assumed without protest or objection on the part of Eugenius.† If the strong government of the united Franks, however, repressed the aspirations of ambitious but prudent Pontiffs, the dissensions which ensued, and the final disruption of the Empire, afforded the opportunity which had been needed. This forgery, lying latent with those of Isidor and Ingilram, was roused from its slumbers, and, excepting an occasional expression of doubt, for centuries the Imperial liberality of Constantine was received as an indubitable fact, which it was rank heresy to call in question.

The man was not wanting to the opportunity. The circumstances which we have briefly sketched had placed in the hands of the Church weapons of vast and indefinite power. The times,

* "Salva super eosdem ducatus nostra in omnibus dominatione, et illorum ad nostram partem subjectione." (Decret. Confirmat. Lud. Pii.) This clause, and a succeeding one by which the Emperor reserves the right of interference in cases of tyranny and oppression, dispose us strongly to regard the document as genuine. Had it been fabricated in the eleventh century, as has been suggested by critics, Catholic as well as Protestant, these expressions would certainly not have been inserted, as they were directly opposed to the efforts then making to free Italy from Teutonic influence, and to release the Holy See from the traditional supervision of the Emperors. The abnegation of the right to confirm the Papal elections is probably an interpolation of the later period, as also the extensive donations of territory in middle and southern Italy, which was either retained by the Carlovingian Emperors or never belonged to them. These concessions suited exactly the pretensions of Gregory VII., and his successors have doubtless swelled what was a very simple renewal of the benefactions of Charlemagne into the formidable dimensions which have caused its rejection by candid historians of all parties. Muratori's apologies for his incredulity (Annal. d'Italia, ann. 817) may excite a smile; but an opposite emotion is called for by the confident assertion of Baronius (ann. 817, No. 14), that four authentic copies exist in the Vatican Manuscripts. The attempted extension of territorial acquisition may be classed with the similar fictitious donation of Charlemagne, which Anastasius had before him, but which has since been seen by no one.

† Baluze, II. 317–320.

too, were ripe for their employment, the necessities of the age demanding an intellectual tyranny to coerce and counterbalance the countless blind and aimless despotisms of individual chieftains, who were rapidly crushing out what little mental life was left in Europe. The arm to wield those weapons was found when Nicholas I. ascended the pontifical throne. To the service of the cause he brought a dauntless spirit, an unconquerable will, an unbending energy, a prudent daring, and a knowledge of the men and of the tendencies with which he had to deal, that enabled him to establish the principles he espoused.* To illustrate the mannner in which he reduced to practice the theories of the False Decretals, it may be worth our while to recount the history of the Divorce of Teutberga, an affair which marks an era in ecclesiastical annals.

On the retirement of the Emperor Lothair, his son, of the same name, succeeded to that portion of his dominions which from him took the name of Lotharingia, modernized into Lorraine, and extending from Switzerland to the mouths of the Rhine. Married, in 856, to Teutberga, the uncontrolled licentiousness of the young king led him within the next year to abandon her for a succession of concubines, one of whom, Waldrada, succeeded at length in permanently captivating his fickle passions and weak understanding. The favorite resolved to share her paramour's crown, and Lothair, eager to secure her smiles at any cost, entered vigorously into the disgusting plot. A charge of the foulest incest was brought against the unhappy queen, who, by means which can readily be guessed, was forced to a confession. Condemned to perpetual penitence in a convent by the prelates of Lotharingia assembled in the Synod of Metz, she succeeded in escaping to France, where she was duly protected by Charles-le-Chauve, with the true Carlovingian desire of nursing trouble for his nephew. Meanwhile Lothair caused another synod to be convened at Aix-la-Chapelle, where, on stating his piteous case, deprived of a wife and unable to restrain his passions, the

* The churchmen of his own period, when not themselves outraged by his imperious authority, recount his exploits with honest professional pride. "Regibus ac tyrannis imperavit, eisque acsi dominus orbis terrarum authoritate præfuit" — Regino, ann. 868.

charitable bishops, after due deliberation, decided that a woman stained with the crimes of Teutberga was not canonically a wife, and that he was at liberty to marry. His nuptials with Waldrada were immediately celebrated, and Gunthair, Archbishop of Cologne, the instigator and manager of the plot, received his reward in the dishonor of a niece whose promised elevation to the throne had been the prize held out for his co-operation. Lothair, in his pollution, might forget the external world, but it did not forget him. Charles-le-Chauve, his uncle, hankering after the fertile plains of Austrasia, began to hint that his nephew had forfeited all claim to human society, and Teutberga's powerful family urged her appeal to the central arbiter at Rome. The occasion was one in which the common feelings of mankind would excuse any stretch of avenging prerogative, and Nicholas seized it with vigorous joy. According to Isidor, the holy Calixtus I. had decreed that an unjust sentence, rendered under the pressure of kings or potentates, was void;* an axiom which, though morally true, carried with it the dangerous corollary that, if it meant anything, there must be some one to decide upon the justice of the sentence, and if a king had procured it, there remained only the Pope to revise it. As supreme judge of all questions, Nicholas accordingly addressed himself to the work. To his first legates Lothair simply responded, that he had only complied with the decrees of the national Synod; and the legates, heavily bribed, advised him to despatch to Rome Gunthair and his tool, Thietgaud, Archbishop of Treves, who could readily make all things right with the Holy Father. The legates on their return had to seek safety in flight from the indignation of Nicholas; but the two archbishops, in the

* "Injustum ergo judicium et definitio injusta, regio metu et jussu, aut cujuscunque episcopi aut potentis, a judicibus ordinata vel acta, non valeat." (Ivon. Decret. Pt. V. cap. 235; Pseudo-Calixt. Epist. 1.) Benedict the Levite gives it in a somewhat abbreviated form, Capit. Lib. V. c. 405.

The comparison is instructive between the vivacity of Nicholas and the prudent reticence of Adrian. A moralist would find it hard to draw a line between the connubial irregularities of Charlemagne and those of Lothair; but Hermengarda found no puissant protector to force her inconstant husband into the tortuous paths of dissimulation, or to justify wrong by cruelty. When Charlemagne grew tired of a wife, he simply quitted her and took another; nor would Adrian or Leo have thanked the meddling fool who counselled interference.

self-confidence of craft and stupidity, appeared before the synod called for the purpose, and presented the Acts of the Synods of Metz and Aix, in the full expectation of their authoritative confirmation. The deliberation was short; the two prelates were recalled to hear sentence of deposition from their sees and degradation from the priesthood; the Synod of Metz was stigmatized "tanquam adulteris faventem, prostibulum"; and a sentence of excommunication was suspended over the heads of all the Lotharingian prelates, to be removed only by prompt retractation of their acts and individual application to Rome. The proceeding was somewhat violent, as it amounted to condemnation in the absence of the accused, with no array of witnesses and testimony such as the canons required,—even the Acts of the Synods not having been acknowledged by the archbishops without equivocation. Gunthair, breathing furious revenge, and Thietgaud, stupefied by the blow, betook themselves at once to the Emperor Louis, Lothair's brother. He listened to their story, and, eager to avenge his brother and to suppress the rising insubordination of the Pontiff, he marched directly on Rome. The fasts and prayers of the Pope availed little against the reckless soldiery of Louis; a massacre ensued, and Nicholas, escaping in a boat across the Tiber, lay hidden for two days, without meat or drink, in the cathedral of St. Peter. A sudden fever, however, opportunely laying hold of the Emperor, there were not wanting counsellors who attributed it to the sacrilege committed. Louis therefore, sending for Nicholas, made his peace and withdrew, commanding the archbishops to return home and consider themselves degraded. Thietgaud, a fool rather than a knave, submitted without further resistance; but Gunthair addressed an epistle to his brother bishops, exhorting them to repel the encroachments of the Papacy, which was aspiring to the domination of the world, and retorting on the Pope his sentence of excommunication. This document his brother Hilduin, an ecclesiastic, laid on the tomb of St. Peter, after forcing an armed entrance, and killing one of the guards. On their return home, Thietgaud abstained from officiating; but Gunthair, still breathing vengeance, took possession of his diocese, until the frightened Lotharingian bishops induced Lothair to

depose him, while they individually and humbly made their peace with Rome, submitting to all the requisitions of the Pontiff.* Another legate, Arsenius, was sent with instructions to put into effect the threatened excommunication of Lothair in case of his perseverance in his iniquity, and with letters to Charles-le-Chauve and Louis-le-Germanique, in which the conduct of their nephew was denounced with a freedom of acerbity till then unknown in the intercourse of popes with kings.† Lothair yielded to the storm, professed himself in all things an obedient son of the Church, put away Waldrada, who promised to seek absolution at Rome, and took back the unfortunate Teutberga, under menaces of eternal punishment in the name of God and St. Peter. Then all was again confusion; Waldrada escaped from the custody of Arsenius and returned to her infatuated lover, while the queen was subjected to every species of humiliation and oppression. But Nicholas was equal to the strife which he had provoked, and on which he had staked the future of the Papacy, and, indeed, of Christian civilization. Waldrada he excommunicated; Charles-le-Chauve, with whom Teutberga had again taken refuge, he encouraged with a laudatory epistle, mingled with threats concerning a rumored arrangement by which an abandonment of the cause was to be purchased by a cession of territory; and, in spite of the interference of the Emperor Louis, he caused another synod to confirm the degradation of the

* It is interesting to mark the contrast between the first and second half of the century. When, thirty years before, Gregory IV. came to the Field of Falsehood in the train of Louis-le-Débonnaire's rebellious sons, the bishops of Louis's party stoutly declared that, if he came to excommunicate, he would return excommunicated, as he had no such authority under the ancient canons of the Church, — "nullo modo se velle ejus voluntati succumbere, sed si excommunicaturus adveniret, excommunicatus abiret, cum aliter habeat antiquorum auctoritas canonum." (Astron. Vit. Lud. Pii, Cap. XIV.) The fact that in the two cases the respective positions of right and wrong were reversed between the parties, makes no difference as regards the question of obedience and subordination.

† Hincmar, notwithstanding his zeal for the Church and his activity in favor of Teutberga, calls attention to the altered tone of the Pontiff toward crowned heads, and evidently disapproves of the bullying invective which Nicholas inaugurated, and which proved so potential. "Non cum Apostolica mansuetudine et solita honorabilitate, sicut episcopi Romani consueverant in suis epistolis honorare, sed cum malitiosa interminatione . . . . . Epistolam Nicolai Papæ plenam terribilibus et a modestia sedis Apostolicæ antea inauditis maledictionibus." — (Annal. Bertin., ann. 865.)

delinquent archbishops. Teutberga herself, worn out by the struggle and the persecutions which had lasted for seven years, petitioned the Pontiff for peace, and asked to be separated from Lothair, that she might end her days in quiet; but the victory was not yet gained, and the Pope scornfully refused her request. An endeavor of Lothair to settle the matter by appeal to the wager of battle was rejected with indignation; and for the third time he ordered the timeserving prelates of Lotharingia to put into effect the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the aspiring concubine. Commands were addressed to Louis-le-Germanique to join in the pressure on Lothair, and to desist from his intercession on behalf of the deposed archbishops, while the prelates of Germany received a sharp reproof for joining in the appeal. The opposition was at length broken down, and Waldrada was forced to Rome; but before his triumph was complete, Nicholas died, leaving to his successor, Adrian II., the legacy of this quarrel and the incipient schism of the Greek Church, which he had rashly provoked. Lothair, hoping to find the new Pope more respectful to the regal dignity, intimated a desire to visit Rome in person, to justify his course, and to be reconciled to the Church. Less imperious than his predecessor, Adrian welcomed the apparently repentant sinner; the excommunication of Waldrada was removed on condition of absolute separation from her paramour; and that Lothair's journey might be impeded by no pretext, epistles were addressed to Charles and Louis, commanding them not to trouble Lotharingia during the pious absence of its king. An honorable reception awaited Lothair. He was admitted to the communion on the oath, which no one believed, that he had obeyed the commands of Nicholas as if they had been those of Heaven, and had abstained from all intercourse with Waldrada. The victory of the Pope was as complete as the abasement of the king; the sacrament was administered as an ordeal, in which the courtiers of Lothair were associated as accomplices in his guilt, and both parties separated, equally satisfied with the result. A still further triumph was, however, reserved for the Church, by one of those mysterious occurrences which almost justify the belief, then universally prevalent, of special interpositions of Provi-

dence. Lothair was scarce fairly started on his return home, when his progress was arrested at Piacenza by an epidemic which broke out among his followers, and there, after a short illness, died the miserable young king and his partners in guilt. The effect was, of course, prodigious; Divine justice had completely vindicated the acts of Nicholas and Adrian; and God himself had condescended to execute the sentence of the Church on the hardened adulterer who had sought to shield himself by sacrilegious perjury from the punishment due to his offences.*

Heaven had thus sanctioned the immense extension of prerogative, secular and ecclesiastic, which the Popes had assumed throughout the affair. The principle was asserted and maintained that an appeal to sacerdotal jurisdiction barred all subsequent reclamation to the ordinary tribunals,† — a doctrine capable of immense expansion and illimitable results. By deposing and degrading Gunthair and Thietgaud, without a preliminary trial at home, without an accuser, and without the ordinary judicial formalities, Nicholas erected himself into a judge of first and last resort, without responsibility and without appeal, — the sole arbiter of destiny for the highest dignitaries of the hierarchy. By annulling the acts of the Lotharingian Synods, and forcing their members not only to submit to this, but humbly to apologize for the iniquity of their decrees, he established a complete ascendency over the provincial prelacy, and vindicated the supremacy of the Holy See as the only irrefragable authority in the Church. Nor was the victory over the secular power less complete. When Lothair appeared before the Papal legates to answer the appeal of Teutberga, he acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Popes over monarchs; and however he might dissemble, he never afterward dared to deny it, each step only serving to confirm that jurisdiction in its most absolute sense. And when Adrian threatened the

* The Annal. Bertin., Regino, the Epistles of Nicholas I., and the works of Hincmar, furnish abundant materials for the details of this affair, of which we have lightly touched the salient points.

† "Quia ecclesiæ refugium quærens, et ecclesiasticum judicium semper expetens, sæculari non debet submitti judicio." — Nicolai Epist. 148. We see here the practical application of the interpolation of the Theodosian Code, Lib. XVI. Tit. 12.

kings of France and Germany, and ordered them not to interfere with Lotharingia during the absence of their nephew, he placed himself at the head of Christendom, as the self-constituted sovereign of sovereigns. The moral effect was not less decisive. An unarmed priest, unable to protect his palace or his person from the brute force of his enemy, Nicholas walked without swerving along the path he had marked out, over the prostrate necks of kings and prelates, clothed only in the mysterious attributes of his station, and invoking the Most High in the name of truth and justice. What wonder that the populations should revere him as the Vicegerent of Heaven, as the incarnate representative of God, and that the most extravagant pretensions which Isidor or Ingilram had promulgated were regarded as his legitimate and imprescriptible prerogatives?

It must not be supposed, however, that this vast supremacy descended in an unbroken line from Nicholas to Innocent III. The tenth century was yet to see the darkest period in Papal annals, infamously illustrated by Marozia and John XII., when the Holy Father was the puppet of any savage noble who could obtain command in Rome. Whatever wrongs Italy may have suffered from the Tedeschi, the world at least owes to them that Teutonic influence rescued the Papacy from this degradation, and placed it in hands competent to discharge the weighty trust. Blindly working out the decrees of Providence, the Saxon and Franconian Emperors little thought that they were elevating a power destined to undermine their own, or that the doctrines of Isidor in the mouth of a priest could break the power of an iron Kaiser, the warrior of sixty battles.

If fraud and forgery, abject superstition and arrogant assumption, were by turns employed to effect the revolution which we have thus briefly sketched, their justification is to be found in the lawlessness of the age, which drove the clergy to employ the only weapons of the weak against the strong. Concerning the oppression of the Church, much curious material exists which, had space permitted, we should have liked to examine. We would also have desired to follow the Papal power in its fluctuating career of victory, and to trace the effects of the principles which Nicholas so boldly established. The suc-

cessive contests of the Popes with the bishops to eradicate the corroding cancer of simony; with the priesthood to enforce the neglected rule of celibacy; with the secular power to free the Church from all dependence on the laity; with the people to repress the heresies which were constantly arising, — all these are questions which spring naturally from the theory of the False Decretals, presenting food for abundant thought and opportunity for picturesque narration in their rapid vicissitudes and wide-spreading catastrophes. The monastic orders, also, the efficient weapon of the Papacy in its contests with the hierarchy, both secular and ecclesiastic, afford a tempting field for the student alike of history and of human nature. These themes, however, would require not one, but many volumes, and for them we must refer our readers to the "History of Latin Christianity."

A word of apology, in conclusion, is due to Dean Milman; for we feel that a work which so successfully supplies a want in English literature should have received an analytical examination, and a generous exposition of its merits. If we have used his volumes rather as an epigraph than as a subject of discourse, it has arisen from no lack of appreciation of labors whose result must hold a permanent place in the estimation of scholars. In more than one department of literature he has been distinguished by no mean success; but it is to the present work, we are confident, that he will look back as to the crowning achievement of a long and honorable career.

ART. VII. — *British Novelists and their Styles; being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction.* By DAVID MASSON, M. A., Professor of English Literature, University College, London, Author of "The Life and Times of John Milton," &c. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 312.

No age has been, doubtless no age will be, without its Gradgrinds, many or few, — men who look upon facts alone as

having intrinsic value, — who altogether forget that facts are valuable, if at all, by virtue of their *effects*. The world to-day, and especially our practical, enterprising American society, is pretty well taken up with the utilities; quite thoroughly absorbed in that selfish, intolerant, and fatal materialism which ignores the essential, the substantial, and regards as important only the visible, the tangible, and the ponderable, as though shelter, food, and clothing were our only real wants. We disavow all sympathy with that asceticism, the essence of pride and selfishness, from which our own age is not wholly free, which in times past led men away from their fellows to undergo mortifications of the flesh and humiliations of the spirit. It is but a negative virtue which would remove body and mind from the myriad delights of sense and society. Unquestionably we should give to the body a more rational attention than we have hitherto done; not, indeed, for its own sake, not as the final end, but because it is the home of the spirit, and must furnish the conditions of spiritual activity. Our spiritual wants are our real wants. Our spiritual experiences are our real experiences. We agree with Leigh Hunt, that "there is nothing imaginary in the common acceptation of the word. The logic of Moses in the Vicar of Wakefield is good argument here: 'Whatever is, *is*.' Whatever touches us, whatever moves us, does touch and does move us."

Any process of culture which ignores a single faculty or susceptibility of our nature is so far imperfect, so far fatal. In the progress of invention and culture there need be no want of harmony, no conflict, certainly, between means that answer to our physical wants, and means that answer to our spiritual wants. On the contrary, our highest bodily and spiritual interests are clearly identical. When an exhaustive analysis of the arts of life shall be given, it will appear that there are few or no departments of art which are useful in a material sense alone; and that, if any are so, considered with reference to their direct adaptations, there is yet much in their processes to awaken the sensibility, and to refine and gratify the taste. It might be shown that the construction of the most common productions of mechanical skill, in order to

the highest utility, lies in the direction of the best proportion and symmetry; so that while the laborer is busy in his daily task, an unconscious culture may be going on; the æsthetic nature may be nurtured; the eye be trained to detect forms of grace and beauty. Even the exact sciences are not, as might at first be supposed, an exception to this law. To one standing above them, it will appear that they are seldom made in our text-books and encyclopædias to embrace all that legitimately belongs to them; but the commonest natural object is invested with conditions of beauty which transcend exact calculation, and elude definition, and are yet appreciable and satisfying. The natural, the ordinary, — architecture, music, all the arts of design, all productions in the three kingdoms of nature, — are seen to comprehend, and to be built upon, the transcendental, the exact. In such books as Hunt's Poetry of Science, Mantell's Wonders of Geology, Miller's Footprints of the Creator, the Bridgewater Treatises, Maury's Geography of the Sea, and Lewes's Studies of Animal Life, there are relations of things as marvellous to young and old, as are found in fairy legend, or tale of magician or knight-errant. It is in the infinite world of thought as in the infinite realm of space, — the farther the sun throws his beams, the more does he reveal the confines of the beautiful and the mysterious.

This is one of the most obvious lessons of modern popular science; and yet through almost all of our theories of doctrine and life still runs this venerable fallacy of utility. It gives us erroneous, mostly because partial and imperfect, theories in legislation, morals, and culture. In the metaphysics of life men become preoccupied with one view of truth, to the neglect or exclusion of all others. A generous eclecticism — which, though not a philosophy and culture in itself, is yet the spirit of all true philosophy and culture — accepts the beautiful and the true wherever found; no matter though mingled with error in existing systems, or buried amidst the rubbish of effete and decaying theories. It seeks to estimate all things according to a uniform and permanent standard of value; that is, their adaptation to particular faculties, susceptibilities, and wants of the soul. Though it recognize the pre-eminence of

some among them, it never forgets that all are essential to spiritual symmetry and nobility. In its view, it is simply the imperfection and infirmity of our mortal state, that we, as physical beings, require certain things, in order that we may, as spiritual beings, enjoy certain other things. Whatever has relation to culture and to rational amusement, whatever secures the discipline of life for a higher life, is valuable. Pleasure, comfort, enjoyment are, with all their abuse, spiritual terms.

It is, as every school-boy knows, the chief triumph of modern philosophy in the hands of metaphysicians, from Descartes to Hamilton, to have established the possibility of a scientific classification of our faculties. One of the most pleasing results of this analysis is, that it reveals the mind as going forth in its entirety in the action of each of its faculties. The imagination, the memory, the taste, the conscience, the logical faculty, are not faculties dwelling and working apart; but the whole mind is, for the time being, in each, — *is* each, we should rather say. Intimately related to this fact is the law, that in the well-disciplined mind, the Presentative, the Conservative, the Reproductive, and the Representative faculties — to borrow terms from Hamilton — mutually demand and conditionate one another; each requiring for its highest development and most useful activity the prompt and healthful co-operation of all the others. We shall not now seek the application of these laws to the criticism of literature and art. To the neglect or ignorance of them are unquestionably due the disagreements among our critics, and the inconsistencies which characterize the works of almost every one in particular; and to a growing interest in them is due whatever improvement distinguishes contemporary criticism. Pyschology is, as yet, a progressive science; and it inevitably carries along with it in its progress, literature, art, and criticism.

In no other department of current criticism have we so often and so deeply deplored the absence of fixed principles, as in that of novel-criticism. Comparatively little has been done at all, and still less has been done well. We need, above almost everything else, a critical history of narrative fiction. This is an all-pervading form in the reading world. Other depart-

ments — the epic, the drama, the allegory — find here and there centres of attraction; this runs through all, and must abound more and more, so long as the conditions of social, intellectual, and moral life remain what they now are. To render it apparent that these conditions are stable, involved in the very genius and spirit of Protestant thought and culture, we need to show that the novel demands vindication, not upon separate and exclusive ground, but upon the ground occupied by all poetry, and all the arts of beauty.

Apart from a few articles in the leading reviews, nothing has been done in this department since Dunlop prepared his History of Fiction. That work is deficient in arrangement, and signally fails of giving a correct historical view of the origin and progress of narrative fiction. Scott, in his short essay on Romance, and Thomas Wright, in his essays on the Middle Age, have written with great discrimination, but not with sufficient system and fulness.

Mr. Masson, in the little book before us, has set himself at work in the right spirit, and has suggested many thoughts which are worthy to be elaborated. But it professes to be only the grateful task of the amateur. Comprehensive in most of its grounds of judgment, it is neither comprehensive nor uniform in its parts. Yet it is an excellent book. It will find its way to thousands who have hitherto been content to read fiction without clearly apprehending their motives in so doing; and will thus prepare the way, we trust, for a better treatise. Mr. Masson insists upon a philosophic classification of works of fiction; but he himself proceeds only "on external grounds, with reference to the different kinds of object-matter handled in the novels."

In the present paper we shall make no attempt at classification; but shall simply speak of the novel as a branch of imaginative literature, and allude to some of the developments of British fiction in its relations to the national character and history.

Among the thousand examples of the "changed meaning of words" on which Dean Trench might expatiate, there is none more marked, none more to be deplored, than that the term *poetry* has lost its significance. It was a bold figure of speech

in the beginning to apply this word, which, above all others, reveals man in his noblest function, — creator, inventor, — to the mere accompaniment of verse. "Poetry," says Coleridge, in his Introductory Lecture on Shakespeare, "is not the proper antithesis to prose, but to science. The proper and immediate object of science is the acquirement or the communication of truth; the proper and immediate object of poetry is the communication of immediate pleasure." De Quincey, in his essay on Pope, dwells upon this fundamental conception; and in a passage of matchless subtilty and beauty expounds from it a comprehensive theory of literary criticism. He draws the fundamental distinction in all literature between that whose office is to *teach*, and that whose office is to *move*, — the literature of *knowledge*, and the literature of *power*.

All human beings are seen to possess, by native endowment, reason, imagination, intuitive ideas of right, of justice, of the beautiful and the true, and instinctive sympathies with their kind. So far as the word becomes the medium through which any of these essential elements find worthy expression, it belongs to the literature of power. A book may convey principles and sentiments of human interest in the language of the schools, the sects, and the arts; it is not, by reason of its essence simply, a book of power. A book may address the habits of thought, the opinions and sympathies of men of a certain school or guild, in the language of humanity; it is not, by reason of form merely, a book of power. As soul and body in exact equipoise of relations are essential to the complete man, — the soul giving to the body life, character, and expression, the body connecting the soul with the external world, — so, in a true work in literature, do idea and form co-exist and conditionate each other, the idea ever finding in the form a medium through which to go forth to human hearts. When a work thus possesses the elements of human nature, and speaks in the voice of man, it cannot decay. Be the subject as trivial as it may, if it prompt to high thoughts and human sentiments, if it contain but one touch of nature to make the whole world kin, it stands in relation with human interests forever. How comes down to us in such a book as Walton's Angler the author's human-heartedness! Standing

in that remote time, — the heavens which we see above, — the hopes, and fears, and sentiments so familiar to us stirring within him, — how does he hold the key to every human heart? Over all barriers of convention, and across all wide deserts that intervene, under all tempestuous seas that roll between us, passes the magic thread along which come the subtile forces that awaken and move us.

Every one conversant with the history of the Middle Age is struck most of all with the great variety of popular stories, Persian, Arabian, Grecian, Scandinavian, Celtic, which, transmitted from all sides, had so marked an influence on character, habits, and morals in that second childhood of the race. It would be a theme perfectly appropriate to the dignity of history to trace, if it were possible, along the widening track of the centuries, reaching to remote nations and tongues, the hidden and silent but powerful influences on individual experience in every condition of life; and, through them, the influences on every department of science, art, and culture, of such books as the Iliad, the Prometheus, the Antigone. How should we behold, under their generous inspiration and instruction, new tribes gradually emerging from the obscurity and chaos of barbarism; receiving in appropriate form all noble ideas and all healthful impulses; and, in the end, growing up into well-defined commonwealths, known and honored through a broad, deep, and permanent literature. Such is the "generation of genius." Races pass away when their immediate mission is accomplished, and leave to humanity silent teachers, under whom their rude conquerors and nations unknown are to receive culture, and, in turn, to raise up other teachers destined to advance the landmarks of human improvement, to take their place among their great exemplars, and then to shine as the stars for ever and ever. When will the much-enduring Ulysses close his wanderings? When will Prometheus be released from the rock on which, transfixed, he bears in stern fortitude the penalty for his benefactions to the race? When will Antigone, the gentle and resolute, cease, by the sad offices which, in force of the tyrants' decree, she performs for the corpse of her dishonored brother, to proclaim the eternal dignity and the immutable claims of those laws that are higher than human

laws? When will the sublime visions of the Inferno fade away? When will the living characters of the Canterbury Tales, exhibiting, as they do, so much of human nature, combined with so much that was local and transitory, fail to please and to instruct us? When will cease to move before the imagination the brilliant personages who, in knightly array, appear in the fairy land which Spenser saw? When will Lear cease to cry out against filial ingratitude; or Cordelia, the faithful daughter, possessing her soul in patience, cease to renew the divine injunction, "Honor thy father and thy mother"? When will the solemn lesson which the career of Hamlet teaches, the torments of guilty ambition that rocked the soul of Macbeth, or the tragic love of Romeo and Juliet, be forgotten? When will that tremendous array of "thrones, princedoms, virtues, dominations, powers," with which Milton peopled the unseen world, disappear? When will the faithful and courageous Jeannie Deans fail, in her devotion to her unfortunate sister, to teach us our duty and our privilege to the erring? When will the life of the gentle Nell, in "The Old Curiosity Shop," cease in its transparent purity to refine and to elevate us, and her fate to impart the cheering assurance, that "when death strikes down the innocent and young, for every fragile form from which he sets the panting spirit free, a hundred virtues rise, in shapes of mercy, charity, and love, to walk the world and bless it"? Will monuments of stone or of brass endure longer than these characters and lives? Will the names of real actors in human affairs, or the solemn teachings of history itself, survive them? The pomp and fashion of this world, whatever is particular, whatever is contingent, passes away; only that which aspires to the spiritual, which takes hold upon the universal, can have lasting worth to humanity. The architect may rear the temple on foundations that reach deep into the earth, but it must fall at last. The Parthenon is yielding to the ruthless elements and to ruthless man, and even cities carved from the solemn mountain remain only in name.

The cunning workman may call forth from the solid marble forms of majesty and grace, but they will some day be buried in the earth, and crumble into dust. The canvas on which remain the conceptions of Raphael must at last be defaced

and given to the moth. But create a character in life; let it be true to human experience; incarnate it in language; let it faithfully teach no matter what lesson, — love, ambition, pride, covetousness, — humanity will not willingly let it die. Fixed in the memory and the heart of the race, it lives on, no matter in what form, surviving all successions and decays of external things, passing from people to people, from tongue to tongue, an ever active, ever new lesson, and impulse, and life.

> "The beings of the mind are not of clay:
> Essentially immortal, they create
> And multiply in us a brighter ray
> And more beloved existence."

If, then, we inquire whether society is most indebted to the literature of knowledge or the literature of power, to fact or to fiction, for the beneficent changes it undergoes, we shall find, that, while the former most directly affects the external structure of society, and modifies the conditions of spiritual activity, we must look alone to the latter for the explanation of those modifications of temper and sentiment, and for that mental enlargement and repose which distinguish ages of high culture.

Ballad-makers are more potent than kings, and story-tellers legislate more than parliaments. Homer represents unnumbered bards who, from time immemorial, held the popular ear of Greece. Livy is, beyond question, the historian of chroniclers and ballad-makers. So, in more recent times, the Minnesingers of Germany, the Troubadours of Southern Europe, the Scalds of the North, and the Bards of Britain, were the early, and in many respects the most successful, civilizers of Europe. The lay of the minstrel has brought home to the masses the thoughts of the few. It is he who in rude times first draws men away from the cold and unyielding facts of the outward world, from the monotonous details of barbarous life, and allures them to the brighter regions of imagination and faith. At his word the scales fall from the eyes of those who have been so long blind; and to the soul thus brought back to nature,

> "The earth, and every common sight,
> Seem apparelled in celestial light.'

Not only this: the awakening and culture of the imagination is the imperative condition upon which the literature of knowledge must set out in its useful mission. It is not too much to say, with respect to the revival of learning throughout Europe, that, in every case, whatever of systematic knowledge, whether exact science or logic and speculative philosophy, was contained in the ancient languages, remained a sealed book to the popular mind until it was aroused, stimulated, and in some degree cultivated, either by the created literature of the ancient mind, or by a vernacular literature springing therefrom, which came home to the business and the bosoms of the people. And, passing by this consideration, if we examine subsequent times, we find that the popular mind, however advanced, however learned, still craves excitement, enterfainment, impulse, — the only difference being that, as society advances, it demands, more and more, the narration of what is probable under the unyielding laws of poetic justice.

It is the theory of a critic, always to be named with admiration and respect, that poetry is the art of employing words so as to produce an illusion in the imagination; and that, in a rude state of society, wherein men are but "children with a greater variety of ideas," we may expect to find the poetical temperament in its highest perfection. "In an enlightened age," says Macaulay, "there will be much intelligence, much science, much philosophy, abundance of just classification and subtile analysis, abundance of wit and eloquence, abundance of verses, and even good ones, but little poetry." This opinion the critic sustains with his accustomed ingenuity and eloquence, and concludes that "no poet ever triumphed over greater difficulties than Milton." Prominent among these difficulties, he remarks that Milton had "received a learned education; he had studied all the mysteries of Rabbinical literature, and was intimately aquainted with every language of modern Europe from which either pleasure or information was to be derived." But it seems to us a more rational view of the subject, as it certainly is more flattering to human nature, and more in harmony with its known destiny, that genius is above times and places, and transcends conditions and accidents; that it exerts

a sovereign power in the progress of society, and manifests itself, not in spite of, but *by and through*, means and agencies which civilization furnishes, finding in advanced ages not only more pupils, but more and better instructors. The Psalmist might still sing of the glory of God as declared in the heavens, and might still find on every hand, in hill and dale, in sunshine and in cloud, appropriate and enduring symbols of the sublimest truths; nay, might draw from current life and thought sublimer topics in the great lesson of Providence than Oriental life could ever present. And so genius, carrying with it the "germ of expanded beauties," finds, amid all vicissitudes of manners, enjoyments, and pursuits, and especially brought to the surface in the complex and intense life of this epoch, unnumbered elements "essential and eternal to the heart."

> "For human hearts remain unchanged, the sorrow and the sin;
> The loves, and hopes, and fears of old are to our own akin;
> And in the tales our fathers told, the songs our mothers sung,
> Tradition, snowy-bearded, leans on Romance ever young."

Some remarks of Mr. Masson bearing upon this subject are so judicious that we cannot forbear quoting them. Speaking of the "Novel of Passion," he says: —

> "The imagination is not a faculty working apart; it is the whole mind thrown into the act of imagining; and the value of any act of imagination . . . . . will depend on the total strength and total furnishing of the mind . . . . . that is thrown into this form of exercise. Every artist is a thinker, whether he knows it or not; and ultimately no artist will be found greater as an artist than he was as a thinker. . . . . Before novels or poems can stand the inspection of that higher criticism which every literary work must be able to pass ere it can rank in the first class, their authors must be at least abreast of the best speculation of their time. . . . . The imagination of a well-furnished mind is one thing, and that of a vacuum is another."

To the tacit assumption of the doctrine above referred to is owing the confusion that exists respecting the origin and early history of fiction in Europe. Men have found fiction prevalent and manifold in the earliest stages of mediæval and modern society, and have straightway sought in distant countries for that whose germs everywhere exist. All these systems, as

Scott remarks, seem to be inaccurate in so far as they have been adopted exclusively of one another, and of the general proposition, that fables of a nature similar to the romances of chivalry, modified according to manners and the state of society, must necessarily be invented in every part of the world, for the same reason that grass grows upon the surface of the soil in every climate and every country.

Passing by the distinction drawn by Scott and adopted by Masson, between the romance and the novel, we may say, in general terms, that the romance belongs to an early age; the novel, to an advanced period of society. The novel may be regarded, to adopt an expression of Coleridge, as the *synthesis* of history and poetry, embracing and harmonizing many features distinctive of each of these departments. Especially true does this appear when we regard history, with Carlyle, as the essence of innumerable biographies. The novel is, then, a fictitious biography; and human life is to the novelist what nature is to painter, sculptor, and poet. As in the philosophical history, in the epic, in the drama, so in the novel, — truth to character is the enduring source of interest. These created works, in common with excellent paintings and statues, are marks of *power*, simply because they make their appeal to universal human experience. Indeed, the value of any series of actual events lies not alone in the fact that they really took place; but mostly in the fact that they furnish an extended and continuous experience, from which we may learn how to act, may receive stimulus and encouragement, and, especially, development of those latent sympathies which are rarely appealed to in their purity in the affairs of real life.

Thus true fiction can never be the direct opposite of fact. The most consummate genius cannot here create materials. These Nature must furnish; Art can only combine them. Fiction and history are no less inseparable in theory than they are seen to be in fact. The experience we derive from a fiction is essentially real. The historian must be content to take events as they present themselves, — always modified, frequently turned aside from their true course, by causes which lie outside of his hypothesis. But the poet, having assumed the

direction of an imaginary world, is its Providence, and must needs connect cause directly with sequence, and exhibit principle and passion in their true character and full scope. He can condense into a rapid narration, or crystallize into a dramatic unity, the events of a dynasty or an age. Embodying their essence in the person of an Achilles, a Faust, a Macbeth, he can exhibit them again and again, each time revealing some new aspect of character which must have eluded the vigilance of the real observer.

Hugh Miller's reflections on first visiting the venerable city of York are very striking and just: —

"As I looked on either hand, I was amused to think how entirely all my more vivid associations with York, town and country, had been derived from works of fiction. The historical facts have vastly less of the *vividness* of truth about them than the facts of the *makers*. It was in the city of York that Robinson Crusoe was born; and here in this city of York did Jeannie Deans rest her for a day on her London journey; and it was in the country beyond that Gurth and Wamba held high colloquy together among the glades of the old oak forest; and that Cedric the Saxon entertained . . . . the Templar and Prior Aymer. . . . . Here, too, lived Eugene Aram. . . . . In York Castle he was imprisoned; at York Assizes he was tried and convicted; and on York gallows he was hung. The city is as intimately associated with the closing scenes in his history, as with the passing visit of Jeannie Deans or the birth of Crusoe. But there is this important difference in the cases, that the one story has found a place in literature from the strongly romantic cast of its facts; and the others, from the intensely truthful air of their fictions."

We need not dwell upon the fact, that real living history, such as glows in the pages of Macaulay, Carlyle, and Motley, gives a far more impressive relation of events than the most minute and extended annals. Better the eye of a Niebuhr, spanning the waste and chaos of intervening centuries, than the eyes of a hundred chroniclers living amid the rush of passing events. Far better than a bare and accurate likeness of our Washington, the rendering of Mills, who, seizing upon a critical moment, a master-occasion, one among ten thousand in the life of the hero, has wrought out an exquisite idealization of the passion that then moved, of the strength and skill that stemmed the tide and directed the crisis.

So in regard to the *moral* interest we take in fiction and in life. Why is it that in private life we express more pleasure at the success of one man than of another? Manifestly, on account of our previous knowledge of their moral qualities. The reverses of the honest and the prudent affect us very differently from the reverses of the dishonest and the uncalculating. The fate of the virtuous man, who, through evil and through good report, pursues steadfastly his way, and sacrifices at length great interests, even life itself, to maintain his integrity of character, awakens a commiseration which we should feel ashamed, even involuntarily, to express for the fate of the vicious. So high above situation and circumstance do we place character in actual life, that the most intrinsically interesting situation, the most remarkable combination of circumstances, is attractive only as we can connect it with the character and interests of those concerned. As Joanna Baillie well declares, all must rely "on that strong sympathy which most creatures, but the human mind above all, feel for others of their kind; and on account of which nothing else is so much an object of curiosity as man himself."

The studies of a person who, ten centuries hence, would acquire an intimate knowledge of the manners, habits, thoughts, and feelings of a people now existing, must not be confined to the journals of travellers, or the researches of historians. To the novelist of our day, in particular, will he be indebted for the fullest light on many vital subjects rarely described by the didactic pen, and which, indeed, lose their life under such treatment. Nor is this accidental. It is because these works contain individual portraits, — because they represent men in their domestic as well as their public relations, revealing motives and reasonings under prevailing habits of thought, and exhibiting them, not as statesmen, reformers, and heroes merely, but also in their manifold relations to every-day life, — that these works will one day be the inseparable companions of historian and chronicler.

How much light is thrown upon Oriental life by the short and graphic narratives that have come down to us! Through Homer, we know much more of the popular life of Greece a thousand years before Christ, than at the culmination of Athenian

civilization. Did works similar to the Arabian Tales, or like My Novel, Pendennis, or Bleak House, form any portion of the gift of Athens to the world, how vast would be our increase of knowledge on subjects of the highest interest, which now must ever be entirely hidden, or which admit, at best, of uncertain conjecture! It is only in those works that approach, though at a great distance, the modern novel, — the comedies of Greece and Rome, and the Roman satires, — that we get any view whatever of the popular life. And so the most successful modern delineations of ancient life are not found in essays and books of reference, but rather in such works as The Last Days of Pompeii, The Roman Traitor, and Hypatia. So important is this source of knowledge deemed by the historian, that we see even the philosophic Hallam contending, that had we "a genuine English novel, — the mirror of actual life in the various ranks of society, — written under Elizabeth or under the Stuarts, we should have seen the social habits of our forefathers better than by all our other sources of that knowledge, — the plays, the letters, the traditions and anecdotes, the pictures or buildings of the time."

A gallery of historical portraits, as brilliant and as truthful as those in Clarendon or Macaulay, exists in the magic pages of Scott. Indeed, there is scarcely a single important period of British history which is not reproduced in his novels better than anywhere else. The character of the gallant but unfortunate Prince Charles Edward, in Waverley; of Claverhouse, in Old Mortality; of the noted Highlander, in Rob Roy; of the Duke of Argyle and Queen Caroline, in The Heart of Mid-Lothian; of the personages and deeds of the stirring times of Richard the Lion-Hearted, in Ivanhoe; of the heroes of chivalry, in The Crusaders; of the unhappy Mary Stuart, in The Abbot; of Sussex, Raleigh, Leicester, and Queen Elizabeth, in Kenilworth; of the court and age of the weak and pedantic James I., in The Fortunes of Nigel; of society in the age of Charles II., in Peveril of the Peak; of Oliver Cromwell, in Woodstock; of the times of Louis XI. of France and Burgundy, in Quentin Durward; and of Byzantine life, in Count Robert of Paris; — these together afford beyond comparison

the noblest instance in all literature of the power of genius to make the past its own, to evoke its personages and events, and make them seem real and living.

There is frequent occasion to remark, in the early history of the English mind, how little the writings of scholars, composed as they usually were in Latin, directly affected the popular mind. It was from works which the learned generally despised that the first impulses to original thought were received, — from the romances composed, in prose or in verse, by persons who in a wandering life obtained an extensive knowledge of the manners and dispositions of the people. These works do not differ widely, either in matter or in form, from the chivalric romances of France. And yet, since feudalism and chivalry never had so firm a foothold in England as on the Continent, and since modifying influences, arising from the early development of the popular element, began sooner to operate there, literature sooner passed beyond the heroic and romantic development. From the time of Chaucer these works were addressed to all classes; and although during the foreign and civil wars the unsettled state of society gave little opportunity or motive for the following out of complicated courses of action, and afforded room only for the general qualities of courage, strength, rough generosity, and rude gallantry, yet social order became quite early established; society was made up of a great variety of elements quite well harmonized in their assimilation to the national life; while, by reason of this superior social state, protection was given to the growth and culture of those refined and exalted sentiments which distinguish an advanced Christian civilization.

The advent of Chaucer distinctly marks this epoch. Representing as he did the reform party in religion, government, and language, Chaucer did more than any other writer, Wickliffe not excepted, to give it impetus and stability. Chaucer is to be regarded as the first representative in our literature of the complete English character. Receiving and appropriating whatever of value he met with, he gave harmony and unity to all. Everything, Oriental, Italian, French, is made his own; everything is English. It is his excellence, that, remaining thus faithful to the national character, he depicts his scenes

with the most perfect accuracy, and places his personages before us in such fulness and naturalness as we should expect from one who is describing and relating what his own eyes have seen and his own ears heard. If Chaucer has exerted a less powerful influence upon the national mind than did Homer upon Grecian culture, it is because England was less shut up within herself than Greece, and was less unwilling to accept, from any source, whatever had value for her.

Two reasons may be assigned why narrative fiction was so little cultivated from Chaucer to Queen Anne. First, the nation was not sufficiently advanced in refinement, and had not sufficient leisure; and secondly, as already suggested, the long-continued foreign and civil wars engrossed the attention and energies of the people. Narrative fiction, however earnest may be the feeling which produces it, is not the product of impulse and emergency. It requires deliberate purpose, consecutive thought, and leisure. It reaches its end slowly, so that, even if the novelist were found who, in the midst of actual dangers, could deliberately compose an account of fictitious perils, the work could not produce an immediate result. In a more advanced state of society, when men have opportunity to read for the pleasure of so doing, and time afterward to reflect upon what they have read, pure fiction may become the medium of earnest thought and purpose, and be directly active in the amelioration of the social state. It is one of the most striking illustrations of the complex and always beneficent action of Christianity, that it raises up constantly such teachers as Dickens, Kingsley, and Charlotte Brontë, to expose, if not always to suggest, a remedy for evils suffered by large classes of their fellow-beings; — by children shivering, starving, and dying in schools; by those who toil and wear life out in mines and dens; by innocent families ruined through whole generations by a complex and defective legal system; by men, innocent and generous as the best of us, on the merest accident of business separated from their families and immured through long years where neither the claims of creditors nor the cry of suffering and helpless dependents can avail.

The Elizabethan age was not the time for this. The work of constitutional reform was not yet wrought. That age was

but a resting-place wherein all of necessity paused, as by mutual consent, to recover breath, and to quicken their energies, and renew their strength for the yet more fearful and more glorious conflicts that were to come. Literature revived, but under the sterner aspects, the militant forms of an era of solemn thoughts, earnest purposes, and resolute determinations; and when the strong hands that had held the reins of government relinquished them to the weak and nerveless grasp of the cultivated but irresolute James, the minds of men were too deeply engrossed in passing things, too deeply enshrouded in the awful shadows of coming events, to think of literature in its relations to intellectual pleasure.

The Great Rebellion summoned all who could think or act from their business and their pleasure to the deliberations of the council and the labors of the field. Prayer, conference, and military preparation sternly precluded all leisure and all pastime on the Parliamentary side; and, of necessity, only the same unwearied diligence could give the hope of success to the Royalists. And when at length the contest was decided, and Cromwell had established his despotism, the theatres were closed, and the pleasures of literary pursuits, and even of refined social life, were discouraged or forbidden. Yet Puritanism was foremost, on the restoration of peace, to begin a literary culture; and the Pilgrim's Progress * expressed in imagery appropriate to the age the sentiments of the dominant class.

Following the accession of Charles II. comes another stormy period, during which the liberties of England were established on a broad and secure foundation. In the intellectual revolution which was now consummated were supplied the conditions for the ever-varied and often profound literature of the subsequent period; and more especially for the improved growth of fiction. It was impossible that the conventional and exclusive tastes of the Restoration — themselves a natural reaction, even more than a foreign innovation — could be more than a transient mood; for the people secured an extent

* Pilgrim's Progress, though not published till 1678, derived, no doubt, its plan and imagery from the author's experiences when Puritanism was in the ascendant.

of power and consequence which not only brought the lower classes within notice of the highest, but which rendered it important for the higher classes to maintain such a free communication with all others as gave them an insight into each other's character, and cemented a common sympathy and attachment. The heroic but monotonous and insipid romances of the preceding period furnished models for the novelist of the Augustan age of English literature, even while Addison was amusing and refining the world, and down to the time of George I. These works cannot be said to have delineated existing manners. To do this was the office of the Spectator and kindred publications, which were at once symptoms and causes of a higher literary taste among those who had neither time nor motive to read more elaborate works. Through them the inhabitants of town and country became mutually acquainted, and began to sympathize, as never before, with each other's opinions and pursuits. Above all, they indicated the necessity, and led the way for completer pictures of life and manners. The revolution thus auspiciously begun became well defined in De Foe and Richardson; and we ought justly to think of Addison and these last-named writers with the same esteem which we give to the creators of the romantic drama.

What more can be said of Robinson Crusoe, than that we are wont to think of him as one of the real companions of early life, a character so home-like and so transparent that we do not conceive of it as an artistic creation. Herein lies the significance of the work, considered as an index of literary development. De Foe gave to his hero the standard elements of character in their ordinary degree and proportion. Crusoe does not possess genius, far-sightedness, or extraordinary tact. He is harassed by trifles; and on the commonest occasions is as much at a loss for a simple expedient as nine tenths of us would be. He receives no supernatural or extraordinary aid. De Foe gratifies our curiosity through the medium of our faith; but we always see on reflection that our irresistible belief arises from the narration of probable incidents.

Richardson advanced still further. Aiming at probability as faithfully as did De Foe, he goes beyond him, to the creation

of *character*. He ever seeks to reach and to awaken and cultivate those sentiments and sympathies of our common nature which lead us to place value on whatever is human. In pathos, in the creation of objects that give the profoundest pain or pleasure, and in finding at the proper time the means of proffering to the heart the relief of expression and active sympathy, he has no superior among subsequent novelists. In Sir Charles Grandison he portrays his ideal of humanity. Notwithstanding its length, its minute details, and its pedantry, let us give all worthy praise to a work which, in an age of universal laxity and rudeness, presented as the model of character the Christian gentleman. Though far removed from us in point of time, and in a world entirely different from ours as regards social life, Richardson portrays men and women with whom we delight in sharing sentiments and passions common to all ages. However intimate, therefore, our acquaintance with our subsequent literature, we shall always return to Richardson with pleasure; acknowledging that, although subsequent productions are often more artistic and compact, and though our more refined taste may not always commend his judgment in "unveiling scenes of vice the pure may never witness," yet his novels never pander to depraved tastes and evil passions.

Would that as much could be said for his successors, and, in many respects, superiors, — Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne. Their cleverness we always admire; but, while we commend in general their "truth to nature," we cannot help feeling that they are true to an unnatural nature. Byron called Fielding the prose Homer of human nature. He produced, we know, intelligently and upon theory. His conception of the novel corresponded to the opinion expressed in Byron's compliment. The value of his works, considered as pictures of actual life, is unquestionable; but the impression which they leave of the prevalence of low sentiments and habits, of gross ignorance and its companion, gross vice, is far from flattering to our forefathers.

The old question returns. It is incumbent on the novelist to "hold the mirror up to life"; but if, in a degenerate age, he makes it merely the mirror of passing events, he must

forego the office of elevating, while he informs, the mind. If society does not present worthy characters and scenes, the novelist ought nevertheless to portray such characters. This he may and should do under the actual conditions of the age; and, thus magnifying his office, he may become the teacher to his age of a higher purity than it exhibits, and lead forth the minds of his fellows from the degrading aspects of actual life, to the contemplation of eternal archetypes of beauty and truth. As well might the painter or sculptor go no further than the imitation of actual forms. It would be comparatively safe for *him* to do this, since he does not necessarily teach a moral lesson. But the novelist does and ever must teach a moral lesson. This loftier and only worthy conception of the nature and true office of their art it is which forever places such writers as Addison, Richardson, and Dickens above the Fieldings, the Sternes, and, it must be said, the Thackerays, of English literature. Mr. Masson's comparative estimate is, we think, judicious.

"It does seem to me," he says in summing up, "that both Fielding and Smollett — broader as they are than Richardson, more rich, more various, more interesting — did work more according to the method of sheer superficial observation, and the record of humors presented to their hand, and less according to the method of ideal development from within outward. Both Fielding and Smollett seem to me to have been men of true humor, of true heart and genius, who, having betaken themselves to story-writing, and making it their main object to be popular and amusing, did not trouble themselves very severely with human nature in its depths and intricacies, but seized incidents, characters, and current beliefs, as they were presented in the actual whirl of British life of their time, revelling in comic plenty of all sorts, rather than caring for ideal unity or ultimate truth, and only now and then . . . . . reaching the poetic, the general, the truly elemental. . . . . If the life of that time, as it is presented in the pages of these writers, and in the pictures of Hogarth, seems such that we would rather remain where we are, ... yet we have other representations of life at the same period, in which, *simply because they are poetically just*, all seems happier and sweeter."

These works, like Ben Jonson's social accounts, are authentic; but "they are authentic after the historic method of art, which takes life in the particular"; and Richardson's representations,

like Shakespeare's, "are truer still, more deeply and thoroughly true, because they are after the poetic method which takes life in the general and the invariable."

Little need be said of Sterne. Mrs. Shandy, Dr. Slop, Poor Yorick, Corporal Trim, and My Uncle Toby, are names familiar to thousands who have never read of them; for they are individualizations of character familiar and lovable. There is, however, little in the aggregate effect of Sterne's writings to be commended. They are mirrors of his own character and life, and with all their truthfulness of fundamental conception they fail to enlist our purest sympathies. Purposeless as a whole, they are false and degrading in their details. We get sick of his "artistic sensibility," as Thackeray has happily expressed it; and while his description of an overtasked and broken-spirited donkey, and of a worn-out cart, which after a long and rough service stood decaying and neglected, almost extorts the tribute of an involuntary tear, we utterly fail in the end to respect an author who could commiserate a brute, but had no manly sympathy for human hearts that he had deliberately and most cruelly outraged.

Would that we could place in contrast with Sterne the genial Goldsmith, — that personification of the generous, self-forgetful Irish character, that *beau ideal*, in many important elements, of the artist-character. Ignorant of the world to the day of his death; uncalculating and unselfish, though vain; liberal to insanity, and so extravagantly tender that he would give his last guinea, borrowed to pay a pressing debt, to the first unworthy object; compounded, as Irving says, "of two natures, the one bright, the other blundering"; yielding in his literary labors, even when most in need, to the impulses of his genius, and producing spontaneously for the mere pleasure it gave; failing utterly in constructive ability; — how dear is he to all who appreciate unaffected delicacy, grace, and humor!

Passing by the great body of our novelists — of whom Masson makes *thirteen* classes! — let us glance a moment at Scott, and at the contemporary masters of the art. We recollect Scott's high tribute to Miss Edgeworth, in declaring that it was to her descriptive tales that he owed the idea of a series

of stories illustrative of the character and manners of his own people. In all the varied characters he portrays, he never fails to be true to fact and probability; yet never fails perfectly to identify himself with the characters he delineates. Judged by the laws of what Lord Kaimes would term the "ideal presence," their wonderful perfection is at once apparent. Exhibiting high inventive skill without violating probability, they are neither tame nor extravagant, and are truthful without being prosaic.

Mr. Masson, lecturing to an Edinburgh audience, gives us as the prevailing elements of Scott's genius his veneration for the past, and his Scotticism. In speaking of the influence of his works apart from their historical and national value, we should say that they are characterized by *universality* and *healthfulness*. In universality they rival the best creations of Fielding; in healthfulness they are not surpassed by those of Goldsmith. Intelligible to all, they come home directly to all. Making no parade of moral lessons, they yet awaken and cultivate our richest moral sympathies. As a master of the human heart, unquestionably we must, with Hugh Miller, deny to Scott a place in the rank which Shakespeare so transcendently adorns; and yet his personages live, somehow, as distinctly in the memory, and win their way almost as completely to the heart, as do the immortal characters of the great dramatist. Mr. Masson is forced to leave this question unsettled. Speculatively, he finds no difficulty in assigning to Scott his relative place; but in matter of actual *effect*, he is forced to conclusions which do not find their vindication in the acute analysis of Scott's genius which he has made. "In a more tragic and elevated order," he asks, "are not his Meg Merrilieses, his Rob Roys, his Redgauntlets, his Jeannie Deanses, as perfect creations as any in literature? These, and especially the homelier characters, are simply as well done as they possibly could be; and in their conception and execution I do not know that Scott *is* inferior to Shakespeare."

We must pass by many novelists since Scott justly deserving of notice,—prominent among whom stand the learned and versatile Bulwer, the womanly and earnest Charlotte Bronté, the humane but uncompromising Kingsley, the vivacious and

eccentric Reade, and the pre-Raphaelite author of Adam Bede, — to speak of Dickens and Thackeray.

These are representative men. To use terms very trite, but indispensable till better be found, these writers stand, respectively, for the Ideal and the Real; and the estimate of their character and influence involves principles which underlie all departments of power-literature.

What are the characteristics of these schools of art? In the real the object is resemblance; and although, as we have seen, every worthy product of this school contains the ideal element in greater or less degree, yet this as a subordinate purpose must always yield to the specific object which the artist proposes. In ideal art, on the other hand, though the scene be from nature, the object is not gained by producing a base imitation, but the model or scene only gives suggestions to the artist. He constantly goes beyond it; and, taking the mind from the actual, he brings it into the field of "higher possibilities, wherein objects shall be more glorious, and modes of action more transcendent, than any we see, and yet all shall seem in nature." It is one of the germinal principles of Goethe's philosophy, that art is called art precisely because it is not nature; and we think it clear, that, so far as *moral purpose* is involved, — and the writer can never forget this, — of two writers of equal powers and acquirements, the one will exert the widest, most permanent, and most healthful influence, who is not content always to represent the world precisely as it is, *only* with its mixture of good and evil, but who aims to develop, illustrate, and recommend a higher standard of thinking and living than that which actual life, taken in the average, presents. And because familiarity, as we have been long taught by the poet, is so far from breeding contempt for actual forms of vice and depravity, that men are often fatally indifferent to them even when their fearful results are before the eye, it becomes necessary for the moral teacher frequently to employ hyperboles in treating of them; and, by the creation of a more ambitious, sordid, or vicious character than the short experience of mortal life can develop, to exhibit their sad and awful consequences in colors not too vivid when we think of their history as it will be evolved through

remote ages to come. And so of the character and tendency of virtue. This is poetic justice, — "a justice," as De Quincey expresses it, "which differs from common forensic justice by the degree in which it *attains its object*, — a justice that is more omnipotent over its ends, as dealing not with the refractory elements of earthly life, but with elements of its own creation, and with materials flexible to its own purest preconceptions."

Dickens possesses a fine poetic temperament, with mind loose, free, and rich in structure; while Thackeray is to the last degree masculine in judgment, and of close and compact mental structure. Judging from these qualities, we should, at first thought, expect to find Dickens the less *objective* of the two, less frequently dealing with the established order of things; while we should look to find in Thackeray a fearless, strong, and merciless assailer of venerable shams and traditional wrongs and abuses. On the contrary, Dickens is, in certain directions, one of the most revolutionary writers of the age; Thackeray one of the least aggressive. Dickens constantly passes beyond the province of the mere minister to intellectual pleasure, to exercise the functions of the social and moral critic; at least that is the invariable tendency of his maturer works. It has sometimes been objected, that he does not strike till the wrong is practically removed. Such is not the estimate of the best English critics themselves. We quote but one: —

"Following the dictation of a warm and generous heart, he has rendered, on various occasions, very zealous and important service to the cause of morality and benevolence; and he has devoted himself to the task of exposing certain anomalies and abuses in the social arrangements of his nation, lying, as it would seem, quite snugly out of sight of official vigilance."

Thackeray himself claims this for Dickens; and there is not in all literature a more graceful, just, and unselfish tribute than that which he pays to his rival in the popular esteem, at the close of his delightful Lecture on Charity and Humor. Thackeray seems disposed to take the world very much as it presents itself. He is a satirist, but a satirist of men and women, rather than of the social arrangements and conven-

tions in which men and women intrench and associate themselves.

The explanation of this seeming anomaly lies, as we view it, in the character of the genius of these writers, and not in any mere individual quality or difference of education which characterizes them. It is precisely because Dickens is, generally, an idealist, — precisely because Thackeray is, by impulse and law of genius, devoted to the real, — that they are so far apart as to the effects of their writings. The ideal always carries with it a rebuke and protest against the actual, in so far as this is partial and imperfect. We see how, the world over, impassioned, imaginative intellects have furnished the majority of reformers, both in doctrine and in life. The true reformer is always the poet, — the maker, the inventor; and the true poet must always be, by virtue of his genius, *in posse*, the radical man, the renovator. Is it not for ever an open question in which of the two, in his Life or in that clear mirror of his genius, the Table Talk, Luther is most the poet? We need not mention names which are among the highest adornments of English literature, — from Chaucer, working for the poor in the fourteenth century, to Gerald Massey and Whittier, working for the poor in the nineteenth, — nor seek for higher examples in the prophets and apostles who heralded or succeeded by Divine commission Him who always acted as the regenerator, and always spoke as the poet, — the creator. The ideals which human genius creates must be superior, always in degree, and often in kind, to what the actual presents. This being recognized, we must take account, of course, of a writer's education and habits of observation and thought. Men who, like Dickens, have the poetic faculty associated with great insight into character and just powers of observation, cannot but bring what they see around them to the standard of their own conceptions; and the consequence is, that their delineations, while they are true to human nature and probability, become standing protests against defective and abnormal developments of character, and social and public institutions.

But we shall make a fatal mistake if, on account of these marked differences in the genius and methods — and, we can-

not doubt, the ultimate influences — of these men, we exalt either at the expense of the other. Fortunately, it is true in art, as in religion and in all possible spheres of active duty, that there may be "diversities of gifts, but one spirit." Fortunately, we may, every one, without risk of interference, while we despise not the humblest gifts, covet earnestly the best; assured that, under a higher than human wisdom and guidance, we are all working sublimely toward one supreme end. The world has seen but one complete character. The rest of us are but parts; halves, at the best. Reciprocity is the law of the social structure, the law under which all characters, all relations, and all duties are harmonized and co-operate. As the primary colors, which, indiscriminately mingled, give an unpleasing effect, when arranged according to their complementary law, relieve one another, and blend harmoniously; so do the characters, relations, and duties of life. Or, as supplementary arcs, they go to form perfect circles. Filial and parental love imply and conditionate each other. Fraternal affection is the half of a charmed circle, nor can the other half be wanting. Patriotism is possible only when nation and government subserve the citizen's highest good. The best affections, the purest and most enduring passions of the heart, seek each other; and their representatives go arm in arm through all the walks of life, share common joys, and bear mutual burdens. And so, in art, the ideal gives inspiration and motive to the real; and receives, in turn, prudent guidance. Dickens does good in one way; Thackeray in another. Mr. Masson, speaking of the publication of their works, fancifully compares them to the stars Castor and Pollux, which, to quote the old poet,

> "visit this ethereal sky,
> And live alternate, and alternate die."

Rather let us find worthy symbol of their mission in those double stars which, sun moving around sun, take their joint path through the heavens, illuminating without marring each other's beauty, and together gracing the celestial firmament.

ART. VIII. — 1. *A Chapter on Slavery: presenting a Sketch of its Origin and History, with the Reasons for its Permission, and the Probable Manner of its Removal.* By the Rev. O. PRESCOTT HILLER, Author of "God Manifest," "Practical Sermons," etc. London: Hodson and Son. 1860. 16mo. pp. 175.

2. *The Laws of Race, as Connected with Slavery.* By the Author of "The Law of the Territories," "Rustic Rhymes," etc. Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard. 1860. 12mo. pp. 70.

3. *Premium Questions on Slavery, each admitting of a Yes or No Answer; addressed to the Editors of the New York Independent and the New York Evangelist.* By SIDNEY E. MORSE, lately Editor of the New York Observer. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 30.

4. *Secession, Concession, or Self-Possession: Which?* Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 8vo. pp. 48.

5. *A few Suggestions upon the Personal Liberty Law and "Secession" (so called). In a Letter to a Friend.* Boston. 1861. 8vo. pp. 22.

6. *Thoughts Proper to the Present Crisis. A Sermon, preached in the Chapel of Yale College, on Fast Day, January* 4, 1861. By GEORGE P. FISHER, Livingston Professor of Divinity in Yale College. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease. 1861. 12mo. pp. 21.

7. *American Slavery distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists, and justified by the Law of Nature.* By Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D., Author of "Discourses on the Supremacy and Obligation of Conscience." New York: Mason Brothers. 1861. 12mo. pp. 319.

THE present fearful crisis in our national affairs, though it came upon the greater part of the citizens of our republic like a thunderbolt out of the clear sky, corresponds only too well with the expectations of the patriotic men who formed our Constitution. Our government has already lasted longer than they anticipated. The permanent union of even the thirteen States, with their wide dissiliency of character, industry, and interest, seemed to them beyond hope. Their aim was to ward

off for a while anarchy or military despotism, and to hold the several commonwealths together till they should float into smoother waters. To this aim we owe the survivance of our Constitution to the present time, and its adaptation to the needs of a free people for an indefinite future. Its framers, planning primarily to meet the then existing exigency, would not build a ship of state, which would surely have foundered in the next gale. They constructed a raft, which should bend and yield, take the very shape of the waves, let the water in and out freely through its seams and junctures, and by its loose couplings and elastic movement divide and dissipate the force of any sudden shock. But, though they saw it not, this was the very structure suited to defy time no less than wave and storm; and it has been imperilled and damaged mainly by the attempt to consolidate it, to bind its lashings more closely, and to leave a less free scope and sway to its separate members. In proportion to this tendency in our administration, it has been weakened by the very measures designed to strengthen it, till now some of its couplings have parted, others are strained almost to the point of rupture, and the hearts of loyal citizens palpitate in dread of its entire disintegration and dissolution. The founders of our government evidently intended to lodge in the central administration only such powers as were essential to the common safety, order, and well-being, and to leave to the individual States entire jurisdiction over their local institutions, without interference from beyond their borders. The tendency of national politics has been to encroach gradually on the reserved rights of the States. To the unpopularity of this tendency the Federal party succumbed early in the present century; but the instinctive love of power soon led the victorious party to adopt the same policy, which has for the most part been prevalent in our national counsels, and has, on other issues than that now paramount, excited wide-spread dissatisfaction, and given rise to the essays at nullification which have their record in our history. Of late years the sectional parties which joined issue on the question of slavery have aimed to nationalize their respective policies, — the one to legislate for the exclusion of slavery from the common domain of the nation, and to inter-

fere with the right of reclamation as regards fugitive slaves, which, lamentable as it is in its exercise, is yet incident to the national compact; the other, to extend the legal existence and protection of slavery beyond the limits which our fathers contemplated, and which the comity of sister States renders expedient. Hence the secession and disunion, which are already working so disastrously, and the end of which no human foresight can predict.

We are unwilling as yet to believe the restoration of the sundered Union impossible. By such concessions as may be made without the sacrifice of principle, the border Slave States may be preserved within the confederation; if they remain, it will clearly be for the interest of the seceding States to return to their allegiance; and, when the present paroxysm of hostile feeling shall give place to calmer thought, the reviving love of country may merge the fierce sectional antipathy now rife. Meanwhile it becomes the prime duty of those in power, and of those whose sovereign behests our rulers but register and execute, to use every honorable endeavor for the prevention of a fratricidal war, — that direst of all events, we should say, did not there loom up in almost inevitable connection with it the untold horrors of a servile war. In this view, we cannot overestimate our indebtedness to the bold and wise discretion of Major Anderson, in withdrawing his little garrison from a weak fortress which invited tumultuous attack; for, blood once drawn in civil feud, it was hardly possible that the entire North and the entire South should not have risen forthwith in internecine hostility. It may be that, in the future history of this epoch, this soldier, modest as he is brave and loyal, will find himself written the saviour of his country.

Of the course pursued by our national executive it is not time to speak judicially. No man can have ever occupied a more difficult post than our late chief magistrate in the closing months of his official term. The progress of events may justify what seemed a vacillating policy. It was certainly in his power to hasten collision between the seceding States and the forces of the nation; and if he has been indeed actuated, not by unmanly fear, or by personal favor, or by his intimacy with disunionists, but by the love of country and of peace, the

purity of his motives will be recognized when the heat of strife and the stress of peril are overpassed.

It is too early to take a calm review of the initial acts of the disunion drama, and a veil which no human foresight can penetrate hangs over those that yet remain. The national title and aim of our journal would forbid, did not our own principles and feelings preclude, recrimination, or the utterance of harsh sectional feeling. Yet we should be false to the demands of the passing time, did we shut out from our pages all discussion of the institution which is the source and cause of the evils we experience and dread. Moreover, the calm, temperate, and kindly treatment of this subject should be welcomed from whatever quarter, as tending to allay bitterness, to elicit conciliatory sentiments where they are wanting, and to strengthen them where they exist. We propose, therefore, to consider slavery not so much in its national relations as in its origin, its causes, and its remedies.

An institution is but a social fact, organized and legalized. The fact precedes the institution, and often exceeds it, and exists in full force beyond its pale. This is emphatically the case with slavery. It was not created by, nor is it confined within, the institutions that give it name and sanction. It exists all the world over, and the very laws which seem to define its localities, while in some respects they intensify it, in others restrain and limit it. To us who boast of freedom, when we are tempted to utter reproach and denunciation against our Southern brethren, there might well be a rejoinder in the words of the old Hebrew prophet: "Are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God?"

Slavery has its origin in the essential conditions of human society. So long as there is an unequal distribution of talent, advantage, opportunity, and enterprise, there must be no less wide inequalities in the distribution of property; there must be the rich and the poor, — the very rich, the very poor, — those who command the resources for the subsistence of all, and those who are dependent in some form on their more fortunate neighbors for their daily bread. Hence the division of the community into the employers and the employed, or, more

accurately, into the privileged classes and the proletaries.* Under the former head we include not only those who live on the income of property, but those who subsist by salaries or fees for such services as imply or confer a certain rank or position in society; while under the latter we group all who depend for their livelihood on such manual labor as demands little or no skill, and is regarded and compensated as mere hand-work. Now, omitting all consideration of moral elements in society, there is an antagonism of interests between the privileged and the proletaries. The former will seek from the latter as much work, and at as low a cost, as possible; and the auguries of success are all on their side. From their superior intelligence and freer command of the means of communication, concerted or coincident action throughout an entire district or community is easy and natural. With some provision always in hand and in reserve for immediate and future wants, they can postpone compliance with increased demands on the part of the laboring classes, and by the pressure of urgent need can starve them to their own terms.

The laboring classes suffer not only by this competition of interest with their employers, in which the odds are so fearfully against them, but still more severely by their competition with one another. Population tends to outgrow its means of subsistence and its opportunity of remunerative employment. Except in times of war or of rapid emigration, the supply of labor exceeds the demand, and this very excess tends to reduce the wages of labor to its lowest possible limits, and to bow the successful candidates for employment in entire subserviency to the will of their employer, inasmuch as in case of their non-subserviency their places can be readily filled by the unemployed, and they may be left to idleness and beggary.

Bastiat, who, in a very elaborate chapter of his "Harmonies Économiques," attempts to show the beneficent tendency of competition of all kinds in the social system, makes the following noteworthy admission: —

* We use this word because it denotes precisely what we mean, — not merely the employed, but the *capite censi*, those who are to be registered by names and numbers only, those whose property and income are too slender to bear assessment for the public burdens.

"The situation of men of this last class [the *prolétaires*] is essentially precarious. As they receive their wages from day to day, they live also from day to day. In the debate which, under a free system, precedes every stipulation, they cannot wait, — they must find work for to-morrow on whatever conditions, under pain of death. If this is not strictly true of all, it is true of many among them, and this is sufficient to depress the entire class; for it is those most hardly pushed, the most miserable, who capitulate first, and establish the general rate of wages. It thence results that wages tend to adjust themselves to the level of what is absolutely neccessary for subsistence, and, in this state of things, the intervention of the least increase of competition is a veritable calamity; for the question with them is not that of well-being diminished, but of life rendered impossible." — pp. 311, 312.

Where this double competition is active, it is idle to call the laborer free. His only freedom is that of starvation, — of suicide. If he means to live, it must be under the control and by the prescribed terms of the dominant class. The employer may be more or less imperious in his demands; but whatever they are, they must be submitted to. Instances are not wanting in our own republic, in which, as to matters nominally under the arbitrament of the individual will, that will has been overborne. Thus outward religious conformity to the rites of the employer's church has sometimes been enforced, and we have ourselves known of frequent cases in which the exercise of independent suffrage has been denied to the laborer, and he has been compelled by a necessity which knew no law to vote as his employer dictated. And this is slavery. It may exist under widely various forms. Sometimes it is the bondage of a race to a race, as of the Gibeonites to the Jews, and of the Helots to the Spartans. Sometimes, as in Mediæval Europe, it is a serfdom attached to the occupancy of the soil, or a vassalage to its hereditary lord. Sometimes, as in many ancient states, and in a portion of this country, it is the ownership of individuals by individuals.

These are cases in which slavery has become an institution. But where it has neither form nor legal recognition, it none the less exists. Wherever there is selfishness on the part of the employers, and a low standard of self-respect on the part of the employed, there is slavery. Great Britain, with her

boast of freedom, has in her factories and mines many thousands of slaves, — men, women, and children, who are no more the proprietors of their own muscles and sinews, than of those of their antipodes, — nominally free indeed, but in fact utterly incapable of changing their place of service, or of deserting it without starvation. This condition of things has been somewhat modified by the slaughter of the Crimean war, the Celtic emigration, and the Australian drain upon the surplus population; but a few years of peace and of so-called prosperity will replace the old order of society in full. Even in New England we have our slaves. There prevails in some of our seaports a system under which large numbers of sailors are not their own masters for a moment from the time they first step on board a vessel's deck till the death-angel sets them free. Pauper children are often legally bound to a servitude, not lifelong indeed, but crushingly severe and intensely cruel, through the very best years of life. In some branches of manufacture and of manual labor, the employed are so needy and depressed as to be wholly subject to the arbitrary and irresponsible control of their employers. There are, in and near our large cities, multitudes of needlewomen, whose enforced, exhausting, and underpaid toil is a lifelong slavery of the most oppressive description. In fine, just so far as the power which position and wealth confer is untempered by high moral principle, slavery exists in its disabilities and hardships, though it may be without legal protection and sustenance for infancy, infirmity, and old age, — slavery in its evils, without the contingent reliefs and benefits which are secured by recognized ownership.

As regards the imported Africans and their descendants, their presence in our land is the memorial of an international wrong and crime, which has not one redeeming feature. But, now that they are here, and collected in the South in such large numbers, they must needs be slaves in some form; for, with the signal virtues and the examples of eminent excellence in which we by no means regard our Southern brethren as inferior to ourselves, they still are not, in the aggregate, devoid of that selfishness which at the North makes so many slaves from among the nominally free. Moreover, the undoubted inferiority of the Africans — we waive for the present

the question whether that inferiority is inherent and irremovable, or whether it is the result of centuries of degradation — places them at a peculiar disadvantage in the contest with the selfishness of the dominant race. They are slaves, not because they live south of Mason and Dixon's line. They are not made so by State constitutions and laws. Were a thousand of them transported into Massachusetts to-day, before the close of the year nine hundred of the thousand would be as truly slaves, that is, with as little control over their own destiny, as now. In their present home, the laws which relate to them define, rather than create, their condition. Those laws exist because of the fact of slavery; not slavery because of those laws. Slavery is the result of avarice and selfishness on the one hand, of ignorance and abjectness on the other.

The only remedy for slavery is to be found in sentiments of justice and humanity on the part of the employers, in intelligence and self-respect on the part of the employed, or — to sum up the whole in brief, and with reference to the one great humanizing and elevating agent — in the prevalence of Christian principle. So far as this exists, its modifying effects are benignantly felt, alike where slavery is an institution and where it is an extra-legal fact. In the employers, its spirit is that of equity and brotherly love. Its question is not, How much, and for how little compensation, can be exacted of a subject class or race? but, What are their rights and the correlative duties of those on whom they are dependent? Its voice is, "Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." It makes wealth, position, and opportunity a stewardship in the hands of the stronger for the protection and benefit of the weaker. In the individual it produces personal dissent from selfish custom and precedent, and renders one's own conscience, not the habit of the community, the rule and measure of action. In a nation, its increased prevalence manifests itself in an enhanced scale of wages, in diminished exaction as to the hours and quantity of labor, and in provision for the culture, elevation, and progress of the depressed classes. In the employed, Christian principle lifts the mere operative, the living machine, into a living soul, the recognized brother of

the employer. It endows him with a conscious dignity, which cannot be the subject of servile treatment, which precludes and forbids its own degradation. It puts him in a position to command the respect and kind consideration of those for whom he toils, and constrains them to concede his due liberties and privileges.

But can moral causes modify the economical laws by which the pressure of population upon the resources for its subsistence pushes the laboring classes into ruinous competition with one another? We believe that this competition is under the control of moral causes alone. Imprudent marriages will be the rule and habit among the proletaries, wherever their standard of self-respect is low. They feel, in that case, no reluctance to expose a rapidly increasing progeny to penury, hardship, and vice. But with improved moral and religious culture, families would gradually cease to be formed where there was no hope of providing for their comfort. Provident habits would postpone the period of marriage, and limit the overgrowth of population. This effect is clearly discernible in the middle classes of all civilized countries. The average age at which marriage is contracted, and the average size of families, differ very essentially in different strata of every community. We believe that God made men for domestic duties and relations, nor would we advocate principles that should harmfully multiply the ranks of the homeless. But because we regard the family as a divine and sacred institution, we cannot but look to the growth of moral and religious culture for a condition of society in which the family shall have what is its essential correlative, a home worthy of the name, with its due privileges and comforts. Then, and not till then, will the emancipation of the laboring classes be complete.

But while so much remains to be done for the virtually enslaved all over the civilized world, we can distinctly trace the beneficent agency of Christianity where slavery exists as an institution. What it has done for the southern section of our country may be seen in the contrast between what slavery is there and what it was in the old Grecian republics, and in the Roman empire before the age of Constantine. Under the Greek and the Roman systems, the slaves had no legal protection, or

redress for injury. Their lives might be taken with impunity, and they were seldom produced as witnesses in a court of justice without being put to the torture. Though they were from races often equal, sometimes superior, to their masters in culture and refinement, the law made no distinction between them and brutes. The specifications under this general statement, which we could easily cite from classic authors, are too numerous for insertion; but, as the subject is one worthy of illustration, we beg leave to present a few of the recorded facts and opinions which bear upon it. On one occasion, the Spartans dreading, as Thucydides says, "the youth and the multitude" of the Helots, the Ephori invited those of their number who thought that they had earned their liberty by military services to proffer their claim in public. Of those who appeared, two thousand were formally emancipated, visited the temples crowned with garlands, and then disappeared, "and no one knew in what manner each was destroyed."* Not only were the Helots thus cut down to the standard of safety by the constituted authorities of the state, but the young Spartans were at liberty to bathe their virgin swords in Helot blood, and thus to inure themselves to slaughter before they met their equals in arms. Aristotle says that the Ephori, as soon as they assumed their official duties, made a formal declaration of war against the Helots, that they might be massacred without the violation of any implied social right or covenant.

The condition of things was similar in Rome. Cicero relates that Lucius Domitius, when prætor in Sicily, being presented with a boar of extraordinary size, and learning that a slave had killed the beast with a hunting-spear, ordered the man at once to the cross, on the ground of a provincial statute, never meant to cover cases of this kind, which forbade slaves to carry weapons of war; and what is especially noteworthy is that Cicero, — certainly a humane man, — while he admits that this may seem cruel (*durum hoc fortasse videatur*), yet is on the whole inclined to regard it as a wholesome precedent.† Seneca relates that Vedius Pollio, the intimate friend and one of the heirs of Augustus Cæsar, was wont to throw his slaves, whenever they

* Thucydides, IV. 80.

† Cicero in Verrem, II. v. 3.

offended him, into his fish-pond to feed the lampreys.* During the reign of Nero, a noble Roman having been slain by one of his slaves, although the culprit was detected, his entire family of slaves, to the number of four hundred, without distinction of sex or age, were put to death, and their execution was advocated in the Senate as in accordance equally with natural justice and with the law of the empire. Indeed, Tacitus, in describing the transaction, expressly says, that, "according to ancient usage, all the family which had lived under the same roof ought to be given over to punishment."†

We quote from Taylor's "Elements of the Civil Law" the following comprehensive statement of the legal *status* of the Roman slaves under the later Commonwealth and the earlier Emperors: —

"They were held *pro Nullis, pro Mortuis, pro Quadripedibus*, nay, were in a much worse state than any cattle whatsoever. They had no head in the state, no name, tribe, or register; they were not capable of being injured; nor could they take by purchase or descent; had no heirs, and therefore could make no will of course. Exclusive of what was called their *Peculium*, whatever they acquired was their master's. They could not plead, nor be pleaded, but were excluded from all civil concerns whatsoever; could not claim the indulgence of absence *Reipublicæ causa;* were not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony, and therefore had no relief in the case of adultery. Nor were they the proper objects of cognation or affinity, but of *Quasi-Cognatio*. They could be sold, transferred, or pawned as goods or personal estate; for goods they were, and such were they esteemed. Might be tortured for evidence; punished at the discretion of their lord; or even put to death by his authority; together with many other civil incapacities, which I have not room to enumerate." — p. 429 (3d ed.).

It will be perceived that in many respects the Roman law is identical with the laws of our Southern States; but it will be seen also how far it exceeds them in defining the non-personality, the merely chattel condition, of the slave.

In contrast with the above, the laws of our Southern States, which express the moral sense of the community at large, pro-

* De Clementia, i. 18. Seneca in this connection announces as the received axiom, "Quum in servum omnia liceant."

† Annal. XIV. 42.

tect the life of the slave, shield him against wanton cruelty, and limit his hours of labor. These laws, indeed, contain many provisions which are abhorrent to our own sentiment of right, and, where they would otherwise be serviceable to the cause of humanity and justice, they are often frustrated in their execution by the inadmissibility of a slave's testimony; but the very fact that slaves are legally recognized as the objects of punishable felony, is a noteworthy distinction between extra-Christian and Christian civilization. There can be no doubt that there are certain classes of Southern slaves that are liable to grossly inhuman treatment. Overseers under non-resident proprietors notoriously abuse their power. Masters from the Free States are proverbially severe. The poor owners of single slaves often keep them overworked and underfed. But cruelty and harshness are, we sincerely believe, the exception, not the rule; and wherever the spirit of true religion has touched the soul of the master, it makes the slave the object of kind regard, considerate treatment, healthful moral influence, and Christian discipleship, thus giving him his share in the blessings of freedom, and creating in him the ability to enjoy them. Many are the estates and households in which the Christian master and mistress are not the tyrants, but the guardians, of those who are called their property, "ministering" with more assiduous fidelity than that with which they are "ministered unto," so that the transfer of their domestics into the so-called area of freedom would only make them less free, that is, would give them a more restricted command of the means of subsistence, happiness, and improvement. We here speak of what we have seen; and while we have not one word of approbation or even tolerance for slavery as a system, we know masters whose service is a privilege, and to whom (were it not for ulterior consequences from the change of ownership) we would with entire confidence remand a fugitive for his own benefit.

While the ultimate emancipation of the enslaved is the only end which Christian philanthropy can hold in view, formal emancipation, so far from being the initial step, will probably be the last. Slavery must first become modified by the alterative power of moral principle. Its heart must be eaten out before its body dies. Right after right must be conceded to the

mutual sense of justice. The division of families by sale must cease. The restrictions upon education must be abrogated. The movable chattel must become the laborer attached to his native soil. Freedom must be gradually conferred with the growing capacity for its duties and its responsibilities. The chain must be filed away little by little, and brightened with every stroke of the file. The name will outlast its meaning, and will pass into disuse only when the now dominant and the now subject race shall have been so nurtured, that they can live side by side in mutual harmony and good offices.

This is not a chimerical process. It has been actualized on a far more extended theatre than is now open for it. Christianity has once swept the civilized world clear of domestic slavery. It is claimed on the one hand, that the New Testament favors slavery, because it makes no violent onslaught on existing institutions; and, on the other hand, our reformers are prone to speak slightingly of the Apostles and their Divine Master, because they took no direct cognizance of the system that was a plague-spot on the whole Roman empire. Both parties are equally in the wrong. The Gospel is a dispensation of freedom. Christ laid the axe at the root of the tree. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." The principles of Christianity, as its Founder and its first preachers well knew, could not but perform a benign mission to the captive and the bondman. But how? First, as in the case of Onesimus, while leaving the external relation unchanged, by making him who had been mere property "a brother beloved." Thus was it in numerous individual households, while the new religion remained powerless in the state. As it gained converts in the imperial court, its influence began to be felt in a series of rescripts restraining the more odious forms of wanton cruelty. From the first Christian Emperor came the edict, "De Emendatione Servorum," by which the master who, under the color of correction, occasioned the death of a slave by torture or barbarous treatment, was made amenable to the laws as an assassin (*sicarius*). From that time privilege after privilege was granted to those in bondage, and restriction upon restriction was laid on their masters, till in the twelfth or thirteenth century, *when ecclesiastical legislation was at its*

height, emancipation was complete, and for several centuries, though villanage and vassalage continued, domestic slavery, properly so called, had no existence in any part of Christendom.

The practical question will arise in the minds of many of our readers, — "What shall we do? We abhor slavery; we feel our responsibility as citizens of our republic for this foul blot on our national character; we cannot acquit our own consciences, unless we are active in our endeavors for its removal. How can we perform our part in this philanthropic labor?" We reply that, if by agitation that should shake the pillars of our republic from their base, and rend the Union into infinitesimal fragments, we could make the enslaved freemen worthy of the name, the end would be cheaply purchased by the dire confusion and calamity by which it was effected. But it is manifest at a glance that denunciation, fierce strife, bitter words, inflammatory missives, have accomplished nothing or worse than nothing. In no one respect is the condition of the African slaves the better, or the prospect of their emancipation the nearer, for all that has been said and done at the North. But had the energy and zeal that have been thus fruitless been expended on the forms of slavery that exist unrebuked within our own borders, they would have been felt beneficently through the whole land. The strongest possible anti-slavery influence would go forth from communities, in which the rights of labor were held sacred, the full dues of labor discharged, the laboring classes constantly brought, in privilege, intelligence, and virtue, ever nearer to the level of their employers. Our first duties are those that lie nearest. Our first care should be for the depressed and unprivileged among our own citizens. The spectacle of such relations as ought to subsist and might subsist among all classes and conditions of men in our Free States would be an anti-slavery gospel, which would need no preacher, but would be known and read of all. Such an example could not but awaken into sympathy and kindred movement all that there is of Christian faith and fervor among our Southern brethren, and start them on the same career. It is because we have not chosen to enter on this, the only legitimate mode of warfare, but have fought

against national ordinances, which are but facts put into words, and by local laws which serve no purpose except to annoy, irritate, and alienate our Southern fellow-citizens, that these days of terror lower over our national destiny.

Our Union, so far as it can be preserved, or if it can be restored, is of incalculable value in its bearing on the future of slavery. So long or so far as we are an undivided people, we may hope for the healthful circulation through the whole body politic of whatever there is of high moral and Christian principle and feeling in any part; but not so when we stand as mutually hostile and defiant States, — not so, when the demon of civil war is let loose. We need trouble ourselves little in regard to laws. They will never precede, but will steadily follow, the progress of the people. Enactments that express the preponderant sentiment of the nation will of necessity be engrossed on the statute-book. When they cease to express that sentiment, they will be repealed, or become a dead letter. Our concern is with the general sentiment, and, as we have said, our action upon it is the most sure and efficient, when we apply ourselves, hand, mind, heart, and soul, to correcting the evils, righting the wrongs, and performing the charities which lie close to our own doors.

We have placed at the head of this article the titles of several recent publications, all except the second received since our last number went to press. Mr. Hiller's treatise is the expansion of a chapter designed for a work entitled "God Manifest," is in great part speculatively theological, and has too much the air of a special plea for Providence in the premises; but, on the other hand, it is equally devout and humane in sentiment, hopeful in its tone and spirit, kindly in its appreciation of the difficulties that beset the slaveholders, and singularly unimpassioned and candid in the opinions expressed concering the various classes of men that pass under review as connected with or opposed to slavery. The author is a zealous Colonizationist. He believes the African inferior to the Caucasian race in intellectual grasp and power, but superior in moral susceptibilities. He thinks that the design of Infinite Wisdom in permitting the slave-trade was to provide agencies for the ultimate Christianization of Africa, and that the negro

population of these United States will be liberated by gradual processes of emancipation, and sent home to regenerate the birth-land of their race. We sympathize with the author's genial optimism; we envy him the clear-sighted faith which can discern so certain and happy a solution of so fearful a problem; and we have felt like one resting under "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," as we have turned from the rumors and forebodings of our daily papers to these utterances of a loyal Christian heart. Yet we confess that, like the African race of which it treats, the book has more heart than intellect, and it will rather edify those who are withdrawn from the heat and dust of the great strife, than instruct or inspirit those who bear an active part in public counsels or affairs.

Widely different in its intellectual staple is the essay on "The Laws of Race." As a specimen of condensed and vigorous thought, and of stringently close reasoning, it can hardly be surpassed. Its conclusions can be evaded only by doubting its premises. The author maintains the native and essential inferiority of the negro race as the basis of his argument. That inferiority we must indeed admit as a fact coextensive in time and space with our knowledge of the Africans, and their proportionately small cerebral development plainly indicates their relative incapacity. But other races have been known to degenerate physically under influences unfavorable to the free use and enlarged culture of the mental powers. The modern Greeks have, probably, smaller brains than the contemporaries of Pericles; yet a few generations of freedom and progress may reproduce

> "a line
> Such as the Doric mothers bore."

Under a condition of privilege, who shall say that the African brain may not acquire a fuller frontal development, and the African mind take its place with the now more favored nations in art, taste, and literature? Or, if this be denied, yet may not Mr. Hiller be right in his view of the negro's superior susceptibility of moral and religious sentiment and principle? If this be so, the question between the races is one of equivalents; and it is easy to conceive that in all the elements of civilization and power, certainly in all that constitutes a capacity for self-

government, the race possessed of the higher moral endowments cannot remain permanently behind that which has the better intellectual gifts. Our author does not enter into these considerations, but, assuming that the negro is in structure and ability inferior to the white man, he draws from this postulate the following conclusions: —

"The white race must of necessity, by reason of its superiority, govern the negro, wherever the two live together.

"The two races can never amalgamate, and form a new species of man, but must remain forever distinct; though mulattoes and other grades always exist, because constantly renewed.

"Each race has a tendency to occupy exclusively that portion of the country suited to its nature." — p. 11.

The writer believes that the southernmost section of our country — we are unwilling to discontinue the collective name — will ultimately be in the hands of the Africans, either by their successful rebellion, or by the wearing out of the soil to such a degree as to destroy the profits of agriculture by slave-labor. Meanwhile he doubts not that slavery is the most fitting and beneficent relation of the Africans to the present owners of the soil. But he vindicates the slave's personal rights, and the adoption of the principles which he lays down would mark an advanced stage in the progress toward freedom. We quote the following paragraphs, to which, especially in the legal opinion which they express, the author's name, would he print it, would add no little weight.

"Slavery is servitude established by law; servitude during life, for one who cannot aspire to a higher lot; servitude of a race, fitted by nature for that lot. It provides for the negro the guidance and support through life that he needs, and expresses the relation which his nature bears to that of the white man. Slavery, moreover, performs the duty of magistrates, police, prisons, poor-houses, and hospitals, for the negro race in the South, without expense to government, and far more efficiently than any government could perform them. Slavery is not in itself a good thing; on the contrary, it is an evil thing, and bears fruit according to its nature. But we have the negro, and therefore we must have slavery. Our system of slavery, doubtless, is far from perfect. Its chief defects arise from the predominance given to the mercenary element of the relation over the benevolent, in the laws of the Southern

States. These laws declare, that a slave is a mere chattel, and the Supreme Court of the United States has declared so too.

"But the laws of nature say, servitude is the natural relation between the negro and the white race; that a slave is a man, and not a thing, and therefore entitled to justice and humanity; that he has rights which impose duties on the master, and that the dominant race, having power over the negro, is responsible for his well-being. The laws of the South, and the decision in the case of Dred Scott, contradict these truths; but they are affirmed by the general sentiment and practice of the Southern people, and by the Constitution, which correctly describes a slave as a '*person* held to service or labor,' using this language emphatically, as is well known, for the express purpose of denying that slaves are property, — a doctrine worthy only of slave-traders and African tribes, from whom it was derived." — pp. 48, 49.

The Premium Questions, to the number of 232, are in retaliation for one question proposed to the Observer by the Evangelist, and eight by the Independent, the latter offering, in case of an answer by yes or no to each, to pay two hundred dollars into the treasury of the Board of Foreign Missions. The Observer, or rather its late editor, promises a gift of two hundred dollars to the Southern Aid Society, in case of an answer to each of his questions by either of the antagonist journals. The questions are worded with very great skill. They are such as admit of only one answer, and that always a seemingly pro-slavery answer. They are framed by collecting all the palliating circumstances that have attended American slavery, and all facts in its history that can present Southern States and statesmen in a favorable light, and throwing them into an interrogative shape; while the reverse side is left entirely unrepresented. The effect of the whole is an ingenious but an utterly fallacious plea, if not for slavery in the abstract, for the complacent tolerance of American slavery as it is.

The next pamphlet on our list was written before the secession of South Carolina. It divides the Southern States into the slave-producing, the slave-using, and the slave-consuming States, and represents it as probable that the last class will secede, while it will be for the acknowledged interest of the first two classes to adhere to the Union. It admits the right of secession, and maintains the coercive policy to be equally inexpedient and wrong. It denies alike the honesty and the efficacy

of concession by the Free States to the demands of the South for the sake of the Union, and argues strongly against the repeal of the Personal-Liberty Bills. Its closing paragraph represents the calm and kindly spirit in which the whole is written : —

"The course of the Free States is plain ; their path is as a shining light ; their duties, and those of their chosen President, are manifest, — fairness, coolness, kindness, no concession of principle, but determination in doing their duty to the Union and the country. This course will unite all parties in their support ; and we shall soon see an overwhelming North restoring the peace of the land, and enabling even the Slave States, if they will, to retrace their steps, and share once more in our great prosperity." — pp. 47, 48.

The Letter which stands next on our list is by Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, late one of the Justices of our Supreme Court, whose well-known sagacity, learning, and wisdom as a jurist would claim profound respect for his opinions, even without the compact and stringent reasoning by which he defends them. He identifies secession with rebellion, and regards the South Carolina declaration of independence as a declaration of civil war. He maintains that it is the duty of the United States government to execute its revenue laws, and to keep jurisdiction over the places ceded to it in the seceding States, — peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. "Upon the simple issue, whether the laws of the Union are to be maintained, and its flag upheld, nine tenths of the freemen of this country are with us. The opinion of the civilized world is with us. Moreover, God governs in the affairs of men, and will be with us as he was with our fathers." With reference to the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850, Judge Thomas expresses with great clearness and force what we conceive to be the almost universal opinion of those unbiassed by interest or party feeling.

"You have known, my dear sir, that I fully sympathize with the people of Massachusetts in their just and righteous aversion to the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850. It was industriously meant to be offensive. I have never seen the man in this Commonwealth, who, whatever his opinion of its validity, did not regard it as unnecessarily harsh and rigorous. It fails of effect from its great severity. Nay, I should go further, and should not hesitate to say, were I not concluded

by judicial authority, that the law, in many of its essential features, is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Never has a constitutional provision been so tortured by judicial construction as that clause in relation to fugitives from service. But the law has been held valid by those who had the rightful power to pass upon its validity; and, as a good citizen, I must bow to its authority. My oath does not restrict me to the support of the Constitution 'as I understand it.'

"With these feelings and convictions in relation to the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850, I have, nevertheless, always been of the opinion, that every attempt to soften the rigor of the law, to supply its defects, to relieve its injustice, or to obstruct its operation, by State legislation, would be utterly vain and futile. It is only kicking against the pricks. The wise and prudent thing would have been, to have waited until we had power to soften the rigors of the law on the spot of its origin, in the place of its birth. In that effort we should have had the aid of wise and good men in all parts of the country." — pp. 5, 6.

As may be inferred from the above extract, Judge Thomas favors the immediate repeal of what remains of the Massachusetts Personal-Liberty Bill of 1855: —

"The best thing that can be done with the remains of the statute of 1855 is to lay them upon the altar of the country. It does not require a great sacrifice; and it is *our* country.

"Incapable of substantial legal good, they do much political and moral evil.

"They are not, in their spirit, loyal to the Union. They tend to bring into conflict our relations to the State and the United States, to which we are alike bound, and must be alike faithful.

"They are unjust to the citizens of the United States, who feel that they must obey the laws of the United States, and that the State cannot fairly subject them to any disability, or distrust even, for such fidelity.

"They disturb the friendly relations which would otherwise exist between us and the friends of the Union in the Southern States.

"They strengthen the hands, they encourage the hearts, of the enemies of the Union. They are made the occasion, if not the cause, the pretence, if not the reason, for the attempts to sever that Union. They furnish a pretext, a seeming apology, for treason.

"The ground of objection to these statutes is their apparent design to obstruct a law of the United States, — an iron law it may be, but a *law*. Their real and humane purpose was to give to the rights of the feeble and humble the protection which the law of the United States

failed to give. They can legally effect neither the apparent design nor their real purpose. And the difficulty, in my judgment, is intrinsic, and results from the fact, that a law of the United States, held to be valid by the judiciary of the United States, is the supreme law of the courts of Massachusetts; and no State law can either get over it or around it.

"The only place to seek the modification of the Fugitive-Slave Law is on the floor of Congress; and we need not despair of such a result. The just and reasonable modifications to be effected are, that the alleged fugitive shall, from the time of his arrest, be in the custody of the *courts* of the United States, both in the State where he is seized and that to which he is returned; that, before he shall be delivered into the custody of the claimant, he shall have the right to trial by jury, freely and without purchase, under rules of evidence to be prescribed by Congress; the most essential of which would be the presumption of freedom, and the right to meet the witnesses against him face to face." — pp. 13, 14.

Professor Fisher's Sermon is devoted, as it should have been, chiefly to the religious aspects of the present crisis. It is guarded in its statements, sound and wise in its counsels. We are struck with the judicious discrimination manifested in his statement of the defects and faults of the more recent school of Abolitionists, and are glad to find that, at the same time, he has done them the justice to exonerate them from the charge of effecting a revolution in the anti-slavery feeling of the South. The simple history of that revolution is, we believe, to be read in the history of the cotton-culture. While cotton was an insignificant item in the production and commerce of the nation, slave labor was attended with little profit, and the States that raised slaves for a more southern market had but a slow and scantily remunerative sale for their human merchandise. Most naturally the public mind in the slave-holding States was then open to the moral considerations bearing on their peculiar description of property, and in Virginia especially, and in her halls of legislation, were heard anti-slavery utterances as vehement and uncompromising as are ever uttered now in the Music Hall. But when, on the invention of the cotton-gin, cotton grew to be the great staple of the South, slavery rapidly became a source of immense profit alike to the slave-raising and the slave-consuming States, and

interest, which with sad frequency modifies principle at the North, produced a seemingly sudden revulsion in the anti-slavery sentiment at the South. This revulsion was synchronous with the development of the Abolition party in the Free States, but too closely synchronous for the latter to have been the cause of the former. That the exasperation of feeling which has led to recent political movements on the part of the Southern States is to be largely attributed to Northern Abolitionism, we have no doubt; but the settled opinions which underlie and energize those movements are of indigenous origin and growth. We quote the portion of Professor Fisher's Sermon which covers this ground.

"In reference to the recent school of Abolitionists, who commenced the agitation upon the subject of slavery under the lead of Mr. Garrison, it is too early, perhaps, to decide what upon the whole has been the effect of their proceedings. That they have been guilty of grave faults, both in the measures they have adopted and in the spirit which has characterized their movement, it is impossible to deny. In the first place, they have not risen to a comprehension of the great problem presented by the co-existence of two diverse races on the same soil, of the relative numbers and character in which they are found at the South. They have insisted, or seemed to insist, upon an instant and indiscriminate emancipation of the servile class from all restraint, if not upon their elevation to participation in political power. They have supported their cause by metaphysical propositions upon the sinfulness of slaveholding, the terms of which are so indefinite as to render a difference of opinion unavoidable, and to involve a great practical question in needless subtilties. They have forgotten the fable of the eagle and the lamb. The eagle seizes on the lamb and soars with him to the upper sky. But suddenly he sees the injustice and the cruelty of his procedure. Shall he, therefore, drop the lamb from his clutches? That would be to commit a still greater wrong. In short, the reformers to whom I refer have been unpractical in the bad sense of the word. So far as I know, no scheme of emancipation, such as might be safely and beneficially adopted, and no plan of legislation looking towards that end, which is entitled to consideration, have emanated from them. In the second place, they have made almost no appeal to the masters; made no effort to engage their co-operation; but have spent their energies in the endeavor to arouse a feeling of indignation and hatred against them at the North. They have exhausted upon them the vo-

cabulary of abuse. The effect must be, so far as any effect is produced, that they whom it is most desirable to move and enlist in the good work, disgusted and embittered, close their ears to every one who would approach them upon the subject. It is not against the slave masters alone that the reformers to whom I refer have directed the artillery of their wrath. Upon all who, though cordially sympathizing with the end they have in view, have not fallen in with their method in every particular and approved of their spirit, they have poured forth a filthy stream of vituperation, charging upon them the basest motives. They have the merit, if merit it be, to have attained to a surpassing proficiency in defamatory rhetoric.

"It is not, however, the imprudence of this handful of people which has produced the great change in the public opinion of the South upon the character of slavery; for a total change of feeling has taken place there, within the memory of the generation now living. Formerly, the institution was commonly declared to be an evil, by their preachers, by the judges on the bench, in private conversation, and through every mode of utterance by which the general opinion can be ascertained. Now how different, how utterly reversed, is the public feeling! Slavery is defended as normal, scriptural, beneficent, as parallel in sacredness with the family institution, as the palladium of liberty to the white race, as a practice to be cherished and perpetuated. The pulpit, the press, the bench, all the organs and guides of public feeling, with united voice, are engaged in praising the system of human slavery. Physiology is appealed to, the Bible is ransacked, antiquity is pleaded, in defence of a system which the Christian world, with almost entire unanimity, had come to regard as a wrong and a curse. This remarkable revolution of opinion has taken place in coincidence with the greatly increased profitableness of slave labor. Not that men are consciously swayed by this consideration. But when, for a variety of causes, a community concludes that a thing cannot be dispensed with, they are under a powerful latent bias to seek for a theory to justify it. Thus it is that the old doctrine of human rights, which is the soul of free institutions, which inspired the heroes of American history and the founders of our government, has been abandoned; and a confused, flimsy theory, founded on ethnological distinctions, set up in its place. And the concurrent judgment of the Christian Church is attempted to be set aside, which had condemned the enslaving of man, and had brought to pass emancipation wherever Christianity had full sway." — pp. 16–18.

We regret the appearance of Dr. Seabury's book. It is, in-

deed, humane in its phraseology; and were all slave-holders Christians worthy of the name, and disposed to receive in full his construction of their duties, slavery would not be the evil that it is to both parties. But in justifying slavery under his definition, and with restrictions which would make it comparatively harmless, the author is virtually apologizing for slavery as it is, with all its enormities and abuses. Moreover, in defending American slavery as "justified by the law of nature," he tacitly defends the slave-trade; for no "law of nature" brought the Africans to our shores. Had we received the book at an earlier date, we should have given it an extended criticism; but there is little need of it, for it is too late in the day to justify slavery to any minds but those whose interest has already furnished them with satisfying arguments.

ART. IX. — *The Rules of Evidence Stated and Discussed.* By JOHN APPLETON, Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine. Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Co. 1860.

THERE is not much affinity between law-calf and sentiment, yet the aspect of this book has touched a chord of feeling which runs far back into the past. It recalls youthful aspirations, early labors, and faces visible no more on earth. The substance of the work is not new to us. Among the lawyers who have passed the half-way house in the journey of life, there may be some who remember a series of articles on the Rules of Evidence which appeared in the American Jurist and Law Magazine, some thirty years ago. They attracted a good deal of attention in that limited public which a legal periodical addresses. The members of a profession reared upon the milk of prescription, and trained to regard everything right that is established, were startled by the apparition of a bold innovator, who would take nothing upon trust, and insisted that all rules, however time-honored, should produce their credentials and passports. But those in whom accurate discrimination and

just discernment had not been obliterated by the pressure of habit, recognized in the then unknown writer one of those vigorous and independent minds from which the science of jurisprudence derives its vital force and progressive movement, and without which it would decline into the condition of a mummy or a petrifaction. His articles were written in the spirit of uncompromising reform, but not in the spirit of indiscriminate destructiveness. The author was a protestant, but not an unbeliever; an iconoclast, but not a fanatic. He was a skilful surgeon, prepared to amputate a diseased limb, or cut off an unsightly excrescence, but not an executioner seeking to mangle a healthy and symmetrical form. He showed that he possessed that accurate knowledge of the law as it is, which is the first requisite in him who assumes to make it what it should be. His courage was not the hardihood of ignorance, but the deliberate valor which had weighed alike the resources of attack and defence. He had evidently been a student of Bentham, but had studied him with an independent mind, reproducing his opinions rather as a representative than as an attorney.

These articles were written by John Appleton, at that time a young lawyer in Bangor, in the State of Maine, and looking to the law for bread. It was well for him that to the general public his communications were almost "as good as manuscript." It was well for him that his clients did not know with how resolute a spirit he assailed venerable abuses, and sought to remove deep-bedded obstructions from the path of justice. The natural instincts of litigants would have turned their steps aside from the office of one who bore the questionable reputation of a reformer. But his contributions to the literature of his profession were hushed up among friends; and to the men of business around him he appeared a safe counsellor, diligent in service, faithful to his trusts, with a practical understanding, moved by an energetic will. His rise at the bar was steady and sure; and when, in 1852, he was elevated to a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court of Maine, it was with the full consent and approbation of his professional brethren.

The volume before us is made up mainly from the articles

originally contributed to the American Jurist, of which we have just spoken, and from others, similar in scope and purpose, prepared for other periodical publications. It appears under the twofold sanction of mature age and official station. The process by which the reformer is transformed into the conservative is familiar enough to all who have studied the natural history of the human mind; and it is but one illustration of a general law, that the most fervid and headlong of innovators should harden into the most bigoted upholder of existing abuses. That Judge Appleton in the ripe autumn of his life is faithful to the convictions of his early prime, — that experience has confirmed the conclusion to which he was early led by patiently following a few simple principles to their ultimate results, — is not only honorable to his consistency, but it gives a substantial value to his opinions themselves. Had he changed his views at all, the same manliness of mind which inspired him to speak so boldly when prudence or the love of ease would have counselled silence, would have prompted him to make a frank acknowledgment of his conversion.

So, too, the fact that the author is one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Maine is not without its weight, with the popular mind at least, in estimating the value of his opinions. Cavillers cannot use the ready argument, that the energy with which defects are pointed out, and reforms are commended, is quickened by the bitter feeling which flows from ill-success. At the bottom of the common mind there lurks an impression that all practical men are content with things as they are, and that all reformers have a touch of the visionary in them. The State of Maine gives birth to men who have strong minds in strong bodies; there are and always have been many such at the bar of that State; and no man can there make his way to a seat upon the highest judicial bench without having given proof of those substantial and serviceable qualities of mind, about the value of which there can be no more question than about that of the coin that circulates from hand to hand. No one can say that we have here the closet speculations of a dreamer who has never tried the rules which he questions, or the ungracious strictures of a disappointed aspirant who attacks the science which has denied him its honors and rewards,

like an unsuccessful lover disparaging the beauty which he could not win. Here is a reformer as philosophic and consistent as if he had never argued a case or taken a fee, and yet who has been as successful a practitioner as if he had gone through his professional life on the safe plan of Kenyon or Eldon, — opening his mouth very wide for fees, and shutting his eyes very close against abuses.

But it is time for us to tell our readers more distinctly and particularly what this book is. It is not a treatise on the law of evidence, like those of Starkie and Greenleaf, setting forth the rules of evidence as they actually exist, and the reasons on which they rest, together with copious references to the cases in which they have been expounded and applied. It comprises such a general statement of the rules and principles of evidence as may serve as a foundation for a searching discussion of their wisdom, their expediency, and their fitness to accomplish the ends and objects for which they were formed. By the rules and principles of evidence we mean those of the common law, unmodified by the many changes which have, from time to time, been introduced by legislative action, both in England and America. Judge Appleton, as we have already said, is a resolute and consistent reformer. In his brief Preface he lays down the rules or formulas which he applies to his subject: —

"All persons, without exception, who, having any of the organs of sense, can perceive, and perceiving can make known their perceptions to others, should be received and examined as witnesses. Objections may be made to the credit, but never to the competency, of witnesses.

"While the best evidence should always be required, the best existing and attainable evidence should not be excluded, because it is not 'the best evidence of which the case in its nature is susceptible.'

"The best mode of extracting testimony, orally, in public and before the tribunal which is to decide upon the facts in dispute, should be adopted on all occasions, and before all courts, when practicable. The only exception to the universality of this rule is one arising from special delay, vexation, and expense in its observance, as in case of sickness, or the absence of witnesses."

Judge Appleton's book is the application of these principles to the law of evidence, as gradually formed in the courts of England, and adopted in our own. Whatever may be the

reader's opinion as to the soundness of his conclusions, no one can read his treatise without a high respect alike for the intellectual and the moral qualities which it reveals. He is the very model of a reformer: earnest, patient, consistent; but entirely free from the bitterness of spirit and the offensive assumption of superiority by which zealous reformers are so apt to prejudice the cause to which they are devoted, and to postpone the changes which they desire to accomplish. His style is nervous, pointed, and condensed; occasionally relieved by a touch of humor, but not tinged with acrid sarcasm, or weakened by undignified flippancy. His intellectual and unimpassioned method of treatment has the advantage of not rousing the passions in opposition to his views. His love of truth, too, is not stained by any blot of self-love. In pointing out the errors and defects of the law, he takes no thought of winning admiration on account of the eloquence and ingenuity with which his conclusions are enforced. It is impossible for a book so earnest as this to be more entirely impersonal; the light which the author throws upon his subject has not caught any tinge from the transparent medium through which it has passed.

In paying the debt to his profession so generously as Judge Appleton has done by the publication of this treatise, the value of the obligation is enhanced by the fact that the claim has been discharged in a coin not very common among lawyers. The quality of matter called inertia, by virtue of which all bodies have a tendency to continue in the state or condition originally belonging to them, whether of motion or rest, until some greater force, propelling or resisting, intervenes to change it, has its parallel in a law of the mind, by virtue of which the average man finds in the mere existence of a principle, usage, or institution a sufficient argument in favor of its continued existence. In its general workings the law is valuable; and it is only in its excess, or its faulty application, that it does mischief. The difference between the enlightened reformer and the obstinate bigot is merely the difference between knowing and not knowing where the rule ends and the exception begins. In vulgar minds this principle degenerates into the most absurd and ludicrous opposition to all forms of progress.

"I hate the steamboats," a Greenwich pensioner once said; "they are contrary to nature." The remark was so far true as that it was contrary to his nature. All professions and occupations naturally give to the minds of those who follow them a bias in favor of the methods in which they have been trained. This is particularly true of lawyers, because respect for authority is by daily habit and practice wrought into the fabric of the mind; and by this respect for authority, abuses and absurdities come to be protected no less than the essential principles of justice. A conveyancer, who has passed the best years of his life in engrossing deeds upon parchment, will with great difficulty admit that a piece of real estate can be conveyed by an instrument upon paper, partly in print and partly in ordinary handwriting. The very proposition to make the change disturbs his tranquillity and discomposes his spirits. His reason, if he summons it to his aid, might reassure him; but the difficulty is, that his mind is under the control, not of his reason, but of certain involuntary habits, the growth of usage, unconsciously exerted, like the movements of the hand in a skilful player upon an instrument. Thus where we find in the same person the combination of a good lawyer and a good law-maker, we may be sure that we have fallen upon a mind of a high and exceptional order. During a debate in the House of Lords, June 13, 1827, Lord Tenterden is reported to have said "that it was fortunate that the subject (the amendment of the laws) had been taken up by a gentleman of an enlarged mind (Sir Robert Peel), who had not been bred to the law; for those who were were rendered dull, by habit, to many of its defects."

The case of Lord Eldon is a very strong one in support of Lord Tenterden's remark. He was a great lawyer, and a great judge; a man of a very vigorous understanding, and of a kindly heart; yet in judging him solely by his career as a legislator in the House of Lords, one would be justified in pronouncing him a man of very narrow mind, and of a cruel and merciless temper. Though warmly attached to Sir Samuel Romilly, he persistently resisted every effort of that great and good man to mitigate the barbarous severity of the English criminal law as it then stood. In 1810, he successfully

opposed a bill which had passed the Commons to abolish the punishment of death for the offence of privately stealing in a shop to the value of five shillings. So, in 1824, he succeeded in throwing out a bill which allowed dissenters to be married by their own pastors, in their own places of religious worship, lawfully licensed. Though it was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Eldon said of the bill that he thought a worse one had never been submitted to Parliament. At this point of time it is difficult to believe that a man of sound and disposing mind and memory could have entertained such a horror of reform.

Judge Appleton presents a remarkable instance of a good lawyer whose mind has not been "subdued to what it works in," but who, on the contrary, has kept his free and independent judgment unaffected alike by his legal acquisitions and his professional distinctions. At this moment, from his judicial eminence, he throws upon the law he has been so long practising and administering the same sharp, penetrating, and critical glance which he threw upon it when, in the ardor of youth, he contrasted it with the dreams of ideal excellence which he had brought from the contemplations of philosophy and the studies of literature.

In Judge Appleton's mind we see nothing of the warping and harrowing influence of professional studies and professional occupations. He has kept in all its original force that intellectual faculty which distinguishes the essential from the accidental, the substantial from the formal, the healthy growth from the diseased excrescence. Before the judgment-seat of this faculty he summons the rules of evidence, as practised in the courts of common law, to show cause why they should be retained; and such as cannot defend themselves before this tribunal of primitive and unadulterated reason, are dismissed to summary execution. The point from which he starts, and which he keeps constantly in view, is a consideration of the nature of courts of justice, and the objects of trials therein. What is a court of justice? What is the trial of a case? In the answers to these questions, and in the inferences to be legitimately deduced from those answers, we find the scope and purpose of the work before us.

When we enter a court-house during the progress of a cause, we perceive at once a certain amount of what may be called formal and ceremonial proceedings. We see one or more judges seated apart, and in most countries clothed in a peculiar garb, intended to address the mind through the eye. In most countries, too, the advocates, or barristers, wear a costume which distinguishes them from others who may be present. We see one or more functionaries, whose business it is to maintain order; and others, who are appointed to keep a record of the proceedings. In states where the common law prevails, and in hearings of issues of fact, we see twelve men, seated together, who constitute what is called a jury. These external forms, the grave silence that prevails, the respectful manner in which the judge is addressed by the counsel, the stately and ceremonious way in which the intercourse is maintained between bench, bar, and jury, the absence of everything light, trivial, and sportive, the atmosphere of gravity and seriousness which pervades the place, — all impress the imagination and imbue the mind with that spirit of indiscriminate reverence which shrinks from examination and analysis. But when we do examine and analyze, we find that all this state and solemnity are intended to facilitate the investigation of truth, and to aid those who are charged with the duty of getting at the truth, in a given case, in the performance of that function. Everything which does not contribute to this result is idle pageantry and superfluous parade. There is no peculiar mystery in the trial of a cause; a court of justice merely does in a stately way, and before the public, what every father, every schoolmaster, every head of an industrial establishment, is doing every day, in private, without spectators, and informally.

Such being the nature of a court of justice, such being the objects of the trial of a cause, it would seem to follow, as an irresistible inference, that every rule which aids us in the investigation of truth should be adopted, and that every rule which obstructs that end should be rejected. But when, in the light of this principle, we come to examine the rules of evidence as set down in the common law, we find the formula sometimes departed from, and sometimes actually reversed;

that is to say, a court of justice, as guided by the common law, approaches the investigation of issues of fact, so hampered by unreasonable rules of exclusion that one might suppose the object was actually to prevent the finding of the truth, and not to promote it. Let us illustrate this in a single point; and to do this, let us go back to one of those functions or relations in common life to which we have just adverted, as imposing upon those who sustain them duties analogous to those of a court of justice. Let us suppose a schoolmaster called upon to investigate a case occurring between two of his pupils; it may involve a question of property, or a question of personal right,— one boy may have stolen another boy's marbles, or a large boy may have bullied a small boy. What would be the first step in the natural or logical course of inquiry in such a case? Of course, it would be to summon the parties themselves before him; to hear first the complainant's story, and then that of the accused; then to call in other witnesses to the facts; and finally to determine the question upon the preponderance of all the testimony. In many cases the evidence of the parties themselves, patiently and skilfully extracted, would furnish all the elements necessary to a decision. But what should we say of the teacher who, under the foregoing circumstances, should begin his investigation by an exclusion of the parties themselves, who know, of course, all the facts in controversy, and who are the only persons who do know them all? Should we not liken him to a runner who should prepare himself for a race by putting a pair of leaden soles upon his shoes, or to a wrestler who should begin the struggle with his antagonist by tying one of his hands behind him? But this is what the common law does; and courts of justice have for centuries been trying cases between man and man, with light carefully excluded from that source from which alone conclusive information can be drawn; and it is only within a few years past, first in England, and next in a few States of our own country, that the common-law courts have conformed themselves to the natural rules which shape the investigation of disputed facts everywhere else.

The admission of parties to testify, is only transferring to common-law proceedings a rule which has long prevailed, with

certain modifications and limitations, in equity hearings. It is, however, a radical change; and it has hardly been long enough, and generally enough, adopted to enable us to form a correct conclusion as to its practical operation, — especially as nearly every member of the bar who has competent opportunities for observation started with a decided bias either for or against it, and is thus indifferently qualified for an impartial judgment. We have an impression that the profession in England approve of it more generally than they do in such States of our own country as have tried it. While it is very doubtful whether the innovation would ever have been adopted, had it been left to the members of the bar themselves to determine, it is certain that its progress is now onward, that the States which have made experiment of it will not abandon it, and that those which still stand out against it will, sooner or later, yield, and wheel into the rank of reform. We must, therefore, accept it as a fixed fact, and make the best we can of it. We have little doubt that it will prove in the long run to work well, and to bring a preponderance of good with it. The most sanguine reformer must not expect unalloyed and unqualified benefit from his improvements. The admission of parties to testify undoubtedly increases the amount of perjury; but, on the other hand, their exclusion as undoubtedly leads sometimes to erroneous decisions, and thus interferes with the primary end of courts of justice. But, as an eminent Massachusetts judge lately remarked in a charge to a jury, the admission of parties imposes new and grave trusts upon jurymen, and makes their position more difficult and responsible than before. They are now called upon to decide between conflicting testimony which is equally of the highest class, and to determine between statements often totally irreconcilable, — either of which, if uncontradicted, would be decisive of the point at issue; and this, we hardly need say, requires the exercise of more than average judicial faculties. A more frequent occurrence of divisions in juries is one of the results likely to ensue from the admission of parties to testify.

The exclusion of witnesses on the ground of pecuniary interest in the result of the case is but a limited application of

the rule which excludes parties themselves; the principle in both being that untruth — want of integrity — is the necessary result of a certain amount and degree of bias and prepossession. The plaintiff and defendant cannot take the stand because their interest in the result is so great that it must inevitably tempt them to perjury; and the prospect of pecuniary gain or loss is, in like manner, a cause of exclusion, on the ground that such an interest is likely to lead to perjury, and will lead to it in a majority of cases.

The fourth chapter of Judge Appleton's work — in which he discusses the exclusion of witnesses on the ground of pecuniary interest — is one of his best; and if any one, after reading it, can have any doubt remaining as to the absurdity of the rule, his case is indeed hopeless. Wherever this form of incompetency has been removed by legislative enactment, we believe that there is but one sentiment as to the wisdom of the change, and but one feeling of relief at having escaped the inconveniences of the old rule, — the loss of precious time which the discussions growing out of it involved, the solemn and yet contemptible farce by which the finally excluded witness was let in on the strength of a release given on the spot, and the absolute frustration of justice where the defect could not be so purged.

Judge Appleton's treatment of incompetency of witnesses from infamy of character will commend itself to the reader from its thoroughness, its fairness, and its rigorous commonsense; and few candid minds can fail to assent to his conclusion, that this is a defect which should only affect the credibility of the witness, but not stamp him with incompetency. But in his bold assault on the rule which excludes a witness from defect of religious principle, he will not find, and cannot expect, an unqualified assent. Practically, the question is one of very little consequence; since, happily, the number of those whom this rule shuts out is so very small, that it is the rarest thing in the world that a case arises in which the application of the principle works any substantial injustice, or denies any substantial justice. The heat with which the discussion has been carried on arises from the importance of the principles involved, and not from the magnitude of the results produced.

There are considerations on both sides of the question. Looking at the logical understanding alone, there seems to be a great preponderance of reasons why the infidel should be admitted, and the objection go to his credibility and not to his competency; and this side of the argument is presented by Judge Appleton with great force, and without the slightest tinge of irreverence. But the objections come from those religious sentiments and convictions of the human soul which cannot so easily take shape and utterance. The feeling is more deep than articulate. There is something shocking to the spirit of religious reverence in seeing a notorious atheist go through with what to him must be the solemn farce of appealing to the God in whose existence he does not believe. It is true, as Judge Appleton says, that the oath itself may be dispensed with, and a lower form of obligation may be used, which yet to the witness may be the highest; but the associations of the common mind are not so easily divorced, and the repugnant feeling will be awakened in the one case as well as the other. Naturally enough, the injustice of the rule of exclusion is illustrated by a reference to a very extreme case. An imaginary atheist of the purest life and conversation is called into existence: he is clothed with all the virtues; he has the decalogue stamped upon his countenance; his word is confessedly as good as his bond; such a man is offered as a witness, and excluded. Is not this hard? Is it not cruelly unjust to the litigant party, who perhaps loses his cause because a man whom the jury would have implicitly believed is shut out? To such a case we must needs answer, as an Irish Catholic priest once answered when hard pressed by Sydney Smith, "Ah, Mr. Smith, you have such a way of putting things!" Such an instance of exclusion would unquestionably be deemed unjust and oppressive; and it would be likely to lead to a change of the law, if it occurred in the course of a trial which awakened a strong and widely-diffused interest. But the answer to an argument so put is, that this combination of the highest moral qualities with utter religious unbelief is unnatural, improbable, almost monstrous; it is not observed in real life, any more than it would be anticipated from a study of the laws of the human mind. In general,

the want of religious faith which excludes a witness is accompanied with that coarseness of mind, lawlessness of life, and recklessness in speech, which directly affects his credibility, and would make his testimony of little value to the party offering it, even if it were received.

Our own views of the question may be thus stated. We do not believe that the interests of religion would suffer by allowing the atheist to testify, and should contemplate without uneasiness, and indeed acquiesce in, such a modification of the law as Judge Appleton so earnestly favors; while, on the other hand, being persuaded that, practically, the question is one of little importance, we cannot feel that there is any urgent call for such a modification, and are content to leave the rule as it now stands.

Judge Appleton, in his ninth chapter, treats of the rule by which husband and wife are not allowed to give evidence for or against each other; and in his tenth, he discusses the policy of the provision which forbids attorneys from revealing communications made to them by their clients. Consistent in the application of his principles of reform, he denies the wisdom and the policy of the exclusion in both cases. He maintains his views with eloquence, ingenuity, and acuteness; we follow him in his reasonings and illustrations with ample recognition of the ability with which they are presented; but we cannot give our unhesitating assent to his conclusions. The harmony of domestic life, and the unreserved freedom of communication between counsel and client, are matters of primal importance in the organization of society and the conduct of life; quite as much so as the right and the power to command the whole truth, from every possible source, in the trial of a particular issue. If a man has won his cause by the testimony of a wife given against her husband, and if in consequence thereof the husband and wife have become permanently alienated, has society, the aggregate of humanity, been on the whole a gainer or a loser? We see no objection to the statute provision of the State of Maine, that, in the trial of civil causes, the husband and wife of either party shall be deemed competent witnesses, when the wife is called to testify by or with the consent of her husband, and the husband by or with the con-

sent of his wife; but further than this we should not be inclined to go.

But a full discussion of the relations of husband and wife, and counsel and client, in their influence upon the rules of evidence, would suit only the pages of a purely professional journal; indeed, we fear that we may have already given our readers too deep a draught from those legal fountains to which one is drawn by acquired tastes alone. We will tax their patience no further.

Judge Appleton is fortunate, beyond the common lot of reformers, in having lived to see many of the changes to which he gave his hand in early life adopted and acquiesced in by communities which would have resolutely rejected them when they were first offered. His earliest essays on the subject were published in 1830; and Lord Brougham's celebrated speech on Law Reform was pronounced in February, 1828, — a speech of which we may say that it shows an honest desire to improve the law, accompanied by an equally honest desire that the services of the reformer should be appreciated at their full value; a remark which may be extended to all that his Lordship has spoken or written against African slavery, or on behalf of popular education, of Catholic emancipation, and Parliamentary reform. In that speech, besides some less important changes, he expressed himself in favor of admitting parties to testify, and of abolishing the rule excluding witnesses on the ground of interest. Both these modifications of the common law have been made in England since the date of that speech, by virtue of various statutes. As the law now stands, parties are allowed to testify; neither interest nor crime excludes a witness; and the husband or wife of a party for or against whom an action is brought, is made admissible in all cases, and before all tribunals, except in criminal proceedings, or proceedings instituted in consequence of adultery; but neither can be compelled to disclose the conversation of the other during marriage.

In these legal reforms England led the way, and at this moment stands much in advance of the greater part of our own country, in which one would naturally look for a readier disposition to change, as the following brief abstract of the modifications of the common-law rules established by statute will show.

The States in which parties are admitted to testify on their own behalf are Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York. The States in which interest in the event of a suit does not exclude a witness are Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, California, and Alabama. The States in which the rule excluding witnesses on account of religious disbelief has been modified to a greater or less degree are Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Indiana, California, and Georgia. The States in which conviction of crime affects credibility, and not competency, are Massachusetts, Connecticut, Indiana, and Ohio. The common-law rule has been modified in Maine and New York, and perhaps in other States.

ART. X. — 1. *Ninety Days' Worth of Europe.* By EDWARD E. HALE. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861.

2. *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy.* By CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860.

WE cannot join in Mr. Hale's general contempt for books of travel; for we hold it to be the duty of an educated traveller, both to his friends and the public, to give them the results of his observation. Each sees the wonderful conglomerate, termed Europe, from a different point of view. Each tourist, so far as he relates his genuine experience, opens a window that looks out upon a different landscape, though he may go over only the beaten and well-trodden path so familiar now to every reading American. And those first experiences are what we want. The traveller cannot, after a little interval, recall any but the most general impressions. He is glad to recur to his own journal and letters, even to remind him of the route which he took, and of the various dates, names of places, and minute objects of interest, which at the time seemed so fresh and remarkable that he considered them as forever imprinted upon his memory. Every one wishes to hear his friend discourse upon his travels abroad. If he has already taken

the journey himself, he is pleased to compare another's views and adventures with his own; and if he has not crossed the ocean, he expects to at some time or other. That Europe is for Americans, seems to be the prevalent notion. Every one either has been abroad, or means to go if he can. And every one is right. He who has the means and the leisure to make a few months' tour in Europe, and fails to avail himself of it, may be set down as the wisest of philosophers or the dullest of dolts.

Each book of travels, then, is to stand upon its own merits, and has no apology to make, as being a book of travels. Its general right is legitimate, and whether it deserves contempt or not is a question in reserve. There is, indeed, one class of such books which deserves contempt, and will receive it without fail, — that in which the writer is so full of himself, and so preoccupied with antecedent opinions, that he sees nothing and hears nothing except the sights and the sounds within his own little sphere. We remember to have looked over a book of this sort, by a Roman Catholic priest, in which the reader was treated, not to Europe, but to the personal prejudices of the reverend gentleman in Europe. His verdict of London was, that it "was a vast and vicious city; Mammon its king, Venus its queen, and Bacchus its clown." He reports all the Protestant chapels empty, and all the Catholic churches full without exception. Alas for such a traveller, who is enveloped in his own cloud! If a country is of heretical faith, it has nothing praiseworthy in nature, society, art, or customs. There is a veil over mountain, lake, field, and city. The good Romanist found the "Hôtel des Bergues," one of the very best in Europe, "inhospitable and uncomfortable." But it happened to be in Geneva, where, to the reproach of the city, there were actually "no beggars to be seen." A military parade which he witnessed in that city on a Sunday, seems to have been the first that he had witnessed in any European city. And he philosophically accounts for that particular day's having been selected, by supposing "that the people were too busy on week-days in getting gain," to spend time in military evolutions. He has not a word in condemnation for the Sunday public amusements and military parades so

universal in all the Catholic cities of the Continent. Mont Blanc has some charms, for that is in Catholic Savoy; but the Lake of Geneva stands no chance of recognition, being so tainted with the dark stain of Protestantism. It is only "a comfortable sheet of water, a medium-sized pond, said to be very furious when excited." He sums up all by saying, that there "was nothing in, on, or about the lake that was either striking, fascinating, or even attractive." The book of travels written under such an impulse as this is worthy only of contempt. He who is thus wrapped up in his own national, political, social, and religious prejudices, has nothing to write that we care to read. He has not really travelled abroad; he fancied that he was seeing something of Europe, but made a grand mistake, for he was at home all the while.

Yet we would protest against the unreasonable expectations entertained of most travellers. How much is demanded of them can be realized only by him who has been saved from perils abroad, to encounter the perils at home of curious questioners. What great things a few weeks' travel are supposed to do for a person! He is expected to have been made wise upon all points of geography and ethnology; to have fathomed all foreign policies; to have become a connoisseur in art, so as to give a verdict upon all the great masters; to pronounce upon all matters concerning education, religion, and government; and to have seen all the great personages, especially all the kings and queens. The pussy-cat in the nursery-rhyme was asked where she had been, and the well-known answer was, "I have been to London to see the queen." This is equally expected of all the pussy's successors.

There is something admirable in this instinctive persistency of expectation from the traveller. Still we hope that it is not all an idle notion in regard to the good often effected by a change of place, of surroundings, of modes of life, companions, and scenes. It is something to make a change. Dr. Kane describes the "rolling over of the iceberg in long, oscillating curves," and the "rising of myriads of birds, which had roosted unseen in its clefts, into the line of sunshine, and flying in circles around their unstable resting-place." The unclean nests are dislodged; the clean and freshly washed surface is

turned up to the light, and glistens, a clear mirror of the heavens.

But a man carries "within him" his own standard, and it is of some consequence what that is, — what he has been used to at home. The name of Greenland, given to that country of rock, ice, and snow, may seem to us to have been given *lucus a non lucendo*, because there is hardly a green spot to be seen. But Crantz, the most exact of the missionary authorities, says that "it got the name from the Norsemen, because it was so much greener than Iceland." When a man calls names and applies epithets, it is well to see what is the standard of measurement in his mind.

The "Ninety Days' Worth of Europe" is an individual, but not narrow view. It recalls most vividly the faded impressions of the tourist, and enables him to "fight his battles o'er again." It gives what the author felt, saw, experienced, and encountered. It makes no pretension to connoisseurship in art, or insight into all the philosophy of manners, education, morals, and religion, but talks right on of the things that were beheld with the strongest interest by himself, so that the reader seems to be holding a pleasant conversation with the traveller, and listening to his freshest word. We regret, indeed, that Mr. Hale has not embodied in this book the letters which he wrote concerning ecclesiastical and religious life in the countries which he visited. Even with this addition, the book would not have been too large; and those of his friends who have not had access to these papers may rightly demand of the clergyman what he has to say upon subjects which, from his profession as a clergyman, he may be supposed to have regarded with no uninterested eye. We have read those "Sundays in Europe," and we say that one does not get the whole "Ninety Days' Worth of Europe" in the book bearing that title. But he does get a most lifelike picture of the ordinary route of travel from England to Italy. A short run was made through Ireland, and it is the best miniature sketch of Ireland that we have ever seen. The humor of the old country distils through every pore. The whole book is characterized by what may be called common sense. The writer has no indescribable raptures, but intelligent appreciation; and where

he cannot describe, he keeps silent. He illustrates size, distance, height, and sensible qualities by well-known objects. He brings, as the traveller ought, so much of Europe home with him, and the reader also can make himself at home. His general method of seeing is admirably expressed in the account he gives of himself: "You go first, my dear Miss Camel's Hair, to wash in your general lights and shades; you go afterwards to put on the drier color which makes your picture." He tells what he likes best, without consulting the guide-book to see what is expected of him. Read the following account of the topography of Rome, and see how an eye guided by mother-wit looks at the Eternal City.

"From the survey from the top of the Capitol Tower I have learned what no map ever told me, and what no traveller ever condescended to mention, — what was the system of the change of residence from old Rome to new Rome, which may be called indeed, perfectly literally, the decline of Rome. The old chain of hills, excepting Janiculum, which is *trans Tiberim*, ran across a neck of meadow left by the Tiber, quite as the uplands on which Northampton stands leave the meadow between them and the Connecticut. Romulus, Ancus Martius, and the rest of those gentry, planted their people on these hills; built the Cloaca Maxima to drain the ponds between them; and, in short, provided, as no Holy Father has done since, against this *malaria*, which is the real Attila which is to destroy Rome. The meadow, which is just the shape of that left by the bend above the old Northampton Ox Bow, was left for Campus Martius, Field of the Equites, and occasionally such out-door theatricals as need large space; and when Rome wanted to enlarge, it enlarged on the country side, toward the Alban Hills. Of this I had not meant to say so much; but that the view from the Capitol instantly showed that, in fifteen hundred years, the same thing has happened as at our Washington in sixty. You know that General Washington and his commissioners meant that our Washington should be on the real front of the Capitol, not at its back, as it is now. That admirable high land which stretches towards the Congressional burying-ground and the Navy-Yard was their place for a city; but that being held high by speculators, the part of Pennsylvania Avenue which was first built upon was the swamp between the Capitol and the White House. Just that thing has happened here. First one Cæsar and another, with Palatium on the Palatine, Baths of Diocletian on the Viminal, and such like, monopolized the hills; then any number of middle-aged rascals followed their example. There was nobody in particular to prevent 'squatting' on

these great Campus Martius commons, which probably came to be regarded as a sort of Back Bay; and, in process of ungoverned centuries, Rome has got squeezed into the meanest set of narrow streets, wholly without plan, down on this low land, where the lower stories of their houses are semi-occasionally inundated by the Tiber, and where malaria makes itself at home. All this you see from the Capitol, looking west and north on modern Rome, south and east on the old line of hills, of which the Capitoline was a projecting spur. Northwest of you, on the other side of the river, are St. Peter's and the Castle Angelo. Turn your back on them, and close in front is the Forum, stretching along to the Coliseum, flanked on one side by the ruins of Cæsar's Palace, and on another by those of Nero's, with the Baths of Titus. The distant panorama is superb; and, since I have seen all this, I feel that I have seen, and in a measure understand Rome." — pp. 135 – 137.

Mr. Hale gives us plain, natural, homely, and characteristic impressions of the works of art in galleries and churches. He does not pretend to render an artistic verdict, and to judge *ex cathedra*, but expresses his own individual views. He affirms that "there is no difficulty nor suspicion about the rank of the acknowledged great artists." He picks out his own gems without catalogue, and finds that he does not vary much from the acknowledged standard. We are glad of this corroboration of what we had found true in our own experience, but had not the same boldness to declare. The different schools of art are readily made out, and the best works of each school ascertained, without a special initiation into the mysteries of art. To recognize true poetry, one need not be technically a poet; and to recognize a really good picture or piece of sculpture, one need not be an artist. Mr. Hale says of Mr. Story's "Cleopatra": —

"Till I saw it, I was dissatisfied with the work of the modern sculptors, almost without exception. If they could do nothing better than reproduce the antique mythology for me, I had a great deal rather have the classical representations of the antique than their reproductions..... If the nineteenth century has nothing else to say than Praxiteles said, or Phidias, let us have the remaks of Phidias undigested and unabridged. I always hated abridgments, and distrusted translations. I had rather read Homer's Homer than Pope's; I had rather read Theocritus's 'Eclogues' than Gay's; and so I had rather see the 'Faun' of Praxiteles than Canova's 'Venus.' All this I said steadily of all the modern sculpture that I saw, till I came to Mr. Story's study. I say it still.

But there I was willing to own — and most glad, indeed, to own — that the nineteenth century has the ability to create a fine art of its own in sculpture, with methods of its own, for purposes of its own. There is no need of comparing these with the antique; we do not compare Tennyson's 'King Arthur' with the 'Odyssey.' But, without comparison, one can say, (and how gladly one does say it!) 'Here is a work which belongs to our time, — to our conception of history, to our conception of character, to what we know of the unfolding of history and of character; and it is a study wholly different, in its detail and in its result, from what the study of the Grecian schools, or of any schools but those of the nineteenth century, would or could have elaborated.'" — pp. 142, 143.

This is well expressed, except that the writer has allowed himself to use the wrong auxiliary, "had," to signify his preference. We doubt whether the privilege of his familiar and conversational style will justify inaccuracies of which this is not the solitary example.

In a single sentence, in another place, he characterizes aptly the difference between modern and antique statuary: "There is, in the antiques, a quality of energy (ἐνέργεια), — of possible action, motion, desire of act and motive, — which the modern statues do not have." We think, however, that his early lingerings in the Athenæum ought to have led him to make an exception in favor of Crawford's Orpheus, which has no deficiency of the kind referred to, and which has always given us this impression of a lifelike, forth-putting energy.

In speaking of Rubens, he has one sentence which condenses a volume of criticism in regard to that artist: "Enthusiast as I am about Rubens, I would not have one of his sacred pictures in our church, if either of the Leopolds would give me one. No, not the 'Descent from the Cross' itself, I believe; though I possibly should make an exception for that and one other." He strangely misapplies, however, the epithet "lovely," it seems to us, in speaking of Rubens. He constrains our admiration of his power, for he is as fertile, as unbounded, as free and joyous in his strokes, as Nature herself. He leads a wild, dithyrambic dance, and the ordinary proprieties and niceties are disregarded. He has no prettinesses, no beauties, no sentimental graces, and he seems to ignore wholly the ordinary type of female loveliness. His own portrait, in

the altar-piece at Antwerp, gives a good idea of the artist as well as of the man. There we see the straightforward, powerful right-arm, each motion of which could bring out whole features, and place upon the canvas lines not to be altered or erased. His eye is clear, his attitude erect and strong, and he seems to be in the act of stepping forward, self-collected, eager, sure of his end. So almost all of the figures in his paintings are in motion, doing something, in the very crisis of some strenuous action. He seems to choose, as the moment for representation, that of the most intense concentration of effort and living power. He never falls below this, which is the more wonderful, as he has generally taken subjects that are almost superhuman in the intensity of action, requiring an absolutely fearful vigor of expression: crucifixions in great variety; Christ raised to and taken down from the cross; Christ pierced with the spear; Peter crucified with head downward; Christ scourged and John beheaded; virgins seized, blows inflicted, and every variety of torture experienced. In one of his Magdalens at the cross, there is, indeed, something approaching to the lovely; there is a touching beauty of expression, as she takes hold of the bleeding feet, rests them upon her shoulder swept by the golden hair, and looks up at the soldier who pierces the side with his spear, which exhibits something of the love of the forgiven soul. Yet it is true that "he never went to the root of the matter." He never suggests a higher ideal; he is always on the plane of natural power. He is strong enough to carry away the gates of the city upon his shoulder, but he does not build up that higher city "not made with hands." There is not that which exalts, purifies, interpenetrates as with an ethereal beauty, drawing the beholder toward higher spheres of spiritual joy. He is a powerful, human, natural son of earth, and cannot be truly called a sacred artist. The verdict which Mr. Hale pronounces we consider eminently just.

In our author's estimate of St. Peter's, we find a complete refutation of the canon of criticism laid down by the Romish priest already spoken of, who said, that "no one can truly appreciate the grandeur, beauty, and magnificence of St. Peter's, unless he is a Catholic." To be catholic and to be *a*

Catholic are very different things. The Unitarian clergyman writes thus of the cathedral: —

"In all the grandeur — and it is solemn grandeur too — of the cathedral, the brilliancy, not glaring, but vivid and enlivening, constantly comes over you; and, in looking back, it is with the feeling that you have been in a blaze of glory. . . . . I was wholly at home there from the first. I felt that I belonged to the church, and that it belonged to me; that I had entire rights of my own there; and that it was a temple by no means the special property of this fag-end of Christendom which is burrowing here at Rome. I do not think that I had any sense of wonder about it, nor of disgust with the little Romanisms, — the St. Peter's toes, and so on. '*It is, and it is right*,' was rather my idea all along; glad that Michel Angelo had planned it, and glad that anybody had built it. I was not and am not worried by thought of the taxes which paid for it, nor of what the stones might have been sold for, nor of how that *quiddam ignotam* resulting from that hypothetical purchase might have been given to the poor. Indeed, the interior of St. Peter's has been (except the Vatican sculptures) the most satisfactory thing in Rome." — pp. 128 – 130.

We may dissent from this view, but we must at least give it the credit of unlimited catholicity and freedom from any conventional bias. We are disposed to wonder that St. Peter's should have won from our author such a verdict; and, for ourselves, we should agree with Mr. Norton's estimate, that

"It belongs to the architecture of the intellect, not to that of the imagination, — its chief feature is its size, not its design. St. Peter's is contemporaneous with the Reformation; and the character of the religion of the Papal court at that time is well perpetuated in a church built less as a place of worship than as a magnificent theatre for the splendid displays of Papal ceremonials."

The book of "Travel and Study in Italy," from which we have made this last quotation, is of an entirely different character from Mr. Hale's, and is no less excellent in its kind. It is the record of thought, study, and mature contemplation. It is not a running comment of the passing traveller, as he strives to see the most that he can in a limited period of time; but the ripe fruit of a studious, artistic, and cultivated mind and heart, — the result of observations, comparisons, and impressions, through years of familiar and genial converse with

the objects described, and the related topics of art, history, and social life in their universal bearings. We do not know a book which gives such an *interior* view of art, worship, society, life, ecclesiasticism, and the moral influence of external institutions, as this presents with regard to Italy. It is as impersonal and æsthetic, as Mr. Hale's is individual and impressional. They may be taken as the representatives of entirely opposite methods of relating one's travels, and yet each is good of its kind. One is the cheerful narrative of a passing sight-seer, who gives his off-hand sketch with all its personal details of experience, so pleasant to listen to when a friend narrates them, while the other is full of careful and scholarlike dissertation upon the great themes of religion, morals, government, and social institutions, as influenced by art, and influencing it in turn. The whole tone is American in the highest and truest sense, but nowhere is there an offensive Americanism. Mr. Norton traces the decline of art as the religious and truly Christian life ebbed away, leaving only luxury, dilettanteism, artificiality, and imitation.

"The utter sterility and impotence of mind," he says, "which have long been and are still conspicuous at Rome, the deadness of the Roman imagination, the absence of all intellectual energy in literature and in art, are the necessary result of the political and moral servitude under which the Romans exist. Where the exercise of the privileges of thought is dangerous, the power of expression soon ceases. For a time — as during the seventeenth century in Italy — the external semblance of originality may remain, and mechanical facility of execution may conceal the absence of real life; but by degrees the very semblance disappears, and facility of execution degenerates into a mere trick of the hand. The Roman artists of the present time have not, in general, the capacity even of good copyists. They can mix colors, and can polish marble, but they are neither painters nor sculptors." — pp. 292, 293.

There is one minor coincidence in these two books of travel not a little curious. Each gives us a description of the same "Shakespearian drama," as performed at Antwerp and at Naples. Mr. Hale witnessed at Antwerp a comic opera, called *Le Songe d'une Nuit d'Eté*. "It has nothing about 'Midsummer Night's Dream' in it," he goes on to say, "but

introduces Williàm Shukspeèr, Queen Elizabeth, Sir John Falstaff, and Lord Latimer, entangled in the most absurd plot. The second act was at Richmond Terrace, and Shakespeare and Falstaff came up the Thames in a boat to the scene of action." Mr. Norton went to see, at Naples, *Shakespeare, Ballo in Quatro Parti*, and it is essentially the same drama, wherein Falstaff figures as the guardian of the Royal Park at "Richemart." Truly, in some shape or other Shakespeare seems present everywhere; though here, we confess, rather as *nominis umbra* than as anything real. Well may Mr. Norton add, "This is fame."

Books of travel, like these before us, are valuable, as affording points of comparison and means of testing one's own estimates and judgments. They keep open great questions of universal and purely human interest, and enable one to consider his own verdicts, and modify his own conclusions. Some of these questions we wish, before we close, to pass in review, and to state the general impressions which have been made upon us in reading books of European travel, and considering our intimate and growing relations with the European world.

We deem it no trifling matter to have it shown, in all the minutiæ of travelled experience, that the difference of estimate in regard to man's nature and position in the Old World and the New, is radical, and not superficial. There man is a ward under guardianship, a pupil under discipline at school, a pauper to be cared for, a vagabond to be put in the pound, a thing to be looked after and watched; but not a man who can take care of himself, provide for his own safety and interests, and get his own living generally. Accustomed as we are to do our own governing in church and state, we are hardly aware what a position we here assume, as compared with the nations upon the European continent, blessed as they are with paternal governments to further their political well-being, and with maternal churches to care for their souls. That we can govern ourselves with no greater amount of loss, friction, and insanity than we witness, is certainly a great fact, and cannot be overestimated. What is said upon this point is regarded often as the commonplace of rhetoric, but it is the real miracle of the present age. The idea that Tom, Dick, and Harry

are men, real men, and as such should have the responsibilities of men, and look after their own affairs, and settle all their own accounts, according to their own views of justice, good sense, and propriety, is foreign to the whole constitution of government, society, and religion in the Old World.

Government is there a power *over* the people, and not the instrument of its will. Churches, schools, and legislatures (where they exist) are state machines, and speak and do what the "powers that be" ordain. That the child, in beginning to walk alone, should occasionally stumble, and sometimes have contusions upon his head, and black and blue spots here and there, is not surprising or very alarming. The great thing is, that he is learning how to use his own feet, and to walk somehow of himself, — not very gracefully, indeed, at first, — not so well or so rapidly as when his father or mother holds him by the hands; but he is gaining strength, the capacity of self-balancing, the faculty of locomotion, and, on the whole, general ability to keep himself from falling down stairs, and from otherwise mutilating his person by fire, water, steel, or any dangerous implement. The work is not done in a day, but it is done at last, and that by virtue of trying. The theory of authority and prescription has no belief in man's walking alone; he is made to be carried in the arms, or at least to stand in a standing-stool, with a few playthings in front to amuse him. After a while the poor thing, not knowing what to do with his superfluous strength and animal spirits, proceeds to kick away some of the slats of his cage, or, climbing to the top, as might be expected, comes down upon the outside with a heavy jar and an awful scream, which so frighten the anxious parents that they at once contrive some higher enclosure, take away all rails that may serve as steps, and provide louder rattles, and a greater abundance of playthings. Then, when the poor thing becomes dwarfed, and has the rickets, or crooked legs, or some other monstrosity of development, they appeal to this to prove how necessary it is to protect and keep in the poor invalid weakling. Yes, the government provides churches, schools, police, galleries of art, public gardens, theatres, and amusements, — and what more would you have? Only the privilege, we answer, to provide for themselves, to think and act

as men, to walk on their own feet, and to do business on their own account.

In the Old World you are taken care of very nicely. Enter a railroad carriage and they lock you in, lest you should take a fancy to alight with a broken leg or crown. Take up a newspaper, and you will read only that which it is proper for you to see. Go to the theatre, and you will witness such performances as the authorities approbate. Happy man, why not be contented with that which the gods bestow, without any anxiety upon your part? Why, in France the government is so thoughtful and considerate as to place a gendarme at the ticket-office of the railroad station to see that you have the right change given back to you. Paternal government, to be sure! The next moment, you may, if you are a citizen, be drafted into the army, and sent, whether you will or not, to fight for the Italians or against them, for the Austrians or against them, — it is none of your business which, — the paternal powers take that care also off your mind. Here, in the least as in the greatest things, a man must look out for himself, help himself, and blame himself alone, if he come to any harm. Sometimes, when we see how stupidly we look out for our interests, and how inadequately we provide for our own highest good, we are inclined to ask for something or somebody to do for us what we will not do for ourselves. A small contribution yearly from each inhabitant of any city might establish as good a free library, as good a course of scientific and literary instruction, as good a gallery of art, as is needed for general cultivation and amusement. Petty localisms and sectarianisms swallow up our time, our money, and our zeal. It should shame us to have, anywhere upon the face of the earth, any king or any government doing more for the people than we are doing for ourselves as social beings.

Another point of importance is the influence of our country. When we hear anything said of our influence as a nation, we set it down as another of the commonplace boasts of a conceited rhetoric. But it is a sober and real fact, nevertheless, that our very existence as a people is now a vital and operating influence in the countries of the Old World, wherever there is

any social or intellectual movement. There is the idea of a free country where the white man controls his own property, and is the disposer of his own time, means, and talents, — where one man is as good as another, and where the tools are all ready for him who knows how to use them. This idea gains vastly in power from its dwelling in the imagination almost exclusively, with small basis of actual knowledge. Hence we find very industrious efforts on the part of governments in the Old World, to present the worst side of our social condition and history, — to spread abroad the knowledge of riots, murders, accidents, and crimes, which our newspapers so sedulously exaggerate, echo, and re-echo. The European press would gladly have us believed to be a people exclusively given to slave-buying, filibustering, and general commotion, — to cheating immigrants, and putting foreigners under a ban. But, as Falstaff says, "instinct is a great thing." The people have an instinctive feeling where King Truth stands, and set down these accounts as for the most part "bosh and lies." To be known as a citizen of the United States is a passport to the *people* everywhere. An Englishman and an American are looked upon with very different eyes. The English guinea secures a vast deal of outward respect and attention, but a certain halo surrounds the American, which secures something better than service, and that is confidence and trust. The servants, the hackmen, the porters, if you are an American, find at once some human bond of connection. Some question is asked about this and the other place in America. The hackman in England has some brother, or cousin, or neighbor in your country; the porter wishes, as he lifts up your luggage, that he was where those trunks came from, — the Frenchman cries out "Vive la République!" — the soldier, as he shows you over the castle, breathes forth his sense of oppression and aristocratic restriction, — the Italian coachman curses aloud both priest and government, — the lively Frenchman shakes hands again and again, and tells you that the day of reckoning is coming; — and so, everywhere, in the heart of the common people, is this one dream of a free and democratic republic, an "island of the blest," "fortunate fields beyond the Atlantic main," where man is man, and not

an appendage to the state. Thus truly do we live not for ourselves alone; and to send a cannon to Sardinia, or a ship-load of grain to Ireland, and to liberate a Martin Koszta from the gripe of Austria, may be little things in themselves, but as symbols they are of great account. They are short texts, but there is a very long sermon preached from them. All that Americans do stands for something infinitely beyond the literal fact itself, — for the deepest longings and the most enthusiastic dreams of human souls. And we should think of this in our narrow systems of policy, our oppressive enactments, and our selfish rule.

But the one great feature of the present time is the passing away of the age of ecclesiasticism, and the transferring of spiritual energies, of thought and effort, to the present needs, the life, and the well-being of humanity. It is only as we look at outward, material embodiments that we can gain some estimate of the change that is taking place. Once London was a city of abbeys, convents, and churches. To every three acres of ground there was formerly a church, chapel, abbey, or shrine. The period of ecclesiastical rule has gone by, though, as a remnant of the old time, some of the vestries of London parishes have streets, lamps, and municipal privileges to look after, and noblemen take a pride in being members of these corporate bodies. It is worthy of note how the churches themselves feel that their day is over, unless they embody in themselves the rising spirit of the age. They establish, in England, not only Sunday schools, and free sittings, but day schools, ragged schools, lodging-houses, scientific lectures, dispensaries. A ragged school is maintained in connection with Dr. Cumming's congregation, in Crown Court, London, with a total attendance, including day and evening scholars, of two hundred and seventy-seven children. Connected also with the society is a mothers' meeting to instruct and aid in sewing, mending, cutting out dresses, and managing children; and to these are added a dormitory and a dispensary. Thus the germ of a broad Christian humanity is taking the place of the exclusive monastery. The kingdom of God is practically seen to be something more than meat and drink for the few, and to consist in love and right doing, — right doing both to bodies

and souls, — right doing to the poor, the outcast, and the depraved.

On the Continent there are not wanting similar signs of the decline of ecclesiasticism. The place in Constance where John Huss was tried and condemned is now a warehouse; a monastery in the Catholic Canton of Valais, in Switzerland, has become an institution for imbecile Cretins; and there are few old cities in Germany or France where there is not some church or convent turned into store-house or wine-vault. In Rouen, the seat of ancient ecclesiastical splendor, there are several strong, old stone buildings, which once were thronged by devout worshippers, and now are tenanted by their corpses in joint occupation with casks of Cognac brandy and famous Burgundy.

Wherever ecclesiasticism exists at the present day, with its exclusive privileges, it seems to reserve for itself that of illiberality and meanness. Why is it that it should indulge in that contemptible narrowness of manifestation, which, if exhibited anywhere else, would at once receive its due of reproach? Is it not amenable to the great human laws, and is not the day gone by when it had its own tribunal, and its own packed jury, without regard to the opinion of the world? In England, the exception to the liberality shown in throwing open museums, scientific collections, and objects of art, without cost or with only a nominal fee, is to be found in the Church establishment. There the almighty shilling is requisite — or rather shillings are needed — to behold the monuments and shrines of the fathers; to unlock the chapels; to disclose the crypts; to visit any but the most public part of the cathedrals. To go over St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey costs nearly a dollar. It was the Papal government alone, that Divine successor of the Apostles, which forbade casts to be taken of the bas-reliefs of the Arch of Titus and other works of art, for the fitting up and adornment of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The Pope and his court make a trade of the sanctities of art and religion, and, like jealous hucksters, will admit of no interference with their line of business. They have a monopoly in the premises, and regard them as their specialty. So too in Antwerp, the grand altar-piece of "The Descent from the Cross," which, if it were in the place

where it belongs, could be seen of all, gratis, is now always in the unfortunate condition of needing to be cleansed. We suppose that so many travellers are continually pressing to see it, that there is no time to perform this work; and so, year after year, it remains in that little side-room, where it brings in so good a revenue. All travellers report the picture as being there to be cleansed. And it was certainly there four years ago. In a church at Cologne they have another "dodge" to extract the franc from the admirers of Rubens. There is an altar-piece of that artist, "Peter crucified with his Head downward." Facing you, as you stand before the altar, is a painting which you suppose the genuine masterpiece; but not at all, — it is only a literal copy. The touch of bright silver on the palm causes the whole thing to swing round, and now half an eye shows which is the true picture and which the counterfeit. The reverent worshippers see the feeble copy; the profane worldling with his silver key unlocks the reality. Do we wonder that art has died out in the Church? One can almost hear the ardent Apostle exclaim, "'Thy money perish with thee,' thou who makest a trade in the holy sanctities of religion and art!" This may seem a small matter, but it has a characteristic and almost symbolic meaning. It does not stand by itself, but is indicative of that want of true feeling in art and its relations to religion so well described in the "Notes of Travel and Study." We pass willingly from this painful subject to impressions made by the two leading nations of Europe, — England and France.

Each nation is represented by its capital. To see London before going to Paris is one thing; to see it after that visit is another. After New York or Liverpool it is glorious; but after Paris its lustres fade. Its architecture is typical of comfort, it may be, but is heavy, and without grace, as contrasted with French lightness and elegance. In reference to this point, it is a satisfaction to have the corroborating testimony of a more artistic eye than one's own. Mr. Leslie, in his Autobiography, says: —

"How generally dingy, low, and tasteless do the houses of London appear on a return from Paris! How heavy and cumbrous where ornament is attempted either on house or shop-fronts! And how disagreeable to the eye is the dirty drab that so much prevails in London,

and which, under the name of stone-color, so soon degenerates, by the aid of the smoke, into the color of mud! In Paris you see pure white or gray; and where tints are used, which is always sparingly, pale reds, blues, yellows, or greens; but I never observed drabs."

The appearance of each capital symbolizes the national characteristics. The English love solidity, comfort, strength, individuality; the French idolize *la gloire*, that is, the shining, splendid, dazzling, external, without too rigid scrutiny of the interior quality. The English common-sense and practical stolidity subordinate to themselves every tendency to the exuberant and the fanciful; while the French are demonstrative, and always aiming at effect. This is seen in their arts, their manners, their dress, and their living. They love showy and dazzling colors, and are prone to excessive imitation. They have a more subdued standard for the articles manufactured for the English and American market, than for those made for home consumption. Loving as they do *la gloire*, they have still the first Napoleon for their idol; the people at large do not believe he was ever beaten in battle; and those who know it to be the fact burn to wipe off the old score against Austria and England. The form of Napoleon is sculptured and painted everywhere, and meets you upon the ceiling of the church, surrounded by angels, and taken up by God into heaven. *La Gloire* is the Deity of the French; and so they become liable to hallucinations, and can make a revolution as easily as they can get up a dance. The national victories are emblazoned everywhere. They love flowers passionately, not from a deep, spiritual attachment, but because they are naturally attracted toward beautiful and bright tints and combinations of color. Any shop-girl or market-girl can whisk together a bouquet, which delights the eye, and whose effect transcends all our plodding study and effort. The public gardens are a fairy-land by night. The Champs Elysées and the garden of the Luxembourg are at once a nursery, a play-ground, a place of gossip, a promenade, a lover's walk, a concert-room, a flower-garden, and a palace of enchantment, under the open sky. The English parks, on the other hand, are solemn places for the people to walk in, and seem a part of the solid life of the people. London is a place for business, and the comfort-

able locality of an Englishman's house; but Paris is the Frenchman's home. In London, only five per cent of those who die die in the hospitals, while in Paris, no less than thirty per cent of the deaths yearly are in the public institutions. Sad testimony this to the want of home, and the desire to die among one's kindred.

But while the real French life seems an artificial and exaggerated affair, the acting of life upon the stage is very natural and true, with no extravagance or sentimental excess in the expression of feeling and enthusiasm. The French have no idea of law as a principle to be obeyed in and for itself, as the English have. They do not regard prescriptive rights or paper constitutions. The baton of the constable is to them a stick which they can easily break in pieces; and what great harm is done, they ask; but the bayonet of the gendarme is a different affair. They respect that. The Englishman, with all his matter-of-fact common-sense, has imagination enough to see the army behind the policeman's staff, but not so the Frenchman. He understands only the logic of the musket. The Englishman's ideal is comfort. So he makes his clothing strong and substantial, his house plain, roomy, and separate from his neighbors. The Frenchman's ideal is enjoyment, pleasurable excitement, social display, — and so he is gregarious, puts the best of everything outside, and shouts for the latest meteoric brilliancy. The Englishman is respectable, orderly, shaves nicely his cheek and chin, avoids all extremes, seeking the well-balanced mean; the Frenchman exults in his moustache, and hurries away in ecstasies after new theories and novel attractions. In England everything is systematized, from a funeral to a coronation. For so much you get just so much, whether you furnish your house or order your coffin. Everything is graded and regulated, and the Times said, "Men rotted by regulation, and starved by system." Yet to-day, the army and hospital equipments of the Frenchman, with all his vagabondism, are the admiration of every other people. The Englishman loves his Church for its decorous gravity, its routine, its respectability, and its venerable authority. He is opposed to change unless it comes in such a way that it does not seem change. The Frenchman, strange to say, is less

capable of adapting himself to foreign influences, and yet has no such ruts in which he strives with all his might to keep the wheels. He has more simplicity of natural characteristics, and so away from La Belle Paris he is miserable and forlorn. The English can colonize; the French never could found an empire out of France. They can hold military occupation for a while, but as fixed inhabitants they dwindle away on a foreign soil.

In a word, comparing the three leading nations of Europe, — the French, the English, and the German, — we should characterize them thus. The French have talent, the English common sense, and the Germans genius. The French are vain, the English proud, and the Germans self-centred. The French are theoretical, the English practical, and the Germans ideal. The French live in a world of fancy, the English of fact, and the Germans of thought. The Frenchman is gay, the Englishman comfortable, and the German happy. The Frenchman is an Epicurean in his philosophy, the Englishman a Baconian, and the German a Platonist. The Frenchman has manners, the Englishman morality, and the German religion. The Frenchman has taste, the Englishman head, and the German heart. The Frenchman flashes like a fire made of saltpetre, the Englishman burns and smokes like a fire of his own bituminous coal, while the German glows and heats, and will continue burning like a good solid anthracite fire, hard to be kindled and hard to be put out.

It is hard to realize that, about a century ago, D'Avenant said of London, "I conceive your heroic game, called foot-ball, not very conveniently civil in the streets, especially in such irregular and narrow roads as Crooked Lane." Pillories were then a common object in the streets. Mobs of carmen and chairmen insulted and pelted with stones and mud those who rode in carriages. Fielding complains that, in his capacity of justice, he had to make examination in one month into five different murders committed by gangs of street-robbers alone. The hammer-cloth, so called, on carriages, is said to have derived its name from covering the place where hammer and tools were kept, to repair the vehicles breaking down in the bad roads and streets. When the king rode in

the state carriage to open Parliament, faggots were thrown into the deep ruts and holes. Compare this with the London of to-day, — extending thirty square miles in solid building, — its safe but thronged thoroughfares, its increasing provisions for security and comfort, its three thousand omnibuses, its six thousand gentlemanly and quiet policemen, its three millions of inhabitants, its seven water-companies supplying fifty millions of gallons daily, — an amount which in the year would cover the whole surface of London eighty feet deep. We boast of our cities, but London would swallow up the largest ten. The statistics are gigantic, and, in some respects, very curious. There are 40,000 persons employed in millinery alone; 86,000 carpenters, masons, and painters; 28,000 in the learned professions; the postage is 5,000,000 dollars yearly; the duties collected amount to 60,000,000 dollars, — more than in our whole country. There are 15 bonnet-shape makers, and of these only one is a woman; but to compensate, there are quite a number of female pyrotechnists. Out of five fan-makers, there is only one female; but then, on the other hand, there are five female horse-shoers, one female mathematical-instrument maker, one female lighterman, and one female manufacturer of razor-strop paste. Barclay & Co.'s Brewery covers ten acres of ground, and manufactures 50,000 gallons of beer daily. To construct the St. Katherine Docks, the Hospital of St. Katherine, and 1,250 houses occupied by 12,000 people were torn down, and 24 acres walled in, at a cost of 12,000,000 dollars. The London Docks include within the walls, in the very heart of London, 90 acres. The area of their wine-vaults is 18 acres, and will hold 66,000 pipes of wine; their warehouses will contain 120,000 chests of tea, and 24,000 hogsheads of tobacco. Besides these are the East India, West India, and Commercial Docks, covering more than 300 acres. We name these details, not for the figures alone, but as expressive of that mighty commerce of which England is the centre. London is the heart of the world, and to her and from her go the pulsating currents of life. Any fluctuation in Leadenhall Street, any move from Downing Street of the feeblest pawn upon the political chess-board, is felt in all lands.

It is not without reason that Mr. Hale recurs repeatedly to the home feeling that he experienced in London. In the part within the old city limits, with the familiar names of streets, the well-known haunts of old worthies, and the frequent memorials of the representatives of England's true glory in the past, the American feels more at home than in any unfamiliar city of his own country. St. Paul's dome and cross seem to be a part of his own youth, and at every step there is some old and familiar sight that seems to have belonged always to the life-experience. One feels that he knows many who have lived and died here better than he knows his next-door neighbors at home. He cannot believe that he has never before lived in those scenes.

No modern books of travel have created such a sensation as existed twenty centuries ago in Rome with regard to Britain. From letters still extant, we learn something of the feeling that prevailed. Cicero writes to his friend Trebatius: "Catch one of the war-chariots, and come back as soon as you can, for I hear that there is no gold or silver in Britain." To his brother Quintus he writes: "How delighted I was to receive your letter from Britain; for I had great fear concerning you, on account of the sea and the rugged coast of that island." The Roman writers refer to the Britons, at that period and for many years afterward, as a "fearful race," "painted Britons," and as "fierce to stranger guests." Florus addressed these lines to Hadrian: —

> "Cæsar himself I would not be,
> Were the choice imposed on me,
> To march on foot through British foes,
> And bear their Scythian frosts and snows."

Nineteen hundred years have passed away, and the sceptre of the world has been transferred to that little, despised island of painted savages. The radii from the remotest lands terminate and centre there. Thence go scholars, engineers, manufactured goods, letters of credit, speculations in mines, roads, canals, and stocks in every country of the world. The land which had no silver or gold, but only tin, iron, and hunting-dogs, now draws gold and silver from every spot of earth. So that Shakespeare's patriotic verse is true to the letter, where he describes England as

"this little world;
This precious stone set in the silver sea, ...
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, ...
Dear for her reputation through the world."

The peculiar characteristic of England to-day is its union of most intense and progressive life with the most conservative and reverential regard of the past. It is a living synthesis of age and youth; of well-preserved monumental institutions and fresh-springing tides of hope and advancing change; of conservatism and progress. The one is represented in Westminster Abbey, and the other in the Crystal Palace; the one built for God, and the other for man; the one majestic, sombre, of solid stone, the expression of reverence, spiritual aspiration, and prayer; the other, with ribs of iron and sides of glass, transmitting the sunlight, where children sport, and men and women walk among objects of art, science, and human interest, with music and means of supply for body, mind, imagination, and heart, for the toiling, city-cooped, and weary millions. In the Abbey, the visitor moves with uncovered head and solemn step through the aisles built for the generations resting beneath; in the Palace, the cheerful throngs enter into the enjoyments of the passing moment. From the past, which embodied its spirit in the venerable Abbey, comes the influence of that sentiment, without which progress would be no onward and steady march, but a fearful rush and a headlong plunge into the superficial and secular life of to-day. We may unite in Wordsworth's apostrophe to England: —

"Fair land! by time's parental love made free,
By social order's watchful arms embraced, —
With unexampled union meet in thee,
For eye and mind, the present and the past;
With golden prospect for futurity,
If what is rightly reverenced may last.'

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Debate between the Church and Science; or, The Ancient Hebraic Idea of the Six Days of Creation. With an Essay on the Literary Character of Tayler Lewis.* Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1860. 12mo. pp. 437.

We wish in this notice to state concisely our impressions of an important and remarkable book. It is printed anonymously, no clew whatever being given to the name of the author, and no hint of his station, condition, or residence. Even the publisher is unable to tell whose book it is that he is publishing. Heralded by no previous announcements and advertised sparingly, it has taken us by surprise; and for our judgment concerning it we are indebted to no "notices of the press." The half-polemic character of the opening chapters, which vindicate Tayler Lewis against the assaults of his scientific and clerical critics, will have no attraction for the mass of readers, to whom Lewis and the criticisms upon him are alike unknown, and by whom the controversy, if it ever had interest, is almost forgotten. A book on such a theme, issued so quietly and obscurely, by a wholly unknown writer, is not likely to receive much attention in the crowd of showy publications, on exciting themes, by noted men. It will be slow in finding its public and its admirers; but it will be sure to find them in the end. The author of so solid and ingenious a work can afford to wait for its appreciation, and to trust time in giving it its dues.

The first impression which the volume has given us is of a certain *chivalry* and nobleness. The writer comes in to defend his friend from what he deems unjust treatment on the part of those who ought to be friends. An unknown champion, with visor down, steps into the lists to defy the faithless band who have betrayed the leader whom they should have sustained. Lewis, disappointed and saddened by the attacks which nominal brethren have made upon him, finds here suddenly a defender whose name he cannot even conjecture, — one who not only adopts his views, and is ready to do battle for them, but who will uphold his motives and honor his genius, where others deny that he has a right to be heard. It is rare that exactly such an instance is met in literature, of an unknown writer appearing as the champion of one who has not asked his aid, — appearing, without fee or reward, against writers so distinguished as the critics of Professor Lewis. Whatever may be thought of the merits of the controversy, there can be no dispute as to the knightly generosity of one who comes so boldly forward in behalf of his friend.

The next impression which the volume has given us is of a pervading *modesty*. Dogmatic and positive as it frequently is, it is modest throughout. The same feeling which has kept the author's name from the title-page has led to the suppression of all personality from the course of the argument. Even the convenient plural "*we*," under which an author may shelter his egotism, is too conspicuous for this author, and he constantly uses the impersonal form when he is expressing his own opinions. This over-modesty, as we think, injures the volume in giving to it a too abstract character, and depriving it of some of that human interest which it ought to wear. "It is thought" and "it is believed" are, in our judgment, poor substitutes for "we think" and "we believe," and, in the long run, excessive diffidence in a writer annoys the reader almost as much as excessive confidence. If modesty of style, however, be a virtue, it is redundant in this book upon the "Church and Science"; and it is all the more welcome here, because it is not usual in works on such themes. Scientific reasoners are rarely careful to hide their personality, and usually claim full merit for their discoveries, and an individual right to be heard.

An impression equally strong which the volume gives is that of *reverence*. Its tone is that of deep, sincere, and devout belief in God, in his providence and in his revelation. There is a sense of solemn responsibility in dealing with such mysterious truths; and in dissecting a verbal record, the writer never forgets that this is the "Word of God." There is an undertone of awe and wonder, even in the closest critical discussion. We feel that prayer, rather than controversy, is the congenial attitude of this mind, and that it loves more to muse upon and adore the infinite marvels of creation and of redemption, than to gain any victory in argument. Firm as the logical fabric is, it throbs all along with a tremulous piety, and we constantly expect that the discourse will break into praise, and become a psalm.

Then there is the impression which the volume gives of extraordinary *patience*, both in thought and composition. The argument moves on leisurely, though never languidly. The thought seems to have been tried over and over again, and tested in every way, before it was intrusted to manuscript. In no chapter, from beginning to end of the volume, is there any mark of haste or of crudeness of thought. The author has given us nothing which he has not taken ample time to digest, — which he has not settled in his own mind. The style of thought is at the farthest possible remove from that of ordinary periodical literature. It is, in the best sense of the words, slow, grave, and measured, — not by any means prolix, but deliberate to an unusual de-

gree. Such patient thinking most fitly belongs to a discussion of this kind. Hurry, with such a theme, were unpardonable.

Exactness of reasoning is another undeniable feature of the volume. While the subject and the learning brought to bear upon it would indicate a theological training, the method is rather that of the lawyer than of the theologian. There is scrupulousness in weighing evidence, — a constant recurrence to the first proposition, a frequent repetition of the points already proved, and a rejection of all superfluous details, which show a mind disciplined to legal inquiries, and familiar with the practice of courts. The writer's fervor never carries him on into looseness of statement or doubtful assertions. He shows reasons for all the positions which he thinks necessary to his argument. The logical fulness, rather than the rhetorical finish, of his volume has evidently occupied his mind; yet there is no want in the volume of rhetorical beauty. Fine passages abound, and are all the more pleasant because the author does not seem to have known how fine they are. There is an unconscious eloquence in many of the arguments, which is very captivating. If the author is somewhat sparing of illustrations, those which he gives are tasteful and appropriate. The structure of his sentences shows familiarity with, and fondness for, the old English writers; and some of the pages close a long discussion with a sentence of Miltonic grandeur, in which we hold our breath as we read. His style indicates a well-trained thinker, rather than a practised writer. It is not always well balanced, and, especially in the First Part, is injured by inaccuracy in the use of the smaller words. There is sometimes an annoying confusion of pronouns, which compels us to guess the meaning. This defect, however, disappears as we proceed in the volume, and the principal fault which we have to find with the Second and Third Parts is an occasional obscurity, resulting rather from the abstruseness of the ideas than from any intricacy of words.

The *learning* of the volume, though not paraded in any fulness of notes or references, is yet quite sufficient for the purposes of the argument. The author has evidently studied carefully the various authorities, and has acquainted himself with the works which bear indirectly or remotely upon the point at issue. He is familiar with the history of the Church, is well versed in the ancient Greek, and is a nice critic of the Biblical dialect, which he does not hesitate to set above the tongue of Plato and Demosthenes. He is able to point out the shades of meaning in the Hebrew verbs; and we should find it hard to decide, from his allusions, whether Natural Science or Biblical Philology were his favorite study. In both his scholarship is accurate and satisfactory.

One more merit of the volume we mention, its wonderful *suggestiveness*. It starts so many trains of thought, that we find ourselves, in reading, perpetually sent off from the main line upon new routes. It awakens continual meditation, and brings the reader into sympathy with that musing mood which, he feels sure, must be the mood of the writer. Even those who quite reject his conclusions, and are not convinced by his arguments, will find his striking remarks very fruitful in arousing new thought. We have marked scores of pointed sentences, which, taken separately, might become the texts of essays, — of sentences which seem to condense months of reading and observation.

The volume is in three Parts. The First Part is devoted to the examination of the series of critical articles in the Bibliotheca Sacra, upon Professor Tayler Lewis's "Six Days of Creation." Of this Part it is not proper for us here to say more than that it shows conclusively that Lewis was not fully understood by his critics, and, as a consequence, not fairly treated. The Second Part of the volume is a full discussion of the question at issue between the Church and the geologists, in which the writer maintains that the Biblical account, in the very meaning of its terms, implies and contains what science has since discovered, and that the popular interpretation of that account is not philologically correct, nor in accordance with ancient scholarship. This part of the book deserves the careful attention of all who desire to see the strife between Scripture and Science ended. Nevertheless, we are afraid that the author's enthusiastic hope will not be realized, and that men will still continue to see opposition where he sees harmony. The Third Part of the volume is an "Essay on the Literary Character of Tayler Lewis." The position of Lewis as a scholar, a thinker, a reasoner, and a writer is stated, and the various spheres of his intellectual activity are described, with very copious extracts from his writings, and a summary of his principal opinions. While we cordially assent to the writer's general estimate of Professor Lewis, and sympathize with much of his panegyric, we cannot fully accept the estimate given us of Lewis's future influence, nor do we think that his defects as a reasoner are quite fairly presented.

In closing this notice of a striking and most valuable book, so mysteriously sent forth, we can only express the hope that its success and influence may be equal to its real merit.

2. — *De la Morale avant les Philosophes.* Par LOUIS MÉNARD, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. 1860. 8vo. pp. 290.

LOUIS MÉNARD is a new, and, we should judge from the somewhat pedantic style of his essay, a young writer. His name does not appear in Vapereau's Dictionary, nor have we met with it in the list of any French publisher. His dedication — "*À ma Mère*" — rather indicates that this is his first attempt at authorship, and the tone is that of a college performance, rather than of a mature work. It is, we may add, a very promising beginning, showing careful and conscientious study, critical skill, and a fine enthusiasm, which may hereafter lead to valuable discoveries in the field of Greek scholarship. After a concise Introduction, in which the nature of the work, as drawing moral ideas from religious traditions, heroic legends, and systems of law previous to all direct philosophical teaching, is explained, M. Ménard proceeds, in nine chapters, to analyze the Greek poetry, mythology, and systems of government in regard to their moral teaching. He first discusses the early religious notions of the Greeks; the reasons why they gave human attributes to their gods; the general character of their polytheism, their demigods, and their heroes; their notion of immortality; and the religious sanction of their moral law. From this he passes to a consideration of the relations of men to the gods, the conflict with the Titans and Giants, the question of "Destiny," and the moral meaning of worship, oracles, and sacrifices. Then he gives a discussion of the industrial art of the early Greeks, as illustrating their morality. In the fourth and fifth chapters we have an exhibition of the ethics of domestic life, of family love, of the camp and the court, of the relation of the young to the old, and of the institution of slavery, — as all these appear in the poems of Homer. In the sixth chapter, the poems of Hesiod and the myth of Pandora are carefully examined. In the seventh chapter, the laws of Lycurgus and the verse of Tyrtæus are compared, to set forth the Spartan aristocratic communism. In the eighth, the melancholy song of Theognis is used to show the political morality of the Greek cities. And in the closing chapters, Solon, as poet and legislator, is made to speak for Athens and her democracy.

In this work there is not much that is new, or that has been overlooked in previous discussions. But the author brings forward his points so clearly and illustrates them so well, that ideas quite common in the erudite criticisms of German classical scholars have all the freshness of novelty. He stoutly maintains that the speculations of the Greek philosophers did not by any means originate the notion of the

immortality of the soul; but that this was a traditional belief of the Greek people, "one of the favorite themes of their old epic poetry, and the source of the worship of heroes and ancestors." He affirms that the philosophic speculations on this subject were only the reflections of maturity upon the ideas of its childhood, — only "the examination of the conscience of the Past." He finds descriptions of the "life to come" and the "invisible world" in the eleventh and twenty-fourth books of the Odyssey, in the poems of Prodicus of Phocæa, and in the "Works and Days" of Hesiod; and he insists that no error can be greater than the error which denies to this noblest branch of the Aryan race, so quick in its sentiment of human dignity, a share in the thought of a spiritual life as higher than the natural.

M. Ménard's theory is, that the philosophers did more to degrade than to exalt morality, in their speculations. He adduces Plato's theories upon love and upon family life in proof of this position. "When philosophy," he says, "had made of matter, of the feminine and passive element, the principle of evil in Nature, woman, degraded from the rank to which the popular religion and the primitive morality had assigned her, became an inferior being and the principle of evil in society." He vindicates the Helen of Homer as far superior to the abstract woman of the ethical writers, and finds the views of Hesiod, concerning marriage and the relation of the sexes, to be greatly in advance of those which obtained in the philosophic ages. He ventures even to question the popular opinion concerning the death of Socrates, and suggests that this crime, not less than the banishment of Aristides, was the natural manifestation of an honorable and watchful patriotism. "Philosophy," he says, "expiated in the person of Socrates its alliance with the enemies of order and of democracy."

The style of M. Ménard is pure, flowing, polished, and it often rises into eloquence. We hope soon to welcome some larger work from his pen.

---

3. — *Researches into the Religions of Syria; or Sketches, Historical and Doctrinal, of its Religious Sects. Drawn from Original Sources.* By the Rev. JOHN WORTABET, M. D., Missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland to Aleppo in Syria. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1860. Post 8vo. pp. 432.

MR. WORTABET had peculiar advantages in preparing a work on the Religions of Syria. He is a native of the land, has known its dialect from childhood, has belonged to more than one of the sects, and as a physician and missionary has been brought into personal relations with

most of the people that he describes. His book, though not always accurate, either in its estimate of numbers or in its statement of doctrines, is, on the whole, an excellent summary of the various Churches and Religions of Syria. We are surprised, however, that he has omitted to notice the Armenian Church, both of the orthodox and of the schismatic parties. From his catalogue, one might infer that there are no Armenians in Syria. They are certainly less numerous there than the other sects, and far less numerous than in other parts of the Turkish empire. But they are in Syria, nevertheless, a respectable body in numbers, and still more so in influence. They have three convents in Jerusalem, — one of them, the Convent of St. James, by far the largest and most beautiful monastic establishment in the Holy Land. They have a press. The members of their communion hold conspicuous public stations, are the consuls of foreign nations, and in point of education take a high rank. And they have quite as much claim to notice as the mere handful of Protestants, to which Mr. Wortabet devotes an elaborate closing chapter. His omitting to notice the Armenians seems quite unaccountable.

With this exception, the summary contained in the volume is complete, and the list of religions is trustworthy. Probably the Druses would not allow that the estimate of their number at 50,000 is correct, since they claim 100,000. They have unquestionably more than a quarter of the number of the Maronites. The estimate of the Moslem population at 750,000, one half of the whole, must be exaggerated, when we consider that in a large part of the land there are no Moslems. The author speaks of making his sketch of the Jews and Samaritans more complete, if another edition of the book should be called for. It is to be hoped that he may revise somewhat his table of relative numbers; which, if exact before, has certainly been rendered inaccurate by the recent massacres.

Mr. Wortabet divides his book into four parts. In the first, he treats of the Oriental Churches, the Greek, the Greek Catholic, and the Maronite, their history, their doctrines, and their customs, as he knows them from personal observation and study. In the second part, he treats of Mohammedanism and its Sects, the Wahabees, and Metawileh. In the third part, he treats of the Secret Religions, those of the Druses and the Nusairiyeh, which is his way of writing the name of the wild tribes of Northern Syria. His account of the Druses differs in several minor particulars from the account of De Sacy, in his great work, and his style of spelling the names is provokingly and needlessly peculiar. The chapter on the Nusairiyeh is too short, and of this curious people, so important in numbers, Mr. Wortabet evidently knows little from

personal intercourse. We hope soon to give in this Review a more detailed description of this northern tribe, as the late Rev. Samuel Lyde has presented their religion and their customs in his posthumous work. Part Fourth of Mr. Wortabet's volume treats of the Protestant Church in Syria, what it has done and what it hopes to do. Mr. Wortabet, of course, differs widely from M. Poujade in his estimate of the service wrought by the Protestant missionaries. He is a zealous convert. Yet he is moderate in his expectations, and states his case fairly. His book is a good one, so far as it goes.

---

4. — *The Wits and Beaux of Society.* By GRACE and PHILIP WHARTON. With Illustrations from Drawings by H. K. Browne and James Godwin. Engraved by the Brothers Dalziel. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 12mo. pp. 481.

THIS new volume of fashionable and frivolous life has a taking title, but is nevertheless very indifferently executed. None of the sketches are above mediocrity, and some of them, as, for instance, that of Beau Brummel, are positively silly. The compilers of the book lack equally skill in description and insight into character. They fail to apprehend the best points in the lives of their heroes, and their fragmentary and superficial notices leave in no instance a complete picture. The longest sketches, those of Horace Walpole and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, are the best; but these are not so good as many familiar sketches of Walpole and Sheridan, and add nothing whatever to our information concerning those famous wits and gentlemen. Where the subjects are comparatively new, as in the case of Beau Nash, Philip, Duke of Wharton, George Selwyn, and Bubb Doddington, we have nothing but platitudes. It requires more patience to get through this book of light gossip than through a volume of Patent Reports, or a treatise on the Law of Real Property. The stories that ought to be entertaining become tiresome, told so unskilfully.

The compilers evidently expect that their work will be popular, and will be received with the same favor as their previous work on the "Queens of Society." They find such characters as Nash, Scarron, and Doddington fascinating to themselves, and infer that they will be "interesting to the majority of English readers." They claim to bring forward authentic facts, to supply "table traits," and to make "life-like portraitures." But the verdict of most intelligent readers will be, we imagine, that, if such portraits are "life-like," the lives were not worth the record. Books like this have the merit neither of instruction nor of

amusement. They are as dull as they are unedifying, as easy to write as they are hard to read. One merit, however, the volume before us has, — it does not apologize for iniquities or gross vices, nor does it set forth the sins of its heroes as titles to honor. It spares us, too, those vulgar and revolting scenes which we might expect in the account of such lives. It may be, partly, this regard for decency which makes the book so dull.

---

5. — *Hopes and Fears; or, Scenes from the Life of a Spinster.* By the Author of "The Heir of Redcliffe," "Heartsease," etc. In two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

We suspect that Miss Yonge's last novel is somewhat autobiographical. At all events, the union of a chivalrous sense of honor with a keen perception of the ludicrous, and of dainty literary tastes with strictly High-Church principles, and the fondness alike for practical duties and errant fancies, seem as essential to the character of the author of "Hopes and Fears" as to that of the heroine. Novel-readers will find this less interesting than most of Miss Yonge's previous books. There are furnished for their delight no shipwrecks, no revolutions, no conflagrations, no romantic love-affairs, no drownings, and no dangerous accidents. They will find the story full, however, of the same quiet humor and the same high moral principle, though not superior in these respects to its modest little predecessor, "The Friarswood Post-Office." Peculiar to the book are sturdy attacks on liquor-selling and on Unitarianism, — together with some new theories of education, the results of the hopes and fears of her heroine for the children whom she instructs. Of these children the two who are under her exclusive training turn out very much worse than the two who have the additional advantage of a Unitarian governess. Two explanations of this are given. In the first place, too much romance was mixed with their religious food, and what was sentimental and beautiful was taught them in place of what was true. Hence both the children concluded that religion was all romance and sentimentality. One rejected it boldly and recklessly; the other accepted it as something that it was pretty to talk about and play with, but soon ceased to try to live by it. We see here how easily religious precocity passes into hypocrisy, and we are taught by "Hopes and Fears," as we were by "The Castle Builders," that no religious feelings which are not natural can be real. The second cause assigned for the failure of Miss Charlecote's fondest hopes is, that, in assuming the charge of two orphan children, who had been committed to her care by her former lover, their father, and whose relatives could not give

them a religious education, and were very glad to be rid of them, she was tempting God by presumptuously arrogating to herself a trust to which he had not called her. We are at a loss to understand how, elsewhere, Miss Yonge can look with approbation on such impious opposings of the Divine Will as orphan asylums. After this we are not surprised to hear that "woman is not meant to be without leading-strings."

The Temperance part is very judiciously managed. We doubt the correctness of the author's portraiture of Unitarianism. We cannot admit either that all Unitarians are cultivated and philosophical, or that they are all Pantheists and Indifferentists. We question the fairness of the open and covert assertion that Unitarians have "a purely negative faith."

Miss Yonge's two stock characters appear as usual, — the good young lady, plain, silly, and bigoted, but strong in purity and truth, and rich in faith and love; and the bad young lady, witty, high-spirited, and fascinating, sometimes self-willed and giddy, but really noble and self-sacrificing. We fear that most readers' sympathies will be with the bad young lady, and she certainly is very shabbily treated. Here we must make the same objection to Miss Yonge's villains as to Bulwer's and Ainsworth's, namely, that they are much more interesting than the good people. We trace, too, Miss Yonge's usual fondness for displaying her learning, in the German quotations, which have evidently perplexed at least one class of her readers, — the proof-readers.

---

6. — 1. *The Progress of Nations; or, the Principles of National Development in their Relation to Statesmanship. A Study in Analytical History.* London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861. 8vo. pp. x. and 662.

2. *The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History. An Inaugural Lecture, delivered before the University of Cambridge.* By the Rev. Charles Kingsley, M. A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Rector of Eversley. Cambridge: MacMillan & Co. 1860. Small 8vo. pp. 72.

The author of the first of these volumes, as we learn from the Preface, is a lawyer already past the middle period of life; and his work was composed many years ago, while he was preparing himself for admission to the bar. In pursuing the necessary course of reading for that purpose, he was led to bestow much attention on historical ques-

tions, and his inquiries gradually assumed the form of an essay on the philosophy of history, which has remained in manuscript until the present time. It is now given to the world with the alteration of only "some occasional passages, where the experience of practical life had corrected the views of a collegiate recluse." It exhibits on the whole considerable familiarity with general history, a marked fondness for large generalizations, and much intellectual acuteness; but its arrangement is defective, the meaning is often obscure, and the theory that underlies it is one which we cannot accept. Throughout the volume the writer shows himself to be what the first Lord Shaftesbury contemptuously calls a "right islander," in the narrowness of his prejudices and the intensity of his national pride. It is not surprising, indeed, that an English lawyer should regard the English Constitution as the most perfect system of government ever devised; but when this writer proceeds to test other systems by their resemblance to the Constitution of his own country, he sacrifices his theory to his pride as an Englishman. Many instances of this national self-conceit might be adduced from different parts of his work, but a single illustration must suffice. In speaking of what he denominates "The Primacy of the World," he ascribes the greater magnificence and brilliancy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as compared with any previous period, to the circumstance that two nations — France and England — have been in their "acme," which he elsewhere defines as "that period of a nation's existence when its own progress is the progress of the human spirit." To this statement we might take exception, on the ground that it utterly ignores the important influence of Germany and the United States in determining the character of the age by virtue of their scholars and inventors; but fulness and accuracy of statement are not characteristic of this writer, and having announced this proposition, he proceeds with great complacency to prognosticate the speedy downfall of France. "The bitter conflicts of these nations," he says, "are the price that humanity has paid for its more rapid and solid advance, and these conflicts will never permanently cease till France — already showing unmistakable signs of its unfitness long to continue the rivalry — shall fall back from the race, and take its place among the stationary nations who, in a peaceful repose, look on at the struggles and triumphs of their successor nation, adopt its inventions, read its literature, imitate its fashions, employ its busy artisans, but of their own energy contribute nothing to the cause of progress." It is in this spirit, so utterly opposed to a liberal and comprehensive philosophy, that much of the book is written.

The thesis which the writer proposes to maintain is in brief this,

and we shall endeavor to state it as nearly as possible in his own words: "That there are two sorts of political progress; that of nations, which Vico showed to be cyclical, from insignificance passing through a period of greatness to insignificance again, and that of humanity, a steady progress, the march of one that advances and never recedes." This rise, decline, and fall of nations he regards as the invariable result of certain immutable laws. "As in physical matters," he says, "we see that the laws once fixed at creation have never been altered; so I see no impiety in believing (as history proves, so far as the thing is susceptible of proof) that the laws by which national progress is governed were fixed at creation and remain unchanged." In accordance with this theory, he maintains "that governments vary with the national character, and are dependent on it; meaning by the words national character not so much the character of one nation as distinguished from another, as the condition, moral, intellectual, and physical, of a nation, at a given period of its existence." Of the differences of race he makes no account; but the variations of national character are, without doubt, insignificant in comparison with the differences of race, and have exerted far less influence on human progress. The difference between a Jew, an Englishman, and a Frenchman, for instance, is much greater than it is between personages of either race at different periods of its national history. In justice to our author we ought to add, that in several places in the course of his volume he recognizes a moral government of the world by an Almighty Creator, and that he admits that man can remove "the matter over which he has power out of the sphere of one physical law and submit it to the operation of another," and also determine in some degree whether a nation "shall enter upon the course of progress," and at what rate it shall proceed along the appointed path; but it is not less important to add, that neither the moral government of God nor the freedom of the human will are essential parts of our author's scheme, while religion is held in scarcely more honor by him than it is by the Positivists.

In applying this theory to the facts of national history, our essayist omits any inquiry into the origin of civil society, on the ground that the subject is involved in hopeless obscurity, and begins the discussion with what he regards as the first scene of the drama of national life, — "the settlement of a few conquerors in the land of a subjugated people, whom, with the land of which they are considered as little else than the live stock, the conquerors parcel out among themselves according to the feudal maxim, 'Nulle terre sans seigneur.'" In other words, national progress, according to this view, begins with the conquest of one nation by another, and the first step in the progressive course thus

opened is the establishment of an aristocracy composed of foreigners. This view, no doubt, finds some confirmation in history, but it is not broad enough to meet all the requirements of the case, and it will be found fallacious in some instances, while in others it demands the arbitrary selection of one from among several conquests. It is, however, of fundamental importance to the working of our author's theory, and from it he traces the successive stages of national progress until the "acme" is reached. This summary is followed by a chapter on "The Primacy of the World," to which we have already referred, and in which, by a series of historical sketches, the writer attempts to show how, when a nation can no longer play its part in "the great race of human advancement," another nation "comes suddenly to the front rank," and "the history of that nation's progress, so long as it holds the foremost place, is the history of the progress of humanity." This chapter is at once ingenious and sophistical; but few readers can fail to notice the wide interval between the writer's theory and his facts. It is sufficiently evident to every one who carefully studies the general history of mankind, that there has been a marked progress from the earliest period of which we have any trustworthy records. But writers who believe, with our author, that humanity "has advanced without any perceptible tendency to retrograde," take the most effective means of refuting their own theories when they confront them with the well-authenticated facts of history.

Our author next proceeds to describe the characteristics of the "acme," which he believes will be most brilliant and durable when the government of a country is carried on by three distinct powers, — King, Lords, and Commons, — harmoniously working together; but we cannot follow him through the five chapters which he devotes to this subject. We may remark, however, in passing, that the two chapters on Literature under this head afford the most striking evidence of the strength of the writer's prejudices, and of his utter ignorance of the intellectual condition and literary tastes of the people of this country. Thus he gravely asserts that "the society of America does not court literary ability, and intellectual supremacy, like every other kind of supremacy, is the object of a moral ostracism." But so far is this from being true, that there is no country where men of literary ability are held in higher estimation than they are here; and we know no place where "intellectual supremacy" has been made "the object of a moral ostracism." Elsewhere he says, "The refined and lofty feelings of tragedy would be dull and tiresome to the Americans." It is true that America has not produced any great tragic author; but we may fairly ask, What great tragic author has either France or England produced

since America emerged from her colonial existence? And it may well be doubted whether Shakespeare and the early dramatists of England are as much read or as generally admired in their own country as they are on this side of the Atlantic. Many other instances of a similar character occur in these two chapters, and in that on "The Schools of Statesmen"; but we have no space for further illustrations of this moral and intellectual narrowness.

Having traced the progress of nations to their "acme," our author next proceeds to mark their downward course, which he regards as likewise the result of immutable laws; and to this subject and to some connected topics he devotes the second half of his volume. It exhibits the same intellectual characteristics which we have already noticed; and we need not give to it a more detailed examination.

Of Mr. Kingsley's Inaugural Address we can only say that it is a vigorous and manly discourse, which we have read with entire satisfaction. As its title indicates, it is designed in part as a refutation of those mechanical theories which have of late years been so frequently brought forward to explain the course of historical events. Mr. Kingsley proposes to teach history according to a very different theory from that of the Positivists; and we cannot but regard it as a happy augury, that he should thus early have taken his stand in direct antagonism to their views.

---

7. — *The Journal and Correspondence of* WILLIAM, LORD AUCKLAND. With a Preface and Introduction by the RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. London: Richard Bentley. 1861. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xx. and 533, 520.

WILLIAM EDEN, created in 1789 first Lord Auckland, was a man of considerable ability, and for more than thirty years acted a conspicuous part in public life in connection with both English and Continental politics. He was born in 1745, and was educated at Eton and Oxford. At the age of twenty-three he was called to the bar, and four years afterward he entered Parliament, as a follower of Lord North. In 1778 he was sent to America as one of the Commissioners for effecting a reconciliation with the revolted Colonies. On his return to England he was made Chief Secretary for Ireland, which office he held until the overthrow of Lord North's administration. When the Coalition was formed he gave to it a cordial support, though he subsequently joined the party of Mr. Pitt; and in 1785 he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France, in which capacity he

negotiated the celebrated Commercial Treaty with that country. He also successively represented England as ambassador to Spain and to Holland and as a member of the Congress of Antwerp. During the closing years of Pitt's administration he was Postmaster-General, and one of the confidential friends of the prime minister. Yet he did not follow Pitt into retirement when the ministry was broken up in 1801, but continued to hold office under Addington. When Pitt returned to power in 1804 he resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and attached himself to the Grenvilles; and on the formation of the ministry of "All the Talents," he was made President of the Board of Trade. He held this office, however, for only a few months, and after the resignation of his colleagues he withdrew to private life. He died in May, 1814. His character has not escaped severe criticism, and his frequent changes of party have been ascribed to the most sordid motives. In the "Rolliad" unceasing abuse is heaped on him; Horace Walpole says, that he "waded to distinction through dirt"; and it is the unfavorable representation of him contained in the Diaries of Lord Malmesbury, in the Correspondence of George Rose, and in other recent publications, which induced his youngest son to publish these volumes.

They will scarcely produce any important change, however, in the common estimate of Lord Auckland's political character; for they throw little light on those transactions which are most open to criticism. It is true that they include one of the most important portions of his career, — the period between the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, in July, 1780, and the close of the year 1793; but they contain very little that relates to his acceptance of office under Mr. Pitt, and they do not come down to his separation from that minister. On other topics the Correspondence affords much more information, and there are many interesting letters in regard to the formation of the Coalition, the negotiation of the Commercial Treaty, the affairs of Holland, and the early stages of the French Revolution, beside a copious supply of the fashionable gossip then current in London society. Among Lord Auckland's correspondents were his kinsmen Lord Loughborough and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Pitt and Lord Carmarthen, Lord Sheffield, — the editor of Gibbon's Works, — and Mr. A. Storer; and there are numerous letters from foreign correspondents. About two hundred pages of the second volume are filled by a daily Journal kept by Lord Auckland while he was minister in Spain, and transmitted to England for his mother's perusal. It was evidently not designed for publication, has numerous repetitions, and is crowded with details of no interest except to the person for whose information they were recorded; but it presents a very graphic sketch of court-life in the last months of the

reign of Charles III., and at the beginning of the reign of Charles IV., and is on the whole one of the most attractive parts of the work. The writer had only a very imperfect acquaintance with the Spanish language, and saw only a small part of Spain and very little of the common life of the people; but he has described only what he saw, and his Journal has therefore a permanent historical worth. It shows also that in all the relations of private life Lord Auckland was kind, affectionate, and high-minded, whatever we may think of his conduct as a politician.

---

8. — *The Greatest of all the Plantagenets. An Historical Sketch.* London: Richard Bentley. 1860. 8vo. pp. xvii. and 457.

The reign of Edward I., *Scotorum Malleus*, is one of the most memorable epochs in the mediæval history of England; and all the circumstances connected with it — his subjugation of Wales, his wars with Scotland and France, his judicial reforms, and his legislative enactments — combine to show that he was an able, warlike, and politic sovereign. This character he has generally borne among modern historians; but it does not satisfy the writer of the monograph before us. He reminds his readers that most of the historians of the last century who dealt with this period were of Scottish birth, and kindly suggests, that "no native of the Northern kingdom could be expected to write this king's history in a just and impartial spirit." Before his admiring view Edward looms up in gigantic proportions, as the greatest of the English kings; and we are gravely told, "As a legislator, Edward stands pre-eminent above all other sovereigns, ancient or modern." "Legislation, not war, was his chosen path," while he was at the same time endowed with "pre-eminent military talent." Adopting this two-fold estimate of Edward, as a statesman and a warrior whose "objects and purposes were at all times just and honorable," the writer of this biography is throughout his advocate and apologist, and he sums up all with the declaration, "We find in history's page no nobler man than Edward, none of a greater soul; and, assuredly, we find no one that surpasses him in the attribute of lofty sagacity." To such extravagance of statement can modern hero-worship run; and as if this were insufficient, we are assured that he exhibited "a constant regard to truth and honor, a conduct regulated in all things by the declared will of God, sagacity and penetration, practical wisdom, undaunted courage, a talent for command, a genius for victory, in a degree of perfection scarcely found in any other human being, and a patient endurance of provocations, which is perhaps without a parallel.'

A writer whose judgment is thus subjugated to his imagination, and who paints the character of any historical personage after this fashion, will scarcely be regarded anywhere as a trustworthy guide. Yet it is just to say that the volume before us bears evidence of careful study, that the author's sincerity cannot be questioned, and that a candid perusal of his sketch will scarcely fail to modify the common estimate of Edward's character.

---

9. — 1. *Autobiography of the* Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, *Minister of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 12mo. pp. 471.
2. *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character.* By E. B. Ramsay, M. A., LL. D., F. R. S. E., Dean of Edinburgh. From the Seventh Edinburgh Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 12mo. pp. 297.

These two volumes have a common object, though composed at very different periods, and they should be read together by every one who would take a comprehensive view of Scotch character and manners as exhibited two or three generations ago. The writers of both are clergymen, and in each of them we have a rich store of personal recollections designed to illustrate a phase of life now become traditional, but with which the writers had large opportunities of being acquainted. Dr. Carlyle was born in 1722, and during the greater part of his life he was minister of a little parish a few miles from Edinburgh. At the age of seventy-eight he conceived the design of writing his personal history, with notices of his contemporaries, in the belief that he should thus rescue from oblivion much that would be of interest to subsequent writers. This design he prosecuted with much zeal until his death in August, 1805, and he was enabled to bring down his narrative to his forty-eighth year. During this period he had been much in the best Scotch society, and had become acquainted with Robertson, Hume, Ferguson, Adam Smith, and indeed with most of the celebrated men of his time in Scotland, beside many of the conspicuous personages in England. He studied at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and afterward at Leyden, where he met the demagogue Wilkes and the brilliant and versatile Charles Townshend, both of whom were then young men; and later in life he often went up to London or wandered off on a "ramble" with a party of clerical friends. He was thus brought in contact with a great variety of characters, and he has recorded his recollections in a style, seldom dignified and elegant, but with few exceptions lively and entertaining. The early chapters, indeed, relate to very insignificant

and uninteresting persons, and are prolix and tedious. But as Dr. Carlyle gains practice in writing and proceeds to speak of names more familiar to Cisatlantic readers, his reminiscences grow in interest, while his style becomes less obnoxious to criticism. At the time of the Porteous Mob he was a student in Edinburgh and was an involuntary witness of that memorable affair; at a little later period he joined the Volunteers raised to defend Edinburgh, and was present at the battle of Preston Pans, though he took no part in it; and at other times he participated in various celebrated transactions. Of all these he has given full accounts, and his Autobiography must be regarded as an important contribution to Scotch history, as well as an entertaining collection of curious anecdotes. The volume has been edited with much ability by Mr. John Hill Burton, author of the Life of Hume and of a History of Scotland of established reputation, who has added a Supplementary Chapter, completing the record of Dr. Carlyle's life.

Dean Ramsay's Reminiscences formed the subject of a lecture prepared by him in 1850 for delivery to a miscellaneous audience in Edinburgh. The lecture was received with so much favor by his hearers, that the writer was induced to print it, and in successive editions it has grown to its present size by the addition of new matter in further illustration of the original design. In respect to style it is much superior to Dr. Carlyle's volume, and it is scarcely less rich in amusing and characteristic anecdotes. Dean Ramsay had not only a copious body of personal recollections, but his friends and correspondents in different parts of Scotland have furnished much material of which he has made a very judicious use. The chapter illustrative of "Religious Feelings and Religious Observances," in particular, is singularly rich and suggestive, and some of the anecdotes in the chapter on "The Old Scottish Domestic Servant" are also very good. Most of the anecdotes in the volume are new to us, and nearly all are worth printing.

---

10. — *The Home-Life of English Ladies in the Seventeenth Century.* By the Author of "Magdalen Stafford." London: Bell and Daldy. 1860. 12mo. pp. 350.

This unpretending little volume comprises five sketches designed to present "a picture of the ordinary interests and pursuits of English ladies" in the seventeenth century. Among the women whose lives are selected to illustrate the picture are Mrs. Evelyn, Mrs. Godolphin, Lady Mary Boyle, afterward Countess of Warwick, Mrs. Baxter, and Anne, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke. Beside these women, whose

lives and characters are well known to every person acquainted with the literature of that memorable period, several others of lesser note are also sketched; and copious extracts are given from their letters and other contemporary records. In the preparation of her volume the writer has apparently aimed at little more than to bring together in a convenient form, from numerous but easily accessible sources, a series of lives of Englishwomen noted for their piety or their learning; she has made no original researches; and she has added nothing to the information which we already possessed as to the topics discussed by her. But her volume is written with modesty and good sense, and though she has restricted her view to a single phase of character, and has made little or no mention of some of the most admirable women of that period, her sketches may be read with pleasure and profit. It would have been very easy to make a much better book, — one more graceful in style, with a wider range of interest, and less didactic in tone; but in default of such a record of the domestic life of the seventeenth century not a few readers will gratefully accept that which is here proffered to them.

---

11. — *Personal History of Lord Bacon. From Unpublished Papers.* By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON, of the Inner Temple. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 12mo. pp. xix. and 424.

MR. DIXON'S previous contributions to biographical literature have been marked by laborious research, and also by an evident wish to present the subjects of his memoirs in the most favorable light possible; and the same characteristics are equally conspicuous in his latest work. From the rich treasures of the State Paper Office, Lambeth Palace, and other depositories of original documents, he has drawn much important inedited material to illustrate the public and private life of Bacon, and to justify his estimate of Bacon's character; and for these precious memorials of a great man he will receive the gratitude of every reader. He has done not a little to remove from Bacon's memory the load of obloquy which has rested on it for nearly two centuries and a half; he has poured new light on the obscure parts of Bacon's career; he has rectified the mistakes of previous writers; and he has shown that in many particulars the common judgment of Bacon is erroneous. But from the want of a judicial habit of mind in Mr. Dixon, and from his persistent hero-worship, it was to be anticipated that he would be an advocate and a partisan, and that it would be needful to scrutinize his statements with more than ordinary care. Nor are

we disappointed in this respect. Notwithstanding the worth of the service which he has performed, and of the new materials which he has gathered in the volume before us, we cannot but regret that a more dispassionate writer is not our guide along the course of investigation through which Mr. Dixon leads the reader. He has too often drawn a hasty conclusion, or glossed over some doubtful action, or ignored some disreputable proceeding, or confounded essential distinctions, to permit us to regard him as altogether trustworthy.

In some other qualities of lesser importance, Mr. Dixon's volume is also open to criticism. It is fragmentary in form, and, instead of presenting an artistic portrait of the Great Chancellor, it is little more than an ill-compacted collection of materials, from which another hand must select the really characteristic portions. The style, too, is at once flippant and ungraceful, aiming at the praise of smartness at the expense of dignity and elegance. Of his predecessors in delineating the life and character of Bacon, Mr. Dixon writes very contemptuously. "The lie against nature in the name of Francis Bacon," he says, "broke into high literary force with Pope. Before his day the scandal had only oozed in the slime of Welden, Chamberlain, and D'Ewes." Again: "Nature never yet made such a man as Macaulay paints." And finally: "Of all the sins against Francis Bacon, that of Lord Campbell is the last and worst." It is after this manner that Mr. Dixon thinks it courteous to write of men who have honestly formed a different estimate of Bacon's personal character from that which he entertains. Nevertheless, he has done much to justify a better opinion of Bacon's conduct than has been almost uniformly received; and though he has not given us a full and minute biography, no one will be competent to take the measure of Bacon's character who is not familiar with Mr. Dixon's pages. Bacon's fame will long owe much to the labors of his latest admirer, even though those labors are not altogether praiseworthy.

---

12. — *Poems, Sacred and Secular.* By the Rev. William Croswell, D. D. Edited, with a Memoir, by A. Cleveland Coxe. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 284.

This extremely neat and almost dainty little volume, in its whole form and fashion, suits the character of its contents. They are strictly "occasional pieces," and the most of them are such as might properly be called "Fugitive Poetry," were there not in all, or nearly all of them, some touches of a finer spirit, which must redeem them, for a while at least, from oblivion. They are all very brief, suggested by a

great variety of occasions, and showing in no instance marks of elaboration, or wilful poetizing. They are occasional, in the better sense of being true, in their whole tone and character, and form even, to the event, or thought, or sentiment, which gave birth to them. They have, therefore, what is not too common in our day, an air of genuineness and reality. They express what their author really felt, and were so written because that mode of expression was the truest setting forth of what he felt. They seem natural, because they were in fact spontaneous. This is one secret of their power over the minds of those whose privilege it was to be admitted to a place in the companionship and affections of Dr. Croswell, — himself a man of rare excellence of character, and of no less rare modesty; and it may suggest a reason also, why, though the sentiment is always pure and worthy, and the language choice and fit, these poems may not attain any very wide or rapid popularity. They will, no doubt, be cherished by that not too large band of kindred spirits, who, while not undervaluing a brilliant imagination, or the graces of fancy, do yet more fondly take to their hearts, and retain in reverent memory, the true and simple expressions of devout feeling and earnest affection. Those must share in the *churchly* temper of the author, also, who can fully enter into the meaning, and enjoy the peculiar fragrance, of these poems. The general reader will value them more as tokens of what their writer might have done. They certainly indicate a capacity for much higher efforts than the volume anywhere contains, beautiful as some of the pieces are; and we feel, while reading them, that Dr. Croswell's singular reticence of character has defrauded the world of much poetry of no mean worth.

Dr. Coxe has prefixed to the volume a sketch of the life and character of Dr. Croswell, very gracefully written, and abounding in genial and appreciative criticism. A more fit editor could hardly have been found, — himself a poet of no slight ability, and, by all the sympathies of character and office, enabled to discern in his friend those qualities of mind and heart, which, if they hindered his devotion to poetry, made him something of a higher order than a poet.

---

13. — *Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell, delivered in the Freemason Street Baptist Church, before the Bar of Norfolk, Virginia, and the Citizens generally, on the 29th day of June*, 1860. By Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D. Norfolk: J. D. Ghiselin, Jr. 1860. 8vo. pp. 123.

Mr. Tazewell was one of the most conspicuous men of Virginia in his day, and this volume by Mr. Grigsby is a fit memorial of his

worth. His ancestors were persons of very high respectability, his father having been an eminent lawyer, Judge of the Virginia Court of Appeals, and United States Senator from the same State. The subject of this memoir was born in Williamsburg, Virginia, December 17, 1774, and received his education at William and Mary College. His early youth and college life were passed under the excellent influence and domestic control of Chancellor Wythe and Bishop Madison, to whom he seems to have owed much of the noble impulse that made his later career so high-minded and successful. He was admitted to practice in the Virginia courts in 1796, and having already, by the display of talents of uncommon promise, attracted the attention of the leading politicians, who were the great men, also, of the State, he was induced, in the fever of political excitement then raging, to enter political life, and represented James City County in the House of Delegates, when only twenty-one years old. He occupied the same position in the Legislature till the year 1800. The Legislature of Virginia was, at that period, a school of singular excellence for the training of the youthful politician. Topics so exciting as Jay's Treaty and the Virginia Resolutions of 1799 were subjects of hot debate, and were illustrated by the wisdom and eloquence of such men as James Barbour, Cabell, Giles, the Taylors, Nicholas, and Madison. When John Marshall was made Secretary of State by Mr. Adams, in 1800, he was succeeded in the lower house of the Congress of the United States by Mr. Tazewell, then in his twenty-sixth year. His experience of those stormy times in Congress seems to have quenched any fondness for public life which he may have previously entertained, and he voluntarily relinquished a prospect of success in that career such as was then open before few men of his age in this country, and, having changed his residence to Norfolk, gave himself up to the practice of his profession. He continued to reside in Norfolk till his death, in 1860, growing prosperous with the growth of her prosperity, and always, to the last, the pride and ornament of that city. Though not without a deep interest in the progress of public affairs, he abstained from seeking any active share in them. He seems to have thus abstained, partly from native modesty, partly from a preference for a more quiet and domestic life, and very much, no doubt, from a sentiment, which was with him a controlling principle, that under our government political offices are to be accepted, not sought. In 1816, however, he was, in his absence from home and without his knowledge, again chosen a member of the House of Delegates. When he was already preparing to retire altogether from the bar, and to give up the public service in every way, — he had always contemplated such a

retirement at an early period of his life, — he was elected, in 1824, to the Senate of the United States. Having resigned his seat in the Senate in 1833, he was almost immediately chosen Governor of Virginia. He resigned this office also before the close of his term. In 1829 he represented the District of Norfolk in the Convention which revised the first Constitution of Virginia. The brilliancy of his eloquence and the overpowering force of his logic, as exhibited both in the Senate-chamber and in the Convention, are yet fresh in the memory of his countrymen. In those high places he stood, as at least their equal, among the noblest spirits of his own State, and of the whole country; in genius, learning, political foresight, and eloquence, side by side with Monroe, Leigh, Mercer, and Doddridge in the one, and with Barbour, Hayne, Clay, and Webster in the other, not less than the peer of the best and greatest of them all.

Notwithstanding these public honors, and the public claims on his services, he seems to have disliked the whole business of politics, and always, when he could escape from the demands of his fellow-citizens, to have been far happier in the enjoyment of domestic repose, and the more quiet duties of his profession. And perhaps the bar was his more appropriate sphere. He loved the study of the law; his best efforts as an orator were made in behalf of his clients; and his reputation as a lawyer was not less eminent, or less prized by him, than that which he gained as a statesman. His researches in legal science were carried far beyond those of most men who are called great lawyers; and in the presentation of his cases either to court or jury, he had hardly a rival in the range of his practice. It is a rare occurrence in the experience of any lawyer in this country to be consulted, as he was, at the same time, "by London merchants on the custom of London, and by the priests of Rome on the Canon Law." In private and domestic life he showed himself equally a great, and more conspicuously a good man; and when he went down to the grave, at the age of eighty-five, the universal mourning of those who knew him best amply attested his singular excellence.

The memoir by Mr. Grigsby, while it develops the character of Mr. Tazewell, and recounts the events of his life in a very attractive manner, derives an additional value and interest to us from the copious, and evidently faithful, sketches given us of the more distinguished associates and friends who flourished with him, and of the original characters who, by their wit or peculiarities of manner, in their day enlivened and amused the people of Norfolk. The portraitures are drawn with much skill and fine discrimination, and sometimes with a nice sense of the ludicrous. To the antiquary, and to all who are fond of

tracing the changes in manners and localities which time brings about, Mr. Grigsby's descriptions of the city of Norfolk, in the various periods and phases of its history, will prove highly gratifying. Were we disposed to find fault with a work which has given us so much pleasure, we might notice what seems to us, who look at these things from a distance, a tendency, certainly a very natural one, to exaggerate somewhat the proportions of the figures on his canvas, and, in one or two instances, a corresponding but slight tendency to grandiloquence. Yet, in the main, we commend it as almost a model for productions of its kind.

---

14. — *The Moravians in North Carolina. An Authentic History.* By Rev. Levin T. Reichel, of Salem, N. C. Salem: O. A. Keehln. 18mo. pp. 206.

This is a brief and simple statement of the leading facts in the history of a most interesting branch of the Christian Church. The men who have been most serviceable in planting and rearing the Unitas Fratrum in North Carolina are fitly commemorated in the relation of their deeds, but with no attempt at eulogy or especial commendation. Their growth from a feeble band of adventurers, who crossed the wilderness from Pennsylvania in 1752, to a large, well-organized, and prosperous community in 1852, their unwearying labors, their love of peace and good neighborhood, their patient hope, their earnest and steadfast adherence to their faith, are all told, with no aim at literary refinement, but with a simplicity and plainness that well befit the modest, humble character of the society.

---

15. — *Memoir of James, Marquis of Montrose, K.G., Captain-General of Scotland.* By James Grant. With Illustrations. London: George Routledge & Co. 12mo. pp. 396.

The author of this life of the famous Graham of Montrose is well known to the readers of works of fiction by a series of semi-historical books, the most of which are quite interesting as novels, and not without value as sketches of historical events. His practice in this species of composition must have been a fit training for the higher effort of delineating a career so picturesque and a character so chivalrous as those of Montrose. Yet his old habit of relying mainly on his imagination for the materials as well as for the coloring of his works, may justify some measure of distrust when he offers us a genuine biography,

and may call for an examination, more than usually critical, of his statements of fact and imputations of motive. The personage whom he brings before us is one of the most remarkable of modern times, singular even among eminent men of his own day for a rare combination of striking excellences; the times, too, in which he lived, were rich in events the most conspicuous and interesting in all recent history; and both furnish a theme that must at once test the abilities and reward the highest efforts of the genius that has been bold enough to select it.

The sketch of this hero and of his times which Mr. Grant has given us has hardly any higher merit than that of being a careful compilation of the materials which other writers had collected, put together with some regard to picturesque effect, and in the form of a minute narrative, with little attempt at a critical judgment of the facts, or any peculiar appreciation of character. The work shows little of that enthusiastic fondness for his subject, which carried Mark Napier through his successive volumes; and nothing of the quaint and simple-hearted earnestness that pervades the memoir by Wishart. Nor has Mr. Grant added anything of importance to what we knew of Montrose's personal history. Still, we are thankful to one who will present him to us in any new aspects, and revive the pleasant impressions that always accompany the remembrance of him. We may add, that in this volume we find more particular information in regard to the contemporaries of Montrose, who were prominent actors in the events of that day, than in the other sketches of his life; and that the value of it is somewhat enhanced by numerous pictorial representations of persons and places connected with his history.

---

16. — *Codex Alexandrinus.* Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Novum Testamentum Græce ex antiquissimo Codice Alexandrino a* C. G. Woide *olim descriptum ad Fidem istius Codicis denuo accuratius edidit* B. H. Cowper. London: Williams and Norgate, and D. Nutt. New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. xl., 505.

Many of our readers are aware that no manuscript of the New Testament exceeds the Alexandrian in critical importance. We are not certain that the portion of that manuscript (three of the four folios) containing the Old Testament and the Apocrypha has been sufficiently collated with other authorities to determine its value; but the remaining folio has been employed to the utmost extent to which it could be made available in all modern labors on the text of the New Testament.

In 1786 Woide published a fac-simile of it. The present edition has Woide's for its basis; but the text has been corrected by careful collation with the manuscript, as well as with the readings given from it by other critics. It might indeed seem, at first thought, that a new transcription of the original would have been the fairer method of procedure. But the manuscript was in a much better state in Woide's time than now, and in many cases where his readings are now doubtful, they may have been beyond doubt when his edition appeared. In not a few places the ink has become so pale, that they can be read only by "the aid of a lens and in a strong light." At the same time, the ferruginous matter in the ink has eaten a vast number of minute holes in the parchment, often converting it into a tissue like lace-work, and thus occasionally rendering a reading doubtful. This manuscript has divided the learned world into two parties as to the reading of 1 Timothy iii. 16. The question is whether its original reading was $\overline{\Theta\varsigma}$ [for Θεος] εφανερωθη or $\overline{\text{O}\varsigma}$ εφανερωθη (*God*, or *who* was manifested in the flesh). The former is the apparent reading now. But the line in the centre of the disputed letter, if it was really traced there, was traced with a slight touch, by a modern pen almost dry; yet it may be the retouching of a more ancient and faded similar line. On the other hand, the vellum is at this place very thin; a stroke coincident with that *sub lite* confessedly forms a part of a letter on the other side of the leaf, and it is by no means certain that it may not be this last which, seen through the leaf, makes the O seem to be Θ. Of course the controversy can never be satisfactorily settled; for with the increased age of the manuscript it is becoming more and more difficult to determine whether the stroke belongs on one side of the leaf or on both. Mr. Cowper's Introduction is well written, and contains a sketch of the history of the manuscript, and of the several hypotheses with reference to the time and place of its origin, with the reasons for them respectively. As to the accuracy with which the body of the work is executed, we, of course, have not the materials for forming an opinion.

---

17. — *Selections from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; for Families and Schools.* By the Rev. David Greene Haskins. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 401, 36.

Mr. Haskins has here undertaken a delicate and difficult work. The object of reading the Scriptures as a devotional service is of course attained, only when use is made of such portions as are intelligible and interesting to young persons and to those of a culture not far advanced.

There are numerous passages, instructive and edifying to a mature and thoroughly religious mind, which would be obscure, and therefore wearisome, to minds of a different class; and there are, again, many historical and ritual details, which form essential parts of the history of Divine revelation and thus of the materials for verifying it, which in themselves, and separately, have no religious value. At the same time, by judicious selection and omission, the greater part of the sacred record may be made directly available for religious instruction and impression; and almost every volume of excerpts that we have seen has erred on the side of omission, and has therefore been jejune and inadequate. Not so with the volume before us. It has evidently been a labor of love with the compiler, and, modest as it is in its pretensions, it can have been the result only of prolonged, deliberate, and reverent toil. This is evident alike in the construction of continuous narratives, the portions of which are separated in the Old Testament, and in the blending of the narratives of the synoptic Evangelists. We are prepared to give to this work our emphatic and unqualified recommendation.

The last thirty-six pages of the volume consist of "Prayers and Collects for Daily or Occasional Service in Families and Schools." These are in part original; in part selected from the Book of Common Prayer; and in part from Hannah More's "Book of Private Devotion." They are brief, simple, appropriate, and fervent; and where a compendious manual of devotion is desired, we know of none better than this.

---

18. — *Lyra Domestica.* Translated from the "Psaltery and Harp" of C. J. P. Spitta by Richard Massie. With additional Selections by Rev. F. D. Huntington, D. D. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 300.

Considerably less than a third part of this volume consists of the translations from the "Psaltery and Harp." Whether all the poems that Massie translated are given here or not, the Introduction leaves doubtful. "Most of these pieces appear unaltered," we are told, — but does this mean that all of them were printed, but some altered by the American editor, or that some few were omitted and the rest printed without change? However this may be, we are heartily thankful for what is given us. Spitta was a minister of the Lutheran Church in the kingdom of Hanover, for more than thirty years prior to his death, which occurred less than two years ago. Most of his hymns were set to music, and he used to sing them with his daughters in the

evening, "the harmony of the voices and the melody of the words being such, that crowds of people used to gather under his windows to listen." We are not surprised to learn this. Sweeter Christian lyrics have hardly ever been written; and their vivacity is as noteworthy as their sweetness. Like Charles Wesley's hymns, they represent the dynamics of devotion, — imagination, taste, the emotions, the affections, not passively recipient, but active, alert, earnest, jubilant in that communion with the Saviour which is the source of the highest spiritual experience. The remainder of the book is less a selection than a collection of religious poetry, some of the pieces rare, many of them familiar, and such as are found in almost every hymn-book. The compiler's pure taste is manifested negatively, in the exclusion of all poems of inferior merit; but we wish that he had spent more time upon the work, so as to mine with greater thoroughness some of the veins seldom resorted to, from which he has dug gems of wonderful brilliancy, and in which many more yet wait to see the light.

---

19. — *Hymns for Mothers and Children.* Compiled by the Author of "Daisy," "Violet," &c. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 287.

Much of the truest and sweetest of poetry comes within the range of this compilation, and we know not how to express with sufficient emphasis our sense of the delicate taste and loving sympathy manifested in it. There is not a poem in the volume which we would willingly have omitted. Our old favorites are there, and with them many that we have never seen before, of equal merit. Such a book is a choice gift and a rich blessing to every household into which it finds its way.

---

20. — *A Text-Book of the History of Doctrines.* By Dr. R. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. The Edinburgh Translation of C. W. Buch, revised with large Additions from the Fourth German Edition, and other Sources. By Henry B. Smith, D. D., Professor in Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. Vol. I. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. 8vo. pp. 478.

Hagenbach has among his contemporaries no superior in this department of theological learning; and his skill as an author is equal to his erudition. He has a masterly method. His work, in the trans-

parency of its arrangement and the succinctness of its statements, makes a very close approach to the precision and condensation of a series of tabular views. The history of the Church is divided into successive periods, — as the Age of Apologetics (A. D. 80 to 254), of Polemics (254 to 730), of Systematic Theology (730 to 1517). Each age, by divisions, subdivisions, and sections, is broken up into single topics of investigation; and each section names at the outset the leading authorities on its subject, then states in the fewest words possible the deductions drawn from those authorities, and closes with a series of illustrative notes, consisting chiefly of quotations and references. The work fills, in the apparatus for studying the history of Christian doctrine, very nearly the same place which is held unrivalled by Gieseler as to the general history of the Church; and it is no slight indebtedness under which Professor Smith has placed American theologians in giving them the two most available reference-books of their kind in editions which bear so numerous and ample tokens of his faithful editorial labor, — to say nothing here of the work peculiarly his own to which in the earlier pages of this number justice has been done by another pen.

In a history of doctrines we are concerned to know something of the author's dogmatic position, since, however candid he may be, his point of view and his antecedent opinions cannot but affect his estimate of rival authorities and conflicting statements. In this respect Hagenbach commands our confidence. He stands midway between the Tübingen school and the extreme wing of orthodoxy, — a position in which he is the most likely to be free from unconscious biases and from the perverting influences of party spirit; and, so far as we can judge, he seems to us eminently impartial, and mainly solicitous to present through a perfectly translucent medium the actual testimony of Christian antiquity.

---

21. — *The Pulpit of the American Revolution: or, The Political Sermons of the Period of* 1776. *With a Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations.* By JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A. M. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 537.

THE American pulpit bore a very large part in producing the state of opinion and feeling which prepared the way for the Revolution, and in sustaining the spirit of unfaltering patriotism during the conflict with the mother country. Especially the Congregational clergy of New England, with few and insignificant exceptions, were active and earnest champions of freedom, and many of them were not only defenders of the popular cause from the pulpit, but associates of our statesmen in

counsel and of our generals in the field. The volume before us is a unique and rich contribution to the history of that period. The Introduction is a history of the relations of the clergy to popular rights, from the days of Archbishop Laud to the close of the last century. Each of the sermons also has prefixed to it an historical preface, and is garnished with illustrative notes by the editor. Of the nine sermons here given, while all are able, strong, and earnest, the first and the last deserve especial comment. The first is Dr. Mayhew's sermon on "Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers," delivered on the anniversary of the "Martyrdom" of Charles I., in 1750. It is memorable as the first unequivocal utterance of revolutionary sentiments in New England, and as having led and shaped public opinion, instead of being the mere echo of prevailing sentiment. It is equally memorable for close and trenchant argument, drawing the sharp line between the use and the abuse of power, and between obedience to rightful authority and submission to usurped and arbitrary sway. It was a sermon which must either have convinced the hearers or banished the preacher. No one could have dared to give it utterance who had not a sublime confidence in the majesty and might of truth, and a prophetic prescience of its certain and speedy triumph.

The last sermon in the volume is Dr. Stiles's Election Sermon, preached at Hartford in 1783, and entitled "The United States elevated to Glory and Honor." It is in some respects the most remarkable sermon ever preached. One would think the sun must have gone down before it was ended; for it occupies one hundred and twenty pages in Mr. Thornton's volume. It is easier to specify the subjects it omits than those of which it treats. It is devoted mainly (though with numerous digressions) to a prospective view of our country's greatness; and the preacher assumes the position of a seer, and looks down through the vista of centuries, predicting not only all which we have yet attained, but the immeasurably higher glory which lies before us, if we can but weather the present fearful crisis, and recommence our career as a united people with the lessons of our dire experience to weld the compact now trembling toward dissolution. In the course of this sermon occurs the apostrophe to Washington, which has often been quoted as a specimen of grandiloquence, but which evidently flowed in an access of unfeigned fervor from the preacher's heart, flooding the barriers of pure taste and chaste rhetoric, which on no other theme would have been overpassed by so ripe a scholar and so grave a divine. We quote a portion of this wonderful rhapsody: —

"O Washington! how do I love thy name! How often have I adored and blessed thy God for forming thee the great ornament of human kind! Up-

held and protected by the Omnipotent, by the Lord of hosts, thou hast been sustained and carried through one of the most arduous and most important wars in all history. The world and posterity will with admiration contemplate thy deliberate, cool, and stable judgment, thy virtues, thy valor, and heroic achievements, as far surpassing those of a Cyrus, whom the world loved and adored. The sound of thy fame shall go out into all the earth, and extend to distant ages. Thou hast convinced the world of the beauty of virtue; for in thee this virtue shines with distinguished lustre. Those who would not recognize any beauty in virtue in the world beside, will yet reverence it in thee. There is a glory in thy disinterested benevolence which the greatest characters would purchase, if possible, at the expense of worlds, and which may excite indeed their emulation, but cannot be felt by the venal great, who think everything, even virtue and true glory, may be bought and sold, and trace out every action to motives terminating in self, —

'Find virtue local, all relation scorn;
See all in self, and but for self be born.'

But thou, O Washington! forgottest thyself when thou lovedst thy bleeding country. Not all the gold of Ophir, nor a world filled with rubies and diamonds, could effect or purchase the sublime and noble feelings of thine heart in the single self-moved act when thou renouncedst the rewards of generalship, and heroically tookest upon thyself the dangerous as well as arduous office of our generalissimo, and this at a solemn moment, when thou didst deliberately cast the die for the dubious, the very dubious alternative of a gibbet or a triumphal arch. But, beloved, enshielded, and blessed by the great Melchisedec, — the King of righteousness as well as peace, — thou hast triumphed gloriously. Such has been thy military wisdom in the struggles of this arduous conflict, — such the noble rectitude, amiableness, and mansuetude of thy character, — something is there so singularly glorious and venerable thrown by Heaven about thee, — that not only does thy country love thee, but our very enemies stop the madness of their fire in full volley, stop the illiberality of their slander at thy name, as if rebuked from Heaven with a 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my hero no harm!' Thy name is of sweeter perfume than Arabian spices in the gardens of Persia. A Baron de Steuben shall waft its fragrance to the monarch of Prussia; a Marquis de Lafayette shall waft it to a far greater monarch, and diffuse thy renown throughout Europe; listening angels shall catch the odor, waft it to heaven, and perfume the universe." — pp. 448, 449.

---

22. — *A Practical Illustration of "Woman's Right to Labor;" or, A Letter from* MARIE E. ZAKRZEWSKA, M. D., *late of Berlin, Prussia.* Edited by CAROLINE H. DALL, Author of "Woman's Right to Labor," "Historical Pictures Retouched," &c., &c. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 167.

WE regret the form in which this book has appeared. We have more than once expressed our high estimate of the worth of Mrs. Dall's

"Woman's Right to Labor"; but the very excellence of her book rendered a corroborative letter needless, and the title would give one reason to suppose this letter a mere appendix to a treatise in itself complete and satisfying. It is, in fact, an entirely independent document, and an intensely interesting autobiography. As such it ought to have been published, and as such we earnestly commend it to our readers. The author, in almost every particular, shows herself worthy of distinguished regard, and has reached the position of high and extended influence which she now holds by vigorous self-culture, fearless enterprise, and strenuous industry, against drawbacks and discouragements which would have driven many a strong man to despair. Her life has been fruitful in exciting incident, and is rich in instruction and encouragement to those, whether men or women, who are conscious of the capacity to excel, but whose way to success must be fought inch by inch against almost insurmountable obstacles. The story is told simply and unostentatiously, and the author commands, without claiming, the warm and hearty sympathy of her readers.

---

23. — *History of the United Netherlands: from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort. With a full View of the English-Dutch Struggle against Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spanish Armada.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL. D., D. C. L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Author of "The Rise of the Dutch Republic." Volumes I., II. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 8vo. pp. 532, 563.

THE valued contributor who reviewed Dr. Motley's former work gave us reason to hope for a full analysis of these volumes for our present issue; but unavoidable engagements have compelled him to delay the fulfilment of this promise, which will be redeemed in our July number. We will not anticipate him by any minute criticism. Yet it is due to the author — though we can say but little more — to say that he has fully met, we think transcended, the general expectation authorized by "The Rise of the Dutch Republic." His style seems to us less elaborately rhetorical, yet of a higher finish and more genuine beauty, than before. At the same time, the dramatic power, which constitutes one of his choice endowments as an historian, has grown by exercise, while it has been eminently favored by opportunity. Indeed, for vivid circumstantial narrative, and the life-like presentation of both primary and subordinate actors, the plan, no less than the scene of this work, is eminently adapted. We have here only half of the

history of a period of thirty-four years, and these two volumes cover a space of but five years. There is thus room for life-size portraits and minute description and characterization. It may suggest itself to our readers, that, if all history is to be written thus, the student would need the age of an antediluvian to make himself master of it. We reply, that the student learns more of man and of Providence from the thorough laying open of a single eventful period, in the way of which we have so admirable an example before us, than he could gather from a library full of what are called condensed and comprehensive histories, which bear the same relation to history proper that an index bears to the volume to which it is appended. Moreover, with the multitude and accessibleness of reference-books in our day, there is not the need that there was a half-century ago for committing to memory names, dates, military details, and the like; and the time that was wont to be given to this no longer useful labor may well be bestowed on histories worthy of the name.

---

24. — *The History of Cape Cod. The Annals of Barnstable County, including the District of Mashpee.* By FREDERICK FREEMAN. Vol. I. Boston: 1860. 8vo. pp. 803.

WHAT we have just said about the study of history applies with no little force to limitedly local histories like the one which we have now taken up. Nothing is wanting to the general usefulness of a town or county history, except a general interest in the place and its inhabitants. The minute insight which such a work gives us into motives and character, the detailed view of one of the laboratories for the formation of generals, statesmen, and scholars, the inspection of the separate elements thrown together into the caldron of revolution, with the progressive action of each on each, and of the fire on each and all, — these are profoundly instructive to him who would understand well his own species, or any one of its larger or smaller subdivisions. As we would have the student of geography commence with the description of his own native neighborhood, street, town, with the nearest rivers and mountains, and thence derive standards of measurement and estimate to be carried through all terrestrial spaces, so it would be well for the student of history to begin with his own birthplace, to learn how human nature has been developed, transmitted, and modified there, and to pass thence gradually to the affairs of nations and races. And we know not a better book to begin with than this; for though we are not all natives of Cape Cod, many of us are, and every

New-Englander feels a property in the Cape, both because it was almost the cradle — the *ante-cunabula* — of our colonial infancy, and because it has been the nurse of so many strong, honest, clear-minded, great-hearted men among the dwellers in all our principal towns and cities, and especially among our merchants and shipmasters. Mr. Freeman has done his work loyally, lovingly, and well. He shows us not Barnstable County alone, but that county as influenced by, and in its measure influencing, the State and the nation. He thus blends general with local history in the precise way and degree in which they are actually blended in the progress of events. He gives in their proper places brief biographies of the best and the most distinguished men, together with several well-engraved portraits. The history of the Mashpee Indians forms a separate chapter, and it is the most instructive chapter in the volume, — sadly so indeed; for it impresses us with the belief that, even without the national crimes which cast such deep shadows on the Indian history of the United States, irreversible laws, written in the very nature of the aborigines, preclude their civilization as a pure and unmixed race.

The volume closes with an index of subjects, and another of names. The second volume is to be devoted to the annals of the individual towns.

---

25. — *Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China. With Adventures among the Mountain Kirghis; and the Manjours, Manyargs, Toungous, Touzemts, Goldi, and Gelyaks; the Hunting and Pastoral Tribes.* By THOMAS WITLAM ATKINSON, F. G. S., F. R. G. S., Author of "Colonial and Western Siberia." With a Map and Numerous Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 448.

THE rising commercial importance of the regions here described attaches great interest and value to this work, which is worth none the less for Mr. Atkinson's appetency for "adventures." He has evidently omitted no opportunities of acquainting himself with all the forms of nature, animal life, and human society to which he could find access; and we have every reason to believe him a faithful historiographer of his own experiences. There is indeed a greater affluence of detail than all his readers require, as also a deficiency of such general views as many of them would gladly see presented; while we detect not a little of the egotism quite pardonable in the explorer of almost unknown regions. But these are matters of taste; while beyond question Mr.

Atkinson has given us a much larger amount of information concerning the countries he traversed than could be gathered from all other authorities.

---

26. — *The Elements of Logic: adapted to the Capacity of Younger Students, and designed for Academies and the Higher Classes of Common Schools.* By CHARLES K. TRUE, D. D. Revised Edition. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1861. 16mo. pp. 176.

THE first edition of this treatise appeared twenty years ago. We suppose that it has been used but little as a text-book; for it is too small and modest to win favor in colleges and schools of the higher grade, while the expediency of introducing logic into more elementary schools has scarcely been recognized, notwithstanding the profligate waste of time and brain on the far less comprehensible, practical, and useful science of grammar. We believe that, with a treatise as simple as Dr. True's, all college students might *understand* logic, and the higher classes of our academies and grammar schools be emboldened to study it; while the study of the treatises in ordinary use is now almost wholly confined to colleges, and the understanding of them to a small percentage of each class. We give this book, therefore, our cordial commendation. It is short and simple, not because it is shallow and superficial, but because the author has the mastery of his science, knows how it ought to be taught, perceives the utility of its study to all persons of intelligence and culture, and has adapted his presentation of it to this so desirable end.

---

27. — *Student Life: Letters and Recollections for a Young Friend.* By SAMUEL OSGOOD, Author of "Studies in Biography," "The Hearth-Stone," "Mile-Stones," &c. New York: James Miller. 1861. 12mo. pp. 164.

THIS volume is in part new, in part compiled from pre-existing materials, and its contents are of varying, though we cannot say unequal value. What interests us most is a series of seven letters actually addressed to a young friend now in the Freshman Class of Harvard University. They cover all the leading topics of fitting advice to a student, and they convey just such advice as every father would wish his son to have, and that too, not *ex cathedra*, but at once with the ease and *abandon* of a familiar talk and the elegance of carefully finished composition.

No student could take up these letters without reading them through, and we wish that they were printed separately, as, not half filling the volume, they would be likely to have twice the circulation of the whole. The author next gives us extracts from two of his own college orations, worthy in their moral tone of his present calling and years, and betraying his youth, not by immaturity of thought, but only by the studied euphuism which marks the facile pupil of the rhetorical professor. Next we have Dr. Osgood's genial Address at the meeting of his class twenty-five years after graduating, followed by Rev. Charles T. Brooks's Poem on the same occasion, of which Dr. Osgood says without exaggeration: "If the bulk of the book were but earth, this rose, like that of Saadi's Gulistan, would be enough to sweeten the whole lump." An essay on "The Use of Time," and a letter on "Study in the Country," — excellent in themselves, but, unlike the rest of the book, destitute of any direct pertinency to college life, — conclude the volume.

---

28. — *Elsie Venner; a Romance of Destiny.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes, Author of "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," etc. In two Volumes. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 16mo. pp. 288, 312.

Who has not read Elsie Venner, as far at least as the story has appeared in the Atlantic Monthly? It is superfluous for us to write a word about its perfect characterization, its unsurpassed traits of wit and veins of humor, and its gushes of such tenderness and pathos as show that the author sympathizes with his *dramatis personæ* as heartily as if they were of his own household. Beneath all this, as Dr. Holmes hints in his Preface, and as we had previously inferred from the tale, lay the purpose of presenting, hypothetically and tentatively, a theory with regard to the potency of certain ante-natal physical influences to whose mysterious working Elsie lives and dies a victim. But over all and above all, the book has a value almost unapproached in its giving us a wise physician's views as to certain physico-moral and physico-religious states, phenomena, and questions, the discussion of which is usually abandoned to the moralist or the divine, but as to which the medical adviser often has by far the best opportunities of observation and materials for judgment. In the formulas which represent human condition and character there are both constants and variables. The teacher of ethics or religion never forgets the constants, but is very apt to ignore the variables, and the more so in the proportion in which they would affect the final result. Thus he dwells with never-ceasing

emphasis, as he ought, on such cardinal facts in the administration of the moral universe as obligation, accountability, retribution; but he is prone to be insensible to the numerous cases in which, without absolute insanity, obligation is weakened, accountability attenuated, and the descending scale of retribution equipoised. All these abnormal cases the philosophical physician appreciates; and he gathers, in his professional walks, many arguments for merciful and kind construction on the part of man, and many hopeful thoughts as to the Divine pity and clemency, which the moralist might admit without reversing a single ethical dogma, and the divine without relaxing the rigidness of his creed. It is for this kindly and genial *calculus of the variables* in human experience that we most of all thank "The Professor," and not only for services of this sort just rendered, but for like offices of mercy in the earlier series of his papers for the Atlantic Monthly.

---

29. — *What we eat: an Account of the most common Adulterations of Food and Drink. With some Tests by which many of them may be detected.* By THOMAS H. HOSKINS, M. D. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1861. 16mo. pp. 218.

IF this book has not the keenness and pungency of the articles on the same subject in the London Lancet, it has the still higher merit of accurately guarded and abundantly verified statement, and manifestly that also of a sincerely philanthropic purpose. The author makes an unsparing and detailed exhibition of the frauds ordinarily practised on the chief commodities of table use, and describes the methods by which they may be detected. A large portion of the volume is devoted to milk, to the history and developments of the milk-controversy in the city of New York, and to the construction and use of the lactometer. We trust that the book will have a sufficient circulation to concentrate an array of watchful eyes upon a class of poisoners, who may, in former years, have had the plea of ignorance, but who can no longer ply their foul trades without incurring a very decided taint of the guilt of murder.

---

30. — *Ancient Danish Ballads translated from the Originals.* By R. C. ALEXANDER PRIOR, M. D. In three Volumes. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860. 8vo. pp. ix., 400, 468, 500.

THESE ballads are chronicles of the mythical heroic age of Northern Europe, and are faithful exponents of that age, in its superstitions, its

domestic manners, its social ethics, and its customs of combat and warfare. They are all of them narrative in form, and the same heroes and heroines often recur, nay, the same stories, in different versions. They are spirited, dramatic, and full of stirring incident. We have read no collection of ballads so constantly exciting and so little wearisome. The translator divides them into Hero Ballads, Legendary Ballads, Historical Ballads, and Ballads of Romance. The able and learned Introduction contains a sketch of their literary history, an analysis of their metrical form, and a *résumé* of the national traits which they develop. To the student of mediæval literature they are a rich repertory, while they contain much that will delight and fascinate every reader of cultivated taste.

---

31. — *Gleanings.* By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Hartford: Brown and Gross. 1860. 12mo. pp. 264.

These are gleanings among the sheaves. They are chiefly poems of devotion, of the affections, and of domestic life, — the range within which Mrs. Sigourney has confined herself, and in which she has long enriched many hearts by the wealth of her own. Hers is pre-eminently a heart-inspiration, and she charms, not by a widely excursive fancy, bold imagery, or brilliant versification, but by truth to her own nature, and that a nature in harmony with all that is beautiful and all that is pure. In the literature of sensation she has no place, and she is therefore, we suppose, less read now than when in the immaturity of her genius she less deserved to be read. But those who seek in poetry not that which will stir the leaping pulses, but that which will soothe, hallow, and gladden, cannot fail to read her poems with delight, and will thank her for this latest — not, we trust, last — bundle of harvest sheaves.

---

32. — *Mount Auburn: its Scenes, its Beauties, and its Lessons.* By Wilson Flagg, Author of "Studies in the Field and Forest." Boston and Cambridge: Munroe & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 371.

So far as Mount Auburn is concerned, this volume contains twenty-five reasonably good engravings of monuments and groups of scenery, with a page of description facing each. The body of the work is a literary *mélange* on death, sepulture, sorrow, immortality, and kindred themes. The extracts, both in prose and verse, are from the best writers, and many of them have earned their place in such a collection

by the benign mission on which they have been often charged to the afflicted. But we are most of all interested in the editor's own contributions to the work. Mr. Flagg has by no means won the consideration which he merits as an author. We have not an essay-writer in the country who excels him, hardly any who equal him in the delineation of nature, — rural, floral, animated, — or of the sentiments akin to and nourished by the love of nature. His style is equally simple and pure; he is original without striving to appear so; he sees objects for himself, and through the medium supplied by his own tastes, habitudes, and culture; and he writes like a man with whom composition is heart-work no less than pen-work. At a time when literature was sought not for its stimulating, but for its nutritive qualities, such writings as his would have been choicely prized; and we cannot but think that even now there is a smaller and better public, that would only need to know him in order to appreciate him as we do.

---

33. — *Solomon's Song: Translated and Explained, in Three Parts.* I. *The Manuduction.* II. *The Version.* III. *The Supplement.* By LEONARD WITHINGTON, Senior Pastor of the First Church in Newbury, Mass. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 329.

SOME writers of genius and ability are limited by the subjects they treat, and their success is contingent on the felicity with which a subject is chosen by them or for them; while with others it makes no manner of difference what they profess to be writing about, the nominal theme of discourse or song being merely a thread around which whatever the mind holds in solution will promptly crystallize. Of this last class of writers we find a well-known type in Berkeley, whose essay "Concerning the Virtues of Tar Water" discusses not a few of the profoundest problems of spiritual philosophy, and rises to sublime heights of airy speculation. To take a more recent instance, who cares what title is prefixed to one of De Quincey's papers? The veriest trifle, equally with the gravest topics, starts in him the steady, limpid flow of learning, wit, and wisdom. We will not liken Dr. Withington either to Berkeley or to De Quincey, though we have named them simply because we were often reminded of both while turning over the leaves of the book we are now noticing. We feel no peculiar interest in Solomon's Song; we do not agree with Dr. Withington as to its sacred character; and we can account for its being found in the Jewish canon without ascribing to its author the Divine inspiration whose working

we rejoice to recognize in Moses and the Prophets. But while this book has made no impression on our anterior belief, we hold it none the less worthy to be read and studied. The special arguments for the author's view of Canticles occupy but a brief space; they are clearly defined and succinctly stated; and they do ample justice to their side of the questions under dispute. But it is in the collateral and subsidiary matter brought together from Oriental, sacred, classical, and modern literature, from philology and biblical criticism, and, above all, from the writer's own vast wealth of thought, sentiment, humor, observation, reflection, philosophy, devotion, that the surpassing charm of the book resides. It is the harvesting of a life-time's ripened fruits, — a work displaying masterly critical and exegetical scholarship, yet to which no mere scholar would have been adequate; manifesting a wonderfully wide range of general reading and literature, yet which the widest culture would not have enabled one to write; fraught with keen and subtile reasoning, yet entirely above the scope of ordinary logomachy. It needed the mellow old age of the earnest and loving Christian, the special experiences, too, of an honored and happy pastorate, to impart precisely the flavor that we detect in every section and paragraph of the volume. It is a book which constitutes a class by itself, and unless Dr. Withington adds another to it, it will remain alone of its class. But while no one else could have written it, he himself could not have written it ten years ago. There are many of its pages which could have come only from one who has reached those beautiful Sabbath years with which Providence sometimes rounds off the busy, toilsome life of an eminently good man, — years not of decline, but of culmination.

We received this work in sheets after all our previous notices were in type, and, though we have found time to read large portions of it, and to examine the whole, we have neither leisure nor room for the analysis of it which we else should gladly offer, and which we may find some future opportunity of presenting. But there is one suggestion which we would earnestly make to Dr. Withington, and especially to those friends of his who may prevail against the over-modest estimate which he has always placed upon his own writings. He has been an author for forty years or more. In that time he has published, in various departments of literature, theology, and practical religion many papers full of thoughts peculiarly his own, and many more in which he has made such use as no one else could of the materials which his varied and thorough scholarship has placed at his command. We remember, among his early publications, two volumes of Essays entitled "The Puritan," which contained some specimens of wonderfully vivid

characterization, and some pre-eminently touching and edifying presentations of religious truth. Since we read in one of those volumes "The Bird's-Nest in the Moon," at least thirty years ago, there has not been a day during which it has not recurred to our thoughts, and our whole life has been made happier, we trust better, by its lessons. We have been told that, for reasons applicable only to a small portion of these papers, the author suppressed what remained on sale of the edition many years ago, and that there is now hardly a copy to be found. Now what we suggest is, that Dr. Withington's friends insist, with a pertinacity which will not be refused, that he prepare for the press a volume of his miscellaneous writings. There is no man among us who could furnish a richer volume, and there are many of his papers which should not be suffered to pass out of knowledge.

---

34. — *Preparatory Latin Prose-Book; containing all the Latin Prose necessary for entering College. With References to Kühner's and Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammars, Notes, Critical and Explanatory, a Vocabulary, and a Geographical and Historical Index.* By. J. H. Hanson, A. M., Principal of the High School for Boys, Portland, Me. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 762.

There is a slight mistake in the title of this book. The study of "all the Latin prose" required by the Faculty of any particular college is properly regarded as "necessary for entering" that college. Mr. Hanson has not conformed his book to the requirements of any one college; but he gives what in his judgment is a sufficient amount and a judicious course of preparatory reading. The volume contains a series of short excerpts from Cicero, four Books of Cæsar's Commentaries, Sallust's Catiline, six of Cicero's Orations, and thirty-five of his Epistles, — a very admirable selection, but hardly equivalent to what is demanded of a candidate for admission to our best colleges. We like Mr. Hanson's Notes. They are sufficiently few in number, and yet numerous enough for the needs of a diligent student, and they are concise, well-worded, and always intelligible to a boy of ordinary capacity. In these notes the author omits no opportunity of elucidating the difference of signification between nearly synonymous words. Many annotations of this class are accredited to Döderlein. We thank Mr. Hanson especially for his services in this matter. The distinction in meaning between Latin words that will *bear* to be rendered by the same English word, if not recognized at an early stage of education, gets a subsequent

place in the memory only with difficulty, and very precariously; and a large part of the pleasure and profit derived from the Latin classics depends on the capacity of discerning and enjoying the shades of significance expressed by words which an ordinary teacher permits his pupil to regard as identical in sense. Every scholar knows that Cicero's arguments often turn on such distinctions, and in his ethical writings they are frequently the key to a much profounder meaning than would suggest itself to a superficial reader.

If it is best that a miniature Lexicon and Classical Dictionary should be appended to a work of this grade, these appendages are well provided by Mr. Hanson. But we prefer that the pupil before entering college should acquire facility and skill in handling and consulting such dictionaries as he must use in college. It must be remembered that an intelligent and quick-eyed boy is constantly gleaning, together with the information for which he resorts to a vocabulary of any kind, items of collateral and kindred knowledge from the pages which he is obliged to consult.

---

35. — *Struggle for Life.* By the Author of "Seven Stormy Sundays," "The Queen of the Red Chessmen," etc. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 311.

A STORY without a moral, but full of the choicest moralities; without an aim, but serving the best ends of story-writing; without heroes and heroines, yet with a rare assortment of finely-painted characters; without *dénouement* in express form, yet developed naturally and beautifully. We can hardly discern the appropriateness of the title; we certainly were not once reminded of it in reading the book; yet it would be impossible to suggest a better title. We can best characterize the story by saying that it is a sketch of just such a series of incidents as *might* occur in some two or three neighboring families in a series of years, so told that every character is naturally described and developed, and every scene suggests wholesome thought and inspires kindly feeling. We have seldom been better pleased, yet can hardly tell why. It has been with us in reading, as when we have looked on some group of natural scenery, in which there was no one striking object or salient point, yet the combination was so perfect as to reflect its aggregate beauty on every separate member.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

An Anniversary Sermon, preached at Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., on the Sunday before Advent, November 25, 1860. By the Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D. D., Rector. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth. 1861.

"The Preservation of the States United." A Discourse delivered in Harvard Church, Charlestown, on Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1860. By George E. Ellis. Charlestown: Abram E. Cutler. 1860.

Professional Training as an Element of Success and Conservative Influence. A Lecture before the Members of the Harvard Law School, at the Close of the Term, January 11, 1861. By Emory Washburn, LL. D., University Professor of Law. Boston. 1861.

The Evening and the Morning; or, Evil followed by Good. By E. N. Kirk, D. D. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861.

Tracts. No. 1. The Bible against Oppression. — 2. The Inquirer Directed. — 3. The Conversion of a Lawyer. — 4. Slavery and the Bible. By Rev. Enoch Pond, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me. — 5. Are you at Work? — 6. Are you Insured? — 7. The Daily Life. By Rev. Dr. Cuming. — 8. So many Calls. — 9. Noah's Carpenters. — 10. "Let go that Stern-Line." — 11. The Art of Dying and Living again. [Letter from a clergyman to his sister, written in the year 1796.] — 12. Katy Ferguson; or What a Poor Colored Woman may do. — 13. The Lord and the Little Ones. — 14. Building Jerusalem. — 15. Look and Live. — 16. Only Believe. — 17. A Corpse in a Ball-Dress. — 18. The Missionary's Parents. — 19. Effectual Prayer. Twenty Hints for those who wish to pray, to love Prayer, and to abound therein. — 20. How shall I read the Bible? — 21. Fast Asleep. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 22. Are there Few that be saved? By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 23. I invite you! By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 24. The Power of the Holy Spirit. — 25. Justification by Christ. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 26. Hast thou Faith? By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 27. A Christian! By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 28. Are you born again? By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 29. Faith and Assurance. — 30. Come and Rest. — 31. Backsliders. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 32. Death. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 33. Death-Bed Evidences. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 34. Heaven. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 35. Everlasting Punishment. By Rev. J. C. Ryle. — 36. "I am a Poor Sinner." — 37. Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ. By John Bunyan. — 38. Prayer for the Oppressed. A Premium Tract. By Rev. James A. Thorne, Cleveland, Ohio. — 39. Do you want a Friend? — 40. How would you like it yourself? A Conversation between C., a Layman, and P., a Slaveholding Clergyman. — 41. Family Worship. From "Nevins's Practical Thoughts." — 42. The Family and Slavery; showing the Influence of Slavery

on the Domestic Relations. By a Native of the Southwest. — 43. The Pemberton Mill. — 44. The Wrong Train. — 45. Is Slavery sanctioned by the Bible? A Premium Tract. By Isaac Allen, Oberlin, Ohio. — 46. The Twofold Promise. — 47. There is no Cloud. — 48. Where are you going? — 49. Immanuel's Land. — 50. A Working Church. — 51. The Swearer's Prayer; or his Oath explained. — 52. The Middling Man. — 53. Come and Drink. — 54. How it was blotted out. — 55. A Sailor's Conversion. — 56. The Model Prayer-Meeting. By Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler. — 57. Counsels for Young Disciples. — 58. To an absent Church-Member. — 59. The Funeral of the Soul. — 60. Prayerless Prayers. By Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler. — 61. Are you Ready? — 62. I'm too Young. — 63. The Little Coat. — 64. Business and Religion. Boston: American Tract Society.

Sixteen Missionary Tracts for Children. Each Tract illustrated by an Engraving. No. 1. Heathen Idols. — 2. How the Heathen pray. — 3. Little Gleaners. — 4. Mekhiel, the Persian Boy. — 5. Moung-Moung, the Burman Boy. — 6. Shunkuru Lingam, the Hindu Boy. — 7. A School in India. — 8. Shesh, the Brahmin Boy. — 9. Ripe Fruit from Heathen Lands. — 10. Little Mickey, the Australian Boy. — 11. Leaves upon the River. — 12. Abbe Gunga, the African Boy. — 13. Lying Charts. — 14. A House built on the Sand. — 15. Akatongi, the Island Boy. — 16. Old Shusco. Boston: American Tract Society.

Small Tracts. No. 1. Old Betty. — 2. A Lesson on Trust in God. — 3. Happy Nancy's Secret; or, Confidence in God. — 4. "It's only a little while, Sir." — 5. "Son, Remember." — 6. The Life of Faith; exemplified and recommended in a Letter found in the Study of Rev. Joseph Belcher, of Dedham, New England, as an Answer to the Question, "How to live in this World so as to live in Heaven?" — 7. How to begin to be a Christian? — 8. A Word fitly Spoken. Boston: American Tract Society.

Fifth Baillie Prize Essay. The Early Christian Anticipation of an Approaching End of the World, and its Bearing upon the Character of Christianity as a Divine Revelation, including an Investigation into the Primitive Meaning of the Antichrist and Man of Sin; and an Examination of the Argument of the Fifteenth Chapter of Gibbon. By Sara S. Hennell. London: George Manwaring. 1860. pp. 118.

The Pulpit and the Rostrum. Sermons, Orations, Popular Lectures, &c. Nos. 17 and 18. Reply to Hayne; a Speech by Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, January 26th, 1830. New York: H. H. Lloyd & Co. 1861.

Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible. Part 22. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Cassell's Popular Natural History. Part 21. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. Parts 23, 24. New York: D. Appleton & Co. pp. 577 – 704.

The Church Monthly. Editors, Rev. George M. Randall, D. D., Rev. F. D.

Huntington, D. D. Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2. January and February, 1861. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 4to. pp. 32, 32.

The Boston Review. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1861. Boston: John M. Whittemore & Co. 8vo. pp. 96.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1861. Volume XXXII. Fourth Series, Volume II. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 419.

Library of Select Novels. No. 216. One of Them. By Charles Lever, Author of "Charles O'Malley," "Gerald Fitzgerald," "The Dodd Family Abroad," "Maurice Tiernay," &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. pp. 187.

Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College, 1859–60. Cambridge. 1861.

Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College appointed to visit the Library for the Year 1860. Submitted January 31, 1861. Boston. 1861.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the Annual Meeting, held in Worcester, October 22, 1860. Boston. 1860.

Reports of the Trustees and Superintendent of the Butler Hospital for the Insane, presented to the Corporation at their Annual Meeting, January 23, 1861. Providence. 1861.

The Sixteenth Annual Report of the Minister at Large in Lowell, to the Lowell Missionary Society. Lowell. 1861.

Proceedings in the West Church on Occasion of the Decease of Charles Lowell, D. D., its Senior Pastor. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861.

The Value and the Fallacy of Statistics in the Observation of Disease. By David W. Cheever, M. D. Boylston Prize Essay for 1860. Boston. 1861.

Sixth Annual Report of the London Diocesan Church Building Society, and Metropolis Churches Fund, instituted to promote the Building, Enlargement, and Endowment of Churches, (good Accommodation for the poorer Classes being a primary Object,) the Purchase of Sites, the Erection of Parsonage Houses, and the Employment of Missionary Curates in Destitute Districts, in the Diocese of London, (from 1st May, 1859, to 1st May, 1860.) London. 1860.

Unitarian Home Mission. Organized January 31, 1861. New Orleans. 1861.

Catalogue Raisonné of Curious Manuscripts, Early Printed and other Rare Books; composing Part of the Library of Mr. A. A. Smets. Savannah: John M. Cooper & Co. 1861.

Catalogue of the Corporation, Officers, and Cadets of the Norwich University, for the Academical Year 1859–60. July. Norwich. 1860.

The South: a Letter from a Friend in the North. With Special Reference to the Effects of Disunion upon Slavery. Philadelphia. 1860.

Our Republic, a Brotherhood. A Discourse delivered in St. John's Church, Delhi, N. Y., on the National Fast Day, January 4th, 1861, by the Rev. A. D. Benedict, Rector of the Church. Delhi. 1861.

1860 Association. Tract No. 2. State Sovereignty and the Doctrine of

Coercion, by the Hon. Wm. D. Porter; together with a Letter from Hon. J. K. Paulding, former Secretary of the Navy. The Right to Secede by "States." Charleston. 1860.

Hear the South! The State of the Country: an Article republished from the Southern Presbyterian Review. By J. H. Thornwell, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Columbia, S. C. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

Letter on the Present Crisis, addressed to Hon. Gilman Marston, Member of Congress from New Hampshire, by Nathaniel G. Upham, February 20, 1861. Concord. 1861.

A Discourse addressed to the First Presbyterian Congregation in Elizabeth, N. J., February 10, 1861, the Sunday Morning immediately succeeding the Death of the Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., their Pastor. By William B. Sprague, D. D., Minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation in Albany. Albany. 1861.

Prayer for Colleges. A Premium Essay. Written for "The Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West." By Rev. W. S. Tyler, D. D., Professor of Greek in Amherst College. A New and Enlarged Edition. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861. 12mo. pp. 260.

The General Series of Tracts published by the American Tract Society. Vol. I. Boston. 1861.

The Transplanted Shamrock; or, The Way to win an Irish Heart. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861. 16mo. pp. 152.

Stories about the Heathen and their Children. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861.

The Golden Rule and its Fruits. By Mrs. M. F. Goodwin. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861. 16mo. pp. 64.

Cain and Patsy; the Gospel preached to the Poor. A Story of Slave Life. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861. pp. 41.

The Christian Minister's Affectionate Advice to a Married Couple. By Rev. James Bean, A. M. Including a Letter from the Rev. Henry Venn, A. M., with Select Poems. Boston: American Tract Society. 1861. 16mo. pp. 128.

Christian Nurture. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. 12mo. pp. 407.

The Gospel according to Matthew. Explained by Joseph Addison Alexander. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. 12mo. pp. 456.

Thoughts on Preaching, being Contributions to Homiletics, by James W. Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. 12mo. pp. 514.

Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History. By Joseph Addison Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. 12mo. pp. 319.

The Character of Jesus, forbidding his possible Classification with Men. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. 16mo. pp. 173.

The Life of Trust: being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller, written by himself. Edited and condensed by Rev. H. Lincoln Way-

land, Pastor of the Third Baptist Church, Worcester, Mass. With an Introduction by Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1861. 12mo. pp. 476.

Evenings with the Doctrines. By Nehemiah Adams, D. D., Author of "Friends of Christ," "Christ a Friend," "Communion Sabbath," etc., etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1861. 12mo. pp. 415.

Intercessory Prayer, its Duties and Effects. By G. W. Mylne. From the seventh English Edition. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 160.

Lessons on the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. By a Churchman. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 298.

Twelve Discourses. By Henry Martyn Dexter. Boston. 1860. 12mo. pp. 219.

Notes on Scripture. By Joel Jones, LL. D. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien. 1861. 8vo. pp. 584.

Human Destiny. A Critique on Universalism. By C. F. Hudson, Author of "Debt and Grace, as related to the Doctrine of a Future Life." Boston and Cambridge: Munroe & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 147.

The Genesis of the Earth and of Man: or, The History of Creation, and the Antiquity and Races of Mankind, considered on Biblical and other Grounds. Edited by Reginald Stuart Poole, M. R. S. L. etc., of the British Museum. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1860. 16mo. pp. 297.

Patty Williams's Voyage. A Story almost wholly true. By A. M. W. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 104.

Nobody's Child, and Other Stories. Selected by the Author of "Noisy Herbert," "Our Summer Hours," etc. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 111.

Juthoo and his Sunday School: or, Child Life in India. By a Native Brahmin. With an Appendix of "Short Stories." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 104.

Sunny-Eyed Tim, the Observant Little Boy: a Tissue of True Incidents and Incidental Truths. By the Author of "Faith and Patience, a Story — and something more — for Boys." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 102.

Theda and the Mountain. By H. W. P., Author of "The Little Graves," etc. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 105.

The Little Princess Narina, and her Silver-Feathered Shoes. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 88.

Pictures and Flowers for Child-Lovers. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 24mo. pp. 211.

The Children's Picture Fable-Book, containing One Hundred and Sixty Fables. With Sixty Illustrations by Harrison Weir. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 16mo. pp. 280.

The Children's Picture-Book of Birds. Illustrated with Sixty-one Engravings by W. Harvey. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 16mo. pp. 276.

The Children's Bible Picture-Book. Illustrated with Eighty Engravings. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 16mo. pp. 321.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. Up the River. By Jacob Abbott. New York; Harper and Brothers. 1861. 16mo. pp. 192.

American History. By Jacob Abbott. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Engravings. Vol. III. The Southern Colonies. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 286.

The Children's Picture-Book of Quadrupeds, and other Mammalia. Illustrated with Sixty-one Engravings by W. Harvey. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 16mo. pp. 276.

Bruin: The Grand Bear-Hunt. By Captain Mayne Reid, Author of "The Boy Hunters," "The Young Voyageurs," "Odd People," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 24mo. pp. 371.

The Printer-Boy; or, How Ben Franklin made his Mark. An Example for Youth. By William M. Thayer, Author of "The Bobbin Boy," "Tales from the Bible," etc. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1861. 24mo. pp. 261.

Kormak, an Icelandic Romance of the Tenth Century. In Six Cantos. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 118.

Christian Songs, Translations, and Other Poems. By the Rev. James Gilborne Lyons, LL. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1861. 16mo. pp. 157.

Hymns of the Ages. Second Series. Being Selections from Wither, Crashaw, Southwell, Habington, and other Sources. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. 8vo. pp. 336.

Moral and Religious Quotations from the Poets, topically arranged, comprising Choice Selections from six hundred Authors. Compiled by Rev. William Rice, A. M. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1861. 8vo. pp. 338.

The Original Copyright Edition of the Popular Song, Tobacco! Symphonies, Accompaniments, Chorus, &c. By Professor Clare. London: Simpson. 1860.

A Hundred Years Hence! New Ballad. London: Simpson. 1860.

Professor Clare's Editions of the Songs sung by the Colored Opera Troupe. Poor Jumbo is Dead! London: Simpson. 1860.

Marion Graham; or, "Higher than Happiness." By Meta Lander, Author of "Light on the Dark River," "The Broken Bud," etc. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 506.

The Two Admirals. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 576.

The Deerslayer; or, The First War-Path. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 597.

Mercedes of Castile; or, The Voyage to Cathay. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 530.

Coins, Medals, and Seals, Ancient and Modern, illustrated and described; with a Sketch of the History of Coins and Coinage, Instructions for young

Collectors, Tables of Comparative Rarity, Price-Lists of English and American Coins, Medals, and Tokens, &c., &c. Edited by W. C. Prime, Author of "Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia," "Tent-Life in the Holy Land," &c., &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 8vo. pp. 292. Plates 114.

The Romance of Natural History. By Philip Henry Gosse, F. R. S., Author of "Aquarium," "History of the Jews," "Rivers of the Bible," "Natural History of Birds, Mammals, Reptiles," "The Ocean," "Popular British Ornithology," etc., etc. With Elegant Illustrations. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1861. 16mo. pp. 372.

The Monarchies of Continental Europe. — Italy, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day. By John S. C. Abbott. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 587.

Steam for the Million. A Popular Treatise on Steam, and its Application to the Useful Arts, especially to Navigation. Intended as an Instructor for Young Seamen, Mechanics' Apprentices, Academic Students, Passengers in Mail Steamers, etc. By J. H. Ward, Commander, U. S. N., Author of "Naval Tactics," etc., etc. A New and Revised Edition. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1860. 8vo. pp. 120.

Notes on Screw Propulsion; its Rise and Progress. By W. M. Walker, Commander, U. S. N. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1861. 8vo. pp. 51.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1861. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1860; a List of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M., Author of "Principles of Natural Philosophy," "Principles of Chemistry," "Science of Common Things," etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1861. 12mo. pp. 424.

The New American Cyclopædia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Volume XI. Macgillivray – Moxa. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 8vo. pp. 788.

Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the Official Reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of "The Thirty Years' View." Volume XV. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. 8vo. pp. 676.

The Merchants' and Bankers' Almanac for 1861. New York: J. Smith Homans, Jr. 1861. 8vo. pp. 200.

Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the Progress of the Survey during the Year 1859. Washington. 1860. 4to. pp. 371. Sketches and Diagrams, 39.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year 1859. Washington. 1860. 8vo. pp. 448.

The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. Collected and Edited by James

Spedding, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge; Robert Leslie Ellis, M. A. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Douglas Denon Heath, Barrister-at-Law, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vols. XIII., XIV., and XV., being Vols. III., IV., and V. of the Literary and Professional Works. Boston: Brown and Taggard. 1860–61. Small 8vo. pp. 418, 432, 449.

The Life and Times of Philip Schuyler. Volume I. By Benson J. Lossing. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 504.

Euripides ex recensione Frederici A. Paley. Accessit Verborum et Nominum Index. Vols. II. and III. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 16mo. pp. 292, 304.

Herodotus. Recensuit Josephus Williams Blakesley, S. T. B., Coll. SS. Trin. apud Cantab. quondam Socius. In 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 362, 364.

The Odyssey of Homer, with the Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. Literally Translated, with Explanatory Notes, by Theodore Alois Buckley, B. A., of Christ Church. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1861. 12mo. pp. 432.

The Duties of Human Life; translated from a Sanscrit Manuscript, written by an Ancient Brahmin. Edited by Joshua Perkins. New York: James Miller. 1861. 12mo. pp. 128.

Correspondence of Fräulein Günderode and Bettine Von Arnim. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1861. 16mo. pp. 344.

Optimism the Lesson of Ages. A Compendium of Democratic Theology, designed to illustrate Necessities whereby all Things are as they are, and to reconcile the Discontents of Men with the perfect Love and Power of ever-present God. Written by Benjamin Blood. Boston: Bela Marsh. 1860. 12mo. pp. 132.

Notes on the Despatch of Troops by Sea. By Charles J. Kirwan, Esq., L. R. C. S. I., formerly Demonstrator of Anatomy, &c., &c., &c., Assistant Surgeon, H. M. 13th (Prince Albert's) Light Infantry. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, & Co. 1859.

INDEX

TO THE

NINETY-SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

North-American Review.

About, Edmond, his King of the Mountains, noticed, 283 — his misrepresentations, 284 — their motive, 285 — character of the translation, 286 — his *Rome Contemporaine*, noticed, 287.

Africa, Eastern, Explorations in, article on, 326 — literature of the Abessinians, 328 — their theological doctrines, 329 — peculiarities of the Gallas and other neighboring tribes, 330 — description of the Wakamba, 331 — the Wakuafi and Masai, 332 — the Wanika, 333 — Rebmann's journeys to the Jagga country, *ib.* — Dr. Krapf's journeys to the province of Usambara, 335 — tribes on the coast between Mombaz and Cape Delgado, 336 — resources and products of Wanika land, 337 — Dr. Krapf's sketch of East African history, 338 — extent of the territory traversed by Captain Burton, 340 — tribes in the maritime region, 341 — description of Zungomero, the principal town in this part of Africa, *ib.* — Captain Burton's Caravan, 342 — his journey over the Usagara Mountains, 344 — and through the land of Ugogo, 346 — character of the Wagogo tribe, 347 — and of the inhabitants of the land of Ugogo in general, 348 — the region of Unyamwezi, 349 — tribes which inhabit this region, 350 — customs of the Wanyamwezi, 351 — other facts relating to them, 352 — customs of the Wajiji, 354 — navigation on the Tanganyika Lake, 355 — bad character of the tribes on its borders, 356 — and of those around Lake Nyanza, the supposed source of the Nile, 358 — Captain Speke's journey from Lake Nyanza to Kazeh, 359 — character of the East Africans, 360 — their religion, 361 — their governments, *ib.* — prevalence of the slave-trade, 362 — regions which still remain to be explored, 363.

American Tract Society, Publications of, noticed, 265.

Appleton, John, his Rules of Evidence Stated and Discussed, reviewed, 515 — his early essays on this subject, 516 — consistency of his opinions, 517 — his official position, *ib.* — fundamental maxims on which his book is based, 518 — his moral and intellectual qualifications as a law reformer, 519 — disinclination of lawyers to depart from established usages, 520 — illustrated in the life of Lord Eldon, *ib.* — contrast presented by Judge Appleton, 521 — nature of a court of justice, 522 — defects in the rules of evidence as laid down in the common law, 523 — advantages to be anticipated from the admission of the testimony of parties to a suit, 524 — propriety of the exclusion of the testimony of parties in interest considered, 525 — and of the exclusion of the testimony of atheists, 526 — other causes of incompetency in a witness, 527 — law reform in England, 528 — States in this country which have modified the common-law system, 529.

Archæologia Americana, Volume IV., noticed, 278.

Arthur, William, his Italy in Transition, reviewed, 15.

Atkinson, T. W., his Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor, noticed, 585.

Auckland, Lord, his Journal and Correspondence, noticed, 565.

Bacon, Francis, new edition of his Works, noticed, 273.

Booth, Mary L., her translation of About's King of the Mountains, noticed, 283.

Boyd, A. K. H., his Recreations of a Country Parson, noticed, 268.

Bryant, William C., his Forest Hymn, noticed, 270.

Burton, John Hill, his edition of the Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle, noticed, 568.

Burton, Richard F., his Lake Regions of Central Africa, reviewed, 326 — interest of the book, 339 — his difficulties with Captain Speke, *ib.* — extent of the territory traversed by him, 340 — his im-

pressions on first seeing the Usagara Mountains, 344.

Carlyle, Alexander, his Autobiography, noticed, 568.

Church and Science, The Debate between the, noticed, 552.

Church, Temporal Power of the, article on, 56 — extent and variety of the materials which illustrate the history of the Christian Church, 57 — want of a universal history of the Church, 58 — circumstances which tended to increase the influence of the Bishop of Rome, 59 — slowness of this growth of a central authority, 60 — ecclesiastical divisions in the early Church, 61 — effect of the quarrels between the Eastern and Western Christians, 62 — subordination of the Church to the state, 63 *et seq.* — reunion of Italy to the empire, 66 — quarrels between the Popes and the Emperors, 67 — steady progress of Papal influence in the West, 68 — position of Gregory II., 69 — connection between Pepin-le-Bref and the Church of Rome, 71 — Italian expeditions undertaken by the former, 72 — subjugation of the Lombards by Charlemagne, 73 — relation of the Pope to Charlemagne, 73 — coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III., 75 — consecration of Paschal I, 77 — efforts of the Holy See to shake off the Imperial authority, 78 — condition of the Empire after the death of Lothair, 79 — compilation of the False Decretals, 80 — their supposed author, 81 — feebleness of their influence in the time of Charlemagne, 82 — encroachments of the Church in the time of Louis-le-Débonnaire, 83 — recent theories respecting the origin and object of the False Decretals, 84 — their influence on secular legislation, 85 — length of time during which their authority was unquestioned, 86 — early dependence of the Church on the Empire, 416 — close connection between the secular and ecclesiastical regulations, 417 — subjection of the bishops to the authority of the Emperor, 418 — doctrine of Ingilram and Isidor, 419 — recognized in the Capitularies of Benedict the Levite, 420 — admission of the principle of ecclesiastical immunity from secular jurisdiction, 421 — finally established by Justinian, 423 — conflicting provisions in regard to clerical immunity, 425 — recapitulation of laws showing the ultimate supremacy of the monarch, 426 — victory over the royal authority gained by the Synod of Soissons, 427 — Decretal of Nicholas I. forbidding any examination by laymen into the conduct of the clergy, 428 — practical immunity of ecclesiastical criminals acquired under the English Common Law, *ib.* note — attempt to obtain immunity from secular accusations, 429 — doctrine of the False Decretals on this point, 430 — partial adoption of this doctrine, 431 — progress of the Church in obtaining a share in the general administration of justice, 432 — laws of the Emperors relative to the jurisdiction of bishops, 433 — laws of the Barbarians, 434 — regarded as having little practical effect, 435 — limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the first half of the ninth century, 436 — authority of the Theodosian Code, 437 — encroachments of the Church in the administration of criminal justice, 438 — control of the king over the preferments in the Church, 439 — attempts of the Church to achieve independence in the election and consecration of bishops, 441 — attempts of the Pope and of the bishops to seize the power which was departing from the king, 444 — failure of these efforts, 445 — question relative to the episcopal oaths of fidelity, 446 — Papal encroachments on the independence of the priesthood, 449 — claim of universal jurisdiction by the Roman Pontiff, 450 — stress laid on the appellate power of the Pope in the False Decretals, 451 — importance attached to this power, 452 — want of respect in which these canons were held in the early part of the ninth century, illustrated in the history of Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, 452 — case of Rothadus, Bishop of Soissons, 454 — evil effects of the new system, 455 — forged donation of Constantine to Sylvester I., 456 — sketch of the circumstances connected with the Divorce of Teutberga, 457 *et seq.* — acknowledgment by Lothair of the temporal supremacy of the Pope, 463 — concluding reflections, 464.

Cotton and the Cotton Trade, article on, 1 — importance of the commodity, 2 — quantity produced in the United States, 3 — rapid increase in the amount of the cotton crop since 1826, 4 — decline in the cost of cotton fabrics, 5 — adaptation of the Southern States to the culture of cotton, 6 — effects produced by an increase of the price of cotton, 7 — decline in the product of Brazil and of the West Indies, 8 — attempts to introduce the culture of cotton into Algiers, *ib.* — extent of the cotton crop of Egypt, 9 — and of the East Indies, *ib.* — efforts to increase the production of cotton, 10 — recent public works in India, 11 — operations of the Liverpool Cotton Supply Association, 12 — present condition and prospects of the cotton trade, 14.

Cowper, B. H., his edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, noticed, 576.

Coxe, A. Cleveland, his edition of Croswell's Poems, noticed, 571.

Criminal Procedure, article on, 297 — different branches of the criminal law, *ib.* — importance of a correct method of administering the law, 298 — administrative machinery of the criminal law, 299 —

outline of the methods by which a criminal is brought to trial, 300 — modern trial by jury, 301 — fundamental maxims of the criminal law, *ib.* — theory and composition of grand juries, 303 — growth of public distrust in the decisions of juries, 304 — want of skill and training in the investigation of criminal offences, 305 — incompetency of ordinary juries to decide some of the questions submitted to them, 306 — difference in the decision of juries on the same evidence, 307 — practical invasion of the province of the jury by English judges, 308 — proposed substitute for trial by jury, 309 — presumption of the innocence of every person accused, 310 — necessity of relying on circumstantial evidence, *ib.* — exclusion of probabilities in judicial trials, 311 — propriety of this exclusion considered, 312 — advantages to be derived from the admission of this kind of proof, 313 — objections of English and American writers to its admission examined, 314 — evidence which may be brought forward by the defence, 315 — exclusion of the testimony of the accused, *ib.* — reasonableness of allowing him to testify in his own behalf, 316 — practice of the European courts, 317.

Croswell, William, his Poems, Sacred and Secular, noticed, 571.

Dall, C. H., her Historical Pictures Retouched, noticed, 276 — her Practical Illustration of "Woman's Right to Labor," noticed, 582.

De Gerando, Joseph Marie, article on, 391 — his birth, *ib.* — his early studies, 392 — he enters the army, *ib.* — he goes to Switzerland and Naples, 393 — ability shown in his manuscript work entitled Nights in Naples, 394 — his friendship for Camille Jordan, 395 — he marries, *ib.* — he writes a prize essay on the Influence of Signs on the Formation of Ideas, 396 — honors conferred on him, 397 — he is made a corresponding member of the Institute, and founds the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Industry, 398 — publication of his Comparative History of Philosophic Systems, 399 — character and design of the work, 400 — he is made Secretary-General to the Minister of the Interior, 401 — he draws up a report on the situation of France, and one on the progress of history and literature, 402 — he is named a member of the Council to establish the French law in the States of the Church after their annexation to France, 403 — he is made a Counsellor of State, and sent to Spain on public business, 404 — he returns to France and is rewarded with new honors, 405 — he procures the establishment of a Professorship of Administrative Law, 406 — his benefactions to the poor, 407 — he writes his prize essay entitled the Visitor of the Poor, 408 — character of the work, *ib.* — he publishes a work on Self-Education, and another on the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, 409 — he publishes his Normal Course for Primary Instruction, 410 — his charities, 411 — his interest in the Foundling Hospital, 412 — his essay on the Means of Preventing Poverty, 413 — his death, 414 — his character, *ib.*

De Voragine, Jacobus, his *Legenda Aurea*, noticed, 255.

Dixon, W. Hepworth. his Personal History of Lord Bacon, noticed, 570.

Documentary History of the Revolution, article on, 364 — qualifications necessary for an historian, 365 — sources from which his materials must be drawn, 366 — his comparative position in literature, 367 — confidence with which Washington looked to history for the justification of his actions, 368 — worth of Mr. Sparks's labors as editor of the Writings of Washington, 369 — sketch of the life of Peter Force, editor of the American Archives, 370 — his early history, 371 — he composes an Unwritten History of the War in New Jersey, 372 — his interest in public affairs, 373 — his civil services, 374 — he publishes the National Calendar, *ib.* — he conceives the plan of the American Archives, 375 — he publishes a specimen of the work, 376 — his plan receives the support of the government, 377 — extent of his researches, 378 — he publishes nine volumes of this work, 379 — discontinuance of the work, *ib.* — character of Moore's Diary of the Revolution, *ib.* — sources from which his materials are derived, 380 — newspapers of the period of the Revolution, 381 — influence of the pulpit at that time, 382 — character of the preaching, 383 — the churchyard a place for the interchange of news, 384 — Mr. Moore's Diary cited, 385, *et seq.*

Dunlop, R. H. W., his Hunting in the Himalaya, reviewed, 239 — field of his adventures, 240 — his account of elephant-hunting, 241 — differences between the elephants of the Dehra Doon and those of Ceylon, 242 — their character, 243 — manner in which they are caught, 244 — tiger-hunting, 246 — the great fair at Hurdwar, 247 — shooting a tiger, 248 — customs of the inhabitants of the Himalaya, 249 — the Bargees, or dancing-people, *ib.*

Ellison, Thomas, his Hand-Book of the Cotton Trade, reviewed, 1.

Feuerbach, A. von, his Narrative of Remarkable Criminal Trials, reviewed, 297.

Fisher, George P., his Thoughts Proper to the Present Crisis, reviewed, 492 — commended, 512 — cited as to the character of the Northern Abolitionists and the effect of their agitation of the slavery question, 513.

Fisher, Sidney G., his Laws of Race, as Connected with Slavery, reviewed, 492 — its ability, 507 — cited as to the character of the American system of slavery, 508.
Flagg, Wilson, his Mount Auburn, noticed, 589.
Forsyth, William, his History of Trial by Jury, reviewed, 297.
Freeman, Frederick, his History of Cape Cod, noticed, 584.

Garibaldi, Giuseppe, article on, 15 — his early life, 16 — regarded as a representative of the national cause in Italy, 17 — description of his birthplace, 18 — effect of his seafaring life on his subsequent career, 19 — his love of his mother, 20 — his patriotism, 21 — his qualifications as a leader in the cause of Italy, 22 — his career in South America, 23 — he commands the Italian legion in the service of the Republic of the Rio Grande, 24 — his varied exploits there, 25 — spirit by which he was animated, 26 — his marriage, 27 — his poverty, 28 — his return to Italy, 29 — he engages in the war against the Austrians, *ib.* — he aids in the defence of Rome, 30 — his brilliant exploits during the siege of that city, 31 — his retreat after the French occupation of Rome, 32 — death of his wife, 33 — he embarks for New York, 34 — his personal appearance and manner, 35 — he returns to Italy, 36 — he is taken into the counsels of Victor Emmanuel, 37 — he raises a military troop, *ib.* — he enters Lombardy, 38 — his activity as a partisan leader, 39 — atrocities of the Bourbon rule in the Two Sicilies, 40 — topography of the Island of Sicily, 41 — expedition of Garibaldi against the island, 42 — his proclamations, 43 — his preparations, 44 — his associates, *ib.* — he besieges Palermo, 45 — description of the city, 46 — historical associations connected with it, 48 — iniquity of the Neapolitan government, 49 — difficulties in the way of a settlement of the affairs of Italy, 50 — results already obtained, 51 — Garibaldi's appeal to the people of Naples, 52 — his advance toward the city, 53 — he enters the city, 54 — his nobility of character, 55.
Gas, Illuminating, article on, 133 — extent of the coal formation in the United States, 134 — objections to the hypothesis that coal was produced by pressure, 135 — introduction of gas lighting, 136 — description of the process of manufacture, 137 — the distribution of gas, 138 — description of the different kinds of gas-meters, 139 — importance to the gas manufacturer of a knowledge of the comparative value of different kinds of coal, 140 — economical advantages in the use of gas, 142 — complaints by gas consumers, 143 — value of scientific knowledge to the gas manufacturer, 144 — suggestions as to the want of legislation on the subject, 145.
Giles, J. A., his edition of the Works of Archbishop Lanfranc, noticed, 256.
Goodwin, C. W., his Essay on the Mosaic Cosmogony, reviewed, 208 — his views on the subject stated, 209.
Graesse, H., his edition of De Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, noticed, 255.
Grant, James, his Memoir of James, Marquis of Montrose, noticed, 575
Grigsby, Hugh Blair, his Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Littleton W. Tazewell, noticed, 572.
Grimm, J. L. and W. K., their German Popular Tales and Household Stories, noticed, 283.
Guizot, François, his *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps*, reviewed, 217 — importance of the work, *ib.* — his views as to the relations of Church and State, 219 — and as to the relations of the Church and the University, 220 — on the condition of the Church in 1830, 221 — on the trial of M. de Montalembert and Father Lacordaire in 1831, 222.

Hagenbach, R. R., his Text-Book of the History of Doctrines, noticed, 579.
Hale, Edward E., his Ninety Days' Worth of Europe, reviewed, 529 — its individuality, 532 — his description of the view from the Capitol Tower, cited, 533 — his opinion of Story's Cleopatra, 534 — and of Rubens's pictures, 535 — his estimate of St. Peter's, 537.
Hallam, Henry, as an Historian, article on, 163 — low state of historical literature at the period when he began to write, 164 — his qualifications for the task assumed by him, 165 — his breadth and accuracy of knowledge, 166 — his intellectual acuteness, 167 — his cautiousness, 168 — his impartiality, 169 — moderation of his views, *ib.* — his modesty, 170 — his clearness of statement, 171 — his philosophy of history, 172 — his style, 173 — his View of the State of Europe in the Middle Ages, 174 — his Constitutional History of England, 175 — his Introduction to the Literature of Europe, 176.
Hamilton, Sir William, his Lectures on Metaphysics, reviewed, 88 — his large acquirements, *ib.* — his opinions as to the proper object of an educational system, 89 — as to academical honors, 91 — on the relation of psychology and theology, *ib.* — on the dispositions with which philosophy ought to be studied 92, — on pride as an impediment to progress in philosophy, 93 — on the threefold object of metaphysics, 94 — on the relativity of human knowledge, *ib.* — on its limitations, 95 — illustrated by Voltaire's parable of the Sirian Micromegas, 96 — his doctrine of the Conditioned, 98 — illustrated and explained, 100 — his explan-

ation of terms, 101 — importance attached to the terms, *subjective* and *objective*, 102 — on *hypothesis*, *ib.* — on *consciousness*, 103 *et seq.* — his examination of Stewart's views as to the inability of the mind to attend to more than one object at a time, 106 — his investigation of the claims of phrenology, 109 — his views as to the relations of the body and the mind, 110 — on the question, whether we are always consciously active, 111 — summary of his views on this topic, 112.

Hanson, J. H., his Preparatory Latin Prose-Book, noticed, 592.

Hare, Julius C. and A. W., their Guesses at Truth, noticed, 268.

Harkness, Albert, his First Greek Book, noticed, 280.

Haskins, David Greene, his Selections from the Scriptures, noticed, 577.

Henry, C. S., his Considerations on some of the Elements and Conditions of Social Welfare and Human Progress, noticed, 274.

Hiller, O. Prescott, his Chapter on Slavery, reviewed, 492 — characterized, 506.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell, his Elsie Venner, noticed, 587.

Home-Life of English Ladies in the Seventeenth Century, noticed, 569.

Hoskins, Thomas, his What we eat, noticed, 588.

Hunt, Robert, his edition of Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines, reviewed, 133.

Huntington, F. D., his edition of the Lyra Domestica, noticed, 578.

Hymns for Mothers and Children, noticed, 579.

Jowett, Benjamin, his Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture, reviewed, 215.

Kendrick, A. C., his Life and Letters of Mrs. Emily C. Judson, noticed, 269.

Kennedy, John P., his Works, noticed, 277.

Kingsley, Charles, his Inaugural Lecture on the Limits of Exact Science as applied to History, noticed, 561.

Kirk, Edward N., his Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, noticed, 267.

Krapf, J. Lewis, his Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa, reviewed, 326 — impression produced by his book on the mind of a reader, 327 — sketch of his early life, 328 — his sketch of East African history, 338.

Lanfranc, Archbishop, his Works, noticed, 256.

Leslie, Charles Robert, article on, 113 — character of his writings, 114 — his Memoir of John Constable, *ib.* — his sympathy with Constable, 115 — his Hand-Book for Young Painters, 117 — his birth and early life, 118 — his first years in London, 119 — his recollections of Coleridge, 120 — he studies in the Antique Academy under Fuseli, *ib.* — he illustrates the writings of Shakespeare and others, 121 — his opinion of Turner, 122 — his correspondence with Washington Irving, 123 — his friendship with Irving, 124 — growth of his fame, 125 — his personal qualities, 126 — his descriptions of his friends, 127 — his rank as a painter, 128 — his mechanical execution, 129 — his lack of imagination, 130 — contrasted with Haydon, 131 — his death, 132.

Literature of Power, The, article on, 465 — reality of spiritual wants, 466 — connection between the true and the beautiful, 467 — possibility of a scientific classification of the faculties of the human mind, 468 — want of fixed principles in the criticism of novels, *ib.* — character of Mr. Masson's book on this subject, 469 — characteristics of the literature of power, 470 — influence of works of the imagination, 471 — immortality of the creations of genius, 472 — comparative influence of the literature of power and of the literature of knowledge, 473 — relation between the growth of knowledge and the culture of the imagination. 474 — character of true fiction, 476 — vividness of the associations derived from works of fiction, 477 — the moral interest which readers take in fiction, 478 — brilliancy and truthfulness of Scott's historical portraits, 479 — Chaucer's position in English literature, 480 — neglect of narrative fiction from the time of Chaucer to that of Queen Anne, 481 — effect of the Revolution and of the Restoration on literature, 482 — De Foe's Robinson Crusoe considered as an index of literary development, 483 — Richardson as a creator of character, 484 — comparative estimate of Richardson and his successors, 485 — Sterne and Goldsmith, 486 — Sir Walter Scott's position in literature, 487 — Thackeray and Dickens considered as representatives of the Real and the Ideal, 488 — comparison of these two writers, 489 — reciprocity considered as the law of the social structure, 491.

Macaulay, Lord, his Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays, noticed, 276.

Mackay, Charles, his Jacobite Songs and Ballads of Scotland, noticed, 263.

Massie, Richard, his Lyra Domestica, noticed, 578.

Masson, David, his British Novelists and their Styles, reviewed, 465 — character of the book, 469.

Ménard, Louis, his *Morale avant les Philosophes*, noticed, 556.

Metcalf, David, his Inquiry into the Nature, Foundation, and Extent of Moral Obligation, noticed, 282.

Mignet, F. A. A., his *Notice Historique de Baron de Gerando*, reviewed, 391.

Miller, Stephen F., his Bench and Bar of Georgia, noticed, 260.

Milman, Henry Hart, his History of Latin Christianity, reviewed, 56, 415 — its great merits, 465.
Montalembert, Charles de, his *Moines de l' Occident*, reviewed, 224 — his double worship of freedom and the Church, *ib.* — origin of the book, 225 — its character, 226.
Moore, Frank, his Diary of the American Revolution, reviewed, 364 — character of the work, 379 — cited, 380, *et seq.*
Morel, Octavia, her *Essai sur la Vie et les Travaux de Baron de Gerando*, reviewed, 391.
Morse, Sidney E., his Premium Questions on Slavery, reviewed, 492 — their ingenuity, 509.
Motley, John Lothrop, his History of the United Netherlands, noticed, 583.

Noriac, Jules, his *Bêtise Humaine*, reviewed, 235 — tenacity with which the French cling to social customs, 236 — design of the book, *ib.*
Norton, Charles E., his Travel and Study in Italy, reviewed, 529 — its character, 537 — cited as to the decline of art in Italy, 538.

Osgood, Samuel, his Student Life, noticed, 586.
Oxford Clergymen's Attack on Christianity, The, article on, 177 — want of originality in their arguments, 178 — their regard for taste and decorum, 179 — tendency of some minds to fall into scepticism after having entered the Christian ministry, 180 — effect of theological studies on minds of such a caste, 181 — effect of this state of mind on the ministrations of the Church, 182.

Pattison, Mark, his Essay on the Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750, reviewed, 209 — thesis maintained by him, 210 — disproved by the facts of history, 211 — character of the defenders of Christianity in that age, 212 — the writer's contempt for the Christian Evidences, 213.
Peabody, Elizabeth P., her translation of De Gerando's Self-Education, reviewed, 391.
Phelps, Austin, E. A. Park, and D. L. Furber, their Hymns and Choirs, noticed, 273.
Plantagenets, The Greatest of all the, noticed, 567.
Powell, Baden, his Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity, reviewed, 193 — statement of the point at issue, 194 — his views on this subject, 195 — objections to them, 196 — confusion of his ideas as to the true nature of physical causation, 197.
Prior, C. Alexander, his Ancient Danish Ballads, noticed, 588.
Progress of Nations, The, noticed, 561.

Quinet, Edgar, his *Merlin l' Enchanteur*, reviewed, 226 — his early history, 227 — character of his genius, 228 — design of his book, 229 — literary reaction in France, 230.

Ramsay, E. B., his Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, noticed, 568.
Reichel, Levin T., his Moravians in North Carolina, noticed, 575.
Ronalds, Edmund, and Thomas Richardson, their Chemical Technology, reviewed, 133.

Sand, Madame George, her *Jean de la Roche*, reviewed, 232 — outline of the story, *ib.* — antagonism between the French and English characters, 234.
Seabury, Samuel, his American Slavery distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists, reviewed, 492 — an apologist for slavery as it is, 515.
Secession, Concession, or Self-Possession, a pamphlet, reviewed, 492 — recognizes the pretended right of secession, 509.
Shee, Martin A., his Life of Sir Martin Archer Shee, noticed, 261.
Sigourney, L. H., her Gleanings, noticed, 589.
Silliman, Benjamin, Jr., his Principles of Physics or Natural Philosophy, noticed, 281.
Slavery, its Origin and Remedy, article on, 492 — design of the framers of the Constitution, 493 — paramount duty of the government at the present time to prevent a fratricidal war, 494 — policy of the late chief magistrate, *ib.* — conditions of society in which slavery has its origin, 495 — antagonism of interests between the privileged classes and the proletaires, 496 — competition of the latter with one another, *ib.* — this double competition subversive of freedom, 497 — existence of a virtual slavery where the institution is not legally recognized, 498 — the remedy for slavery, 499 — beneficent agency of Christianity in changing its character, 500 — slavery in Greece and Rome, 501 — legal *status* of slaves under the later Roman commonwealth and the early emperors, 502 — slavery in the Southern States, 503 — changes by which its abolition must be effected, 504 — duties of the North, 505 — value of the Union as bearing on the future of slavery, 506 — recent books on the subject, *ib. et seq.*
Smiles, Samuel, his Brief Biographies, noticed, 264.
Smith, Henry B., his History of the Church of Christ in Chronological Tables, reviewed, 318 — its great merits, 319 — its arrangement, 320 — his view of modern history, 323 — his Supplementary Tables, 324 — his edition of Hagenbach's Text-Book of the History of Doctrines, noticed, 579.
Spedding, James, R. L. Ellis, and D. D.

Heath, their edition of Bacon's Works, noticed, 273.
Speke, J. H., his Journal of a Cruise on the Tanganyika Lake, reviewed, 326.
Spencer, Herbert, his Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical, noticed, 272.
Struggle for Life, a story, noticed, 593.

Taylor, Tom, his edition of Leslie's Autobiographical Recollections, reviewed, 113.
Temple, Frederick, his Essay on The Education of the World, reviewed, 182 — his fanciful speculations, 183 — statement of his doctrine, 184 — regarded as a modification of Comte's Positive Philosophy, 186 — objections to it, 187 *et seq.*
Thomas, B. F., his Few Thoughts upon the Personal Liberty Bill and "Secession" (so called), reviewed, 492 — his opinion of the Fugitive-Slave Law, 510 — and of the Personal Liberty Law of Massachusetts, 511.
Thornton, John Wingate, his Pulpit of the American Revolution, noticed, 580.
Tischendorf, A. F. C., his Discoveries in the East, article on, 250 — character and contents of the manuscript of the New Testament, known as the Codex Aleph, 251 — peculiar readings in it, 252 — other manuscripts obtained by him, 253.
Towle, Nathaniel C., his History and Analysis of the Constitution of the United States, noticed, 279.
Travel in Europe, article on, 529 — prejudices of travellers as affecting the character of what they see and hear, 530 — unreasonable expectations entertained of travellers, 531 — Mr. Hale's Ninety Days' Worth of Europe, commended, 532 *et seq.* — and Mr. Norton's Travel and Study in Italy, 537 — difference between man's nature and position in the Old World and the New, 539 — government in the Old World, 540 — its paternal character, 541 — respect in which Americans are held by the common people in the Old World, 542 — decline of ecclesiasticism, 543 — its illiberality and meanness where it does exist, 544 — difference between the general appearance of London and that of Paris, 545 — the Frenchman and the Englishman contrasted, 547 — condition of London a century ago, 548 — its extent at the present time, 549 — familiarity of London to Americans, 550 — the peculiar characteristics of England at the present time, 551.
Trübner, Nicholas, his Bibliographical Guide to American Literature, reviewed, 146 — plan of the work, 147 — early writers in this country, 148 — effect of the American Revolution on our national literature, 149 — character of the works produced immediately after that event, 150 — enlargement of the arena of American genius, 151 — national character of our literature, 152 — foreign writers in America, 153 — introduction of printing, 154 — remuneration of authors, 155 — extent of the book-trade, 156 — character of the American newspaper press, 158 — American magazines, 159 — consumption of paper in the United States, *ib.* — reputation and influence of American books in Europe, 160 — incompleteness of the catalogue of American books, 162.
True, Charles K., his Elements of Logic, noticed, 586.

Vaughan, Robert A., his Hours with the Mystics, noticed, 271.

Warren, S. E., his General Problems from the Orthographic Projections of Descriptive Geometry, noticed, 279.
Wharton, Grace and Philip, their Wits and Beaux of Society, noticed, 559.
Whiton, James M., his Hand-book of Exercises and Reading Lessons for Beginners in Latin, noticed, 280.
Whittier, John G., his Home Ballads and Poems, noticed, 267.
Williams, Rowland, his Essay on Bunsen's Biblical Researches, reviewed, 188 — his exposition of Bunsen's theological opinions, 190 — his statement of Bunsen's doctrine of the Trinity, 191 — regarded as pure Hegelianism, 192.
Wilson, Henry B., his Essay on The National Church of England, reviewed, 199 — its querulous tone, *ib.* — its main purpose, 201 — the writer's theory of a National Church, 202 — his comment on the Sixth Article of the Church of England, 203 — his explanation of the fifth canon of that Church, 204 — and of the thirty-ninth canon, 205 — and of the statute of Elizabeth, requiring subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, 206 — question suggested by these explanations, 207.
Withington, Leonard, his translation of Solomon's Song, noticed, 590.
Wortabet, John, his Researches into the Religions of Syria, noticed, 557.

Yonge, C. M., her Hopes and Fears, noticed, 560.

Zakrzewska, Marie, her Autobiographical Letter, noticed, 583.

JUN 6 19